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Separatism Movement and Contemporary Reconciliation: Causes and its Impact towards Political Development in Papua

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Abstract

The separatism occurs in Papua that comes from the root of complex problems, resulting in ongoing conflict between the Free Papua Organization (OPM) and the state. Separatism and conflict in Papua have had a significant impact on political development. This research uses Tedd Robert Gurr's theory of relative deprivation and Lucian Pye's theory of political development as well as qualitative methods. This research examines conflicts and separatism that occur in Papua and their relation to Papuan political development. The result of this research indicates that political development in Papua has not been successful. The discrepancy between expectations for progress and realities can lead to significant political violence. The strengthening of collective discontent can be politicized and produce radical and even separatist resistance movements. These conditions can hinder the course of the political development process, because of the difficulty of building integration and creating political stability.

Keywords: Separatism Movement, Political Development, Papua

Abstrak

Separatisme yang terjadi di Papua berasal dari akar permasalahan yang kompleks, sehingga terjadi konflik berkelanjutan antara Organisasi Papua Merdeka (OPM) dan negara. Separatisme dan konflik yang ada di Papua ternyata berdampak signifikan terhadap pembangunan politik. Dengan menggunakan teori deprivasi relatif Tedd Robert Gurr dan teori pembangunan politik Lucian Pye serta metode kualitatif, tulisan ini mengkaji mengenai konflik dan separatisme yang terjadi di Papua serta kaitannya pembangunan politik Papua. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa pembangunan politik di Papua dinilai belum berhasil. Perbedaan antara harapan akan kemajuan dengan realitas yang ada ternyata dapat menimbulkan kekerasan politik secara signifikan. Menguatnya ketidakpuasan secara kolektif dapat dipolitisasi dan menghasilkan gerakan perlawanan secara radikal bahkan separatist. Kondisi tersebut dapat menghambat

jalannya proses pembangunan politik, karena sulitnya membangun integrasi dan menciptakan stabilitas politik.

Kata Kunci: Konflik, Separatisme, Pembangunan Politik, Papua

INTRODUCTION

Political development becomes an important aspect of progress and modernity. As Kirsch & Welzel (2019) explained that it is referred to the political modernization in which rational control is applied over existing power and sustainable development (Ferrara et al., 2014). The goal of development is humans, the environment and the social environment (Chams & García-Blandón, 2019; Mensah, 2019). Political development is certainly the goal of every country, especially in a developing country such as Indonesia, particularly in Papua and West Papua Provinces (hereinafter written: Papua) (Karjoko & Winarno, 2020). Papua as an area has ongoing conflicts that is vertically between separatist groups and the government and horizontal conflicts between separatist groups and the people of Papua (Koibur, 2021; Rafsanjani et al., 2022). The open conflict between the separatist groups and the government consisting of the Indonesian National Armed Force and the Indonesian National Police continued, causing several casualties on both sides (Fredy & Raegen, 2022; Harahap & Anisyah, 2021; Marthen et al., 2022; Mislawaty et al., 2022; Sholihin et al., 2022; Syawaludin & Fikri, 2019). The conflict is getting stronger due to the implementation of decentralization in Papua which tends to be one-sided and driven by elites without adequate dialogue with the Papuan people (Chandra, 2018; Sirozi & Yenrizal, 2020; Yenrizal Yenrizal, 2018). The government ignores the separatist group which is the most important element in the process (Ropik et al., 2018; Sepriansyah et al., 2021). So that, the resulting policy does not fully accommodate the demands of the Papuan, it causes greater dissatisfaction (Barter & Wangge, 2021; Lele, 2021; Rakia et al., 2021).

Referring to situation, the reality and condition of Papua is as follows has many problems (Bhakti et al., 2016) such as, 1) Papua's abundant natural resources are not directly proportional to Papua's welfare; (2) Papua as the poorest province in Indonesia, 26, 56% (Widi, 2022). Poverty is also driven by the low level of education, so that the competitiveness of indigenous Papuans is lower than that of migrants; (3) The highest inflation rate, due to the difficulty of access to transportation and the existence of conflicts; (4) There is no grand design for infrastructure development at the provincial level; (5) The existence of health issues regarding the high transmission of HIV in Papua; (6) High levels of corruption, corruption is usually by businessmen and regional heads with a systematic corruption network; (7) The lowest human development index seen through life expectancy and death rates; (8) Low population density, the number of migration of Papuans is lower than immigrants who enter Papua (Salle & van Burg, 2019).

Several previous studies have discussed separatism in Papua, they usually focus on studying the link between separatism and Papuan nationalism and conflict resolution. First, Trajano (2010), in which examines the political and socio-economic background that causes Papua to want to separate from Indonesia. The Papuan people regard the use of weapons as an effective means to achieve their goals. Ethnic nationalism is built as a result of the inequality that occurred in Papua. Second, research paper from Nainggolan (2016) sees that nationalism plays a role in overcoming separatism in Papua. The discussion on Papua's development will not be separated from the special autonomy that Papua has received. Similarly, the study conducted by Rochendi & Saleh (2017) which reviewed the relationship and authority of the central government and local governments in the implementation of special autonomy, which turned out to be different from reality. Third, Regarding the handling of conflicts in Papua, Koibur (2021), in his study found that there are many interests in the Papuan reconciliation

process, both from inside and outside the country, so that a peaceful path is difficult to achieve. Fourth, Mambraku (2015) observed that since the Old Order regime until the Reformation, the resolution of political conflicts still uses elements of violence that are contrary to the values upheld by Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, they are equality, peace, justice, respecting diversity and differences, protecting minorities, and law enforcement and human rights. Thus, there are not many studies that examine political development in Papua (Marthen et al., 2022; Sumintak & Idi, 2022). Therefore, it becomes interesting to study by getting a new point of view of the conditions and conflicts that exist in Papua, the researcher describes the conflicts chronologically (Fredy, & Raegen, 2022; Yenrizal, 2021). Then, we describe the handling of conflicts that have been carried out by the government, including using special autonomy as a solution. So that, it can be seen the relationship of separatism to political development in Papua (Chandra, 2018; Mislaway et al., 2022).

Against this background, this paper tries to explore and examine the political developments and the situation as a result of the emergence of separatism in Papua. First, examining the history of Papua and West Papua, revealing a long journey, as well as a high political confrontation between Indonesia and the Netherlands which ended in the birth of a peace agreement to be handed over to become part of Indonesia in 1962 (Yenrizal, 2018). Since then, many other efforts have been made. carried out by the Indonesian government, although most were usually postponed until 1999, so the province was officially named Papua. Second, this paper examines the series of conflicts that occurred from 2009-2022, as an effect of the emergence of the separatist movement carried out by the Free Papua Organization, which currently exists (Fikri, 2018). Unfortunately, the approach taken by the Indonesian government has several problems, especially those related to the proper responsibility of the Indonesian government to develop Papua with various programs, one of which is through special autonomy. If an agency feels the need to use specific data held by another agency, several agencies are often involved, but no single agency takes on the primary role and responsibility. Without clear command directions, inter-agency public data transfers will become very complex and confusing (Sepriansyah et al., 2021). This persisted even after the introduction of Special Autonomy was introduced and implemented (Syawaludin, 2021).

Third, seeing that the Indonesian government's efforts to develop Papua through political development are still considered to have not been implemented properly. The condition of political development in Papua still leaves many problems that must be resolved immediately by the Government of Indonesia. In other words, granting special autonomy is not enough to build Papua's condition properly, so it requires comprehensive and systematic steps. If the method of political development so far is not improved, the Indonesian government will soon face new effects not only of separatist movements, but also of social and political movements that are not predictable beforehand.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research describes about condition and conflict in Papua as well as seeing its influence on political development in Papua. The subjects in this study were the Papuan people and the government, both local and central. Meanwhile, the object of this research is the conditions and conflicts (separatism) that occur in Papua and their influence on the political development process in Papua. The researcher reviews the background of the conflict that occurred in Papua using the theory of Relative Deprivation Ted Robert Gurr. The theory explains that conflict can occur because of perceived differences between people's expectations and values or conditions. This value is considered as a goal that is the right of the community (Gurr, 1970), for example, the goal of achieving economic prosperity in Papua. The difference between expectations and existing conditions eventually increases the intensity of dissatisfaction and causes conflict in society. Furthermore, in order to see the relationship between conflict and

political development in Papua, the researcher uses Lucian Pye's Theory of Political Development. This theory helps the researcher to explain the criteria for political development so that the researcher can interpret the existing conditions objectively.

This study uses qualitative research methods that are used to describe and analyze phenomena and conflicts that occur (Creswell & Poth, 2016). Data presented in this research is in the form of descriptive analysis. Data collection is used by literature study through Google Scholar, SAGE Publisher, JSTOR, and other official sites. The form of data collected is in the form of books, journals, electronic news articles, and website articles related to the research topic. The data is grouped according to the type and accompanying characteristics. To analyze the research data, the researcher uses the (Miles., Huberman & Saldaña, 2018) analysis model with the following steps: 1) Data reduction: Performed by grouping data in the form of reference data and documentation which were then analyzed by researchers to determine the results of this study; 2) Data presentation: The researcher describes the research data descriptively and performs analysis by linking the data and theory used; 3) Drawing conclusions: The results of data reduction and presentation by the author are concise in the conclusion section to make it easier for the reader to understand most of the results of the research conducted by the author.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Papua and West Papua: Overview

Papua is an area that was colonized by the Dutch in 1898-1962, it shows that there was a difference in the time of Dutch colonization between Papua and other regions in Indonesia. At the time of the recognition of Indonesian sovereignty in 1949, the Netherlands had not yet designated Papua as part of Indonesia (Mussad, 2022). To find a way out, Indonesia submitted this problem to the United Nations in 1954. Until finally an agreement was made on August 15, 1962, known as the New York Agreement (Katharina, 2019). But in the end, the *New York Agreement* remained the basis for Indonesia to hold a People's Opinion Determination (Pepera) in 1969. The Pepera was a deliberation conducted by 1,025 people from the Pepera Deliberative Council (DMP) to represent the voices of the people (Magayang et al., 2022).

On January 7, 1965, Indonesia left the United Nations due to a large number of foreign interferences in the socio-political conditions in Indonesia. President Soekarno said that Papuan self-determination would not be implemented, because he believed that all Papuans wanted to become Indonesians, so President Soekarno considered the *New York Agreement* no longer valid (R. and I. N. B. Chauvel, 2004). As a result, 1,024 people chose to join Indonesia and 1 person refused. From the results of the Pepera, Papua became a province in 1969 under Law no. 12 of 1969 concerning the Establishment of the Autonomous Province of West Irian with the provincial capital of Jayapura (Katharina, 2019).

At that time, Papua was known as "Irian", in political terms which means "Join the Republic of Indonesia Anti-Netherland" (Katharina, 2019). Papua is also often called West Papua because of its location on the western island of New Guinea. The term West Papua is preferred by people who want to secede from Indonesia. Based on Ministerial Regulation No. 5 of 1973 the name West Irian was changed to Irian Jaya. President Suharto announced the name Irian Jaya to coincide with the inauguration of the PT Freeport copper and gold mine. The name change was because it was feared that the term East Irian would later appear. Then, during the reign of Abdurrahman Wahid (Gusdur) in 1999, the name Irian Jaya changed to Papua, it is taken from the Malay language which means "curly hair" which describes the physical characteristics of indigenous Papuans. But legally the name Papua is official since Law no. 21 of 2001 concerning Special Autonomy for the Province of Papua. The strengthening of decentralization in Indonesia has made Papua undergoes regional division. Initially, Papua consisted of 9 regencies, after the division now Papua has 29 districts/cities.

West Papua Province was originally known as West Irian Jaya with the provincial capital of Manokwari which is a division of Papua Province based on Law no. 45 of 1999. Initially, the community opposed the division of the area with a demonstration on October 14, 1999, so that the division of the region was suspended. Then in 2002 the division of West Irian Jaya was reactivated through Presidential Instruction (Inpres) No. 1 of 2003. The conflict continued until 2006, President Megawati appointed the definitive governor of West Irian Jaya, he is Abraham Octavianusaturan. West Irian Jaya was changed to West Papua based on the community's request, which was approved by the DPRD and the Governor of West Irian Jaya Province. So that since April 18 2007, PP No. 24 of 2007 the name of the Province of West Papua was inaugurated. Initially West Papua consisted of 9 regencies/cities and then it was divided into 13 regencies/cities (Suryawan, 2012).

The Papua Archipelago covers nearly a quarter of Indonesia's landmass, rich in natural resources in the form of mining and forest products. PT Freeport is the largest gold and copper mining company in the world. Karl Muller classified the Papuan population into 2 types, namely the coastal population and the mountainous or highland population (Karl, 2008). In its development, this dichotomy has unconsciously created negative perceptions. Coastal residents are considered more advanced and modern because they are easily receptive to outside influences. Meanwhile, people living in the mountains are slow to develop because of the difficulty of access and slow to accept outside influences. Culturally and ethnically, Papuans are part of Malay and Melanesian which consists of 255 tribes with different languages. The majority of the Papuan people, especially in the coastal areas, are Christian because of the influence of missionaries from Maluku and Manado (Chauvel & Bhakti, 2004)

Conflict and Separatism in Papua

Indonesia's victory over the Dutch through the Determination of People's Opinion (Pepera) in 1962 became a challenge for President Soekarno's administration regarding the management of Papua because for almost 20 years Indonesia and Papua experienced very different cultural-political developments (Chauvel, 2018). Then, there is the assumption that Indonesia became a new colonial after the Dutch, it made the integration between Papua and the Indonesian government difficult (Djafar, 2016; Muntaha & Kharisma, 2020).

Papuan's desire for independence is reinforced by the suppression of Human Rights (HAM). During the leadership of President Soeharto, Papua was used as a Military Operations Area (DOM) for the Army. The presence of the military in Papua is perceived as oppression against the Papuan people. At that time, the government had an obsession with destroying the Free Papua Organization (OPM). This was motivated by the spirit of ABRI's dual function, and motivated by economic and political interests (Al Rahab, 2016; Lantang & Tambunan, 2020). The economic, education, infrastructure backwardness, and racism that Papua has faced while under the rule of the Indonesian government have also been the driving factors for the independence movement for the Papuan people (Ramdhan, 2021).

Free Papua Organization (OPM) started when the government gave PT. Freeport Indonesia operated in Papua in 1965. The Amungme tribe resisted in the form of a process against the government called the cargo cult, it was a mission based on religious feelings to revive the glory of the past (the ancestors of the Papuan people) (Hadi, 2007; Suriadin, 2022). On July 26, 1965, the Arfak tribe attacked the troops of Battalion 751 (Brawijaya) in Manokwari. The attack was triggered by the high unemployment rate and the detention of the Arfak tribe. Then, the resistance movement spread to other areas, the movement was sporadic and more organized.

The problems faced by the central government and regional governments in Papua are also always complex. From the central government's point of view, various cases of natural resource management have been scathing criticism which is the weakness of the central government. From the Papuan side, the issue of inter-tribal conflict has become a regional issue

that characterizes peace as an area managed in the democratic era (Purwoko, 2016; Taum, 2015). The enactment of Law No. 21 of 2001 concerning Special Autonomy (Otsus) is also seen only as an Affirmative Action Policy (Special Treatment Policy) where from its pragmatic and short-term oriented management, it destroys the freedom and original color of Papua itself. The implementation of the Special Autonomy Law (Otsus) and the Regional Financial Balance Law is one model of conflict management to minimize violence that occurs due to disputes over natural resource management (Bachtiar et al., 2022; Kaisupy, D. A., & Maing, 2021).

The intensity of the Free Papua Organization movement spread and consisted of competing factions. This faction consists of three elements, they are (Amindoni, 2020): 1) armed groups that have territories which are often referred to as Armed Criminal Groups (KKB); 2) groups conducting demonstrations or protests; and 3) a small group of overseas-based leaders trying to raise awareness and generate international support for Papuan independence.

The increasingly consolidated separatist movement in Papua was marked by the establishment of the United Liberation Movement for West Papua (ULMWP) on 7 December 2014, to unite factions consisting of political factions and armed group factions (Sabir, 2018; Sianipar & Somantri, 2022). Benny Wenda (as chairman of the OPM and ULMWP) during his exile in New York. In 2004, he started a campaign to fight for human rights, politics and the environment for the independence of the people of West Papua. He claimed his campaign has a simple goal, which is to give the people of Papua the freedom to choose their own destiny through a fair and transparent referendum.

Separatism in general is a movement carried out by ethnic groups to get away from a country and form a state or self-government based on culture, religion, language. However, separatism in Papua occurs because of race and colonial historical background. They feel that they are different from the Indonesian race in general and have different historical and cultural backgrounds. The separatist movement is not only politically motivated, but also includes economic, social and cultural motives (Ubed, 2002, p. 100). LIPI in their research identifies four root causes in Papua, which consist of aspects of the history and political status of Papuans; 2) marginalization and discrimination; and 3) institutional failure; 4) violence and human rights violations (Pamungkas & Rusdiarti, 2017).

In the process of separatism, violence, and killings usually occur. Ethnic groups that carry out separatism usually colonize in certain territories. According to Gurr states cited by Webber et al., (2020) that political violence as a collective attack by a political group or community against the regime in power. The attack is an event that involves the use of threats and violence simultaneously, which includes revolution, guerrilla, coup, rebellion or riot (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). The following are the attacks that have been carried out by the Free Papua Organization (OPM):

Tabel 1. Attacks and Conflicts of 2009-2022

No	Date	Conflicts
1.	11 July 2009	The attack in the PT. Freeport Indonesia
2.	February 2013	The shootout between the Free Papua Movement and the Indonesian National Armed Forces (7 TNI people killed)
3.	Januari, 2014	Attacks on civilians and the shooting down of the Susi Air plane in Puncak Jaya
4.	14 Maret 2016	The shooting of 4 employees of PT. Modern in Engengeng Village, Puncak Regency

5.	November, 2017	The hostage-taking of thousands of Tembagapura Sub-district residents
6.	16 February 2018	The shooting of the LWB car (1 person injured)
7.	22 March 2018	Dominim Air plane shooting at Kenyam Airport (1 person injured)
8.	24 March 2018	Burning of schools and hospitals in Banti
9.	13 April 2018	Hostage taking, robbery and rape of teachers in Arwanop, Tembagapura (8 teachers victims of abuse)
10.	25 June 2018	Trigana Air plane shooting at Kenyam Airport (3 dead, 2 injured)
11.	2 November 2018	Shooting of Popome village residents (1 person killed)
12.	12 November 2018	Attack on motorcycle taxi drivers in Wiringgambut
13.	1-6 December 2018	Attack on PT Istaka Karya employees (19 people killed) Attack on TNI post in Mbua (15 people killed, 1 TNI dead, 1 OPM killed, 1 injured)
14.	28 January 2019	The attack on the Nduga Regent's entourage
15.	12 August 2019	The hostage-taking and murder of Brigadier Hedar in Usir Village, Puncak Regency
16.	11 January 2020	Arms contact between OPM and Mobile Brigade
17.	18 February 2020	TNI-Polri armed contact with OPM (1 OPM killed)
18.	26 February 2020	Egainus Kogoya attacks the TNI post in Koteka Village, Kenyam District, Nduga (1 civilian killed)
19.	28 February 2020	The Brimob and OPM gun battle was led by Gusbi Waker in Tembagapura District, Mimika (1 Brimob killed)
20.	29 February 2020	TNI car shooting in Keerom Regency
21.	15 March 2020	Armed Forces between TNI and OPM contact in Tembagapura (4 OPM killed)
22.	9 April 2020	Gunfire in Trans-Nabire (2 OPM killed)
23.	10 April 2020	TNI-Polri Armed Contact with OPM in Tembagapura
24.	24 April 2020	TNI-Polri weapons contact with OPM at PT Freeport
25.	17 September 2020	TNI-Polri weapons contact with OPM in Intan Jaya (1 TNI killed)
26.	23 September 2020	Armed contact between TNI-Polri and OPM in front of the Regent's Office and Sugapa Market
27.	25 September 2020	TNI-Polri armed contact with OPM in Sugapa District
28.	20 October 2020	The TNI-Polri armed contact with the OPM was led by Lamek Taplo in the Bintang Mountains

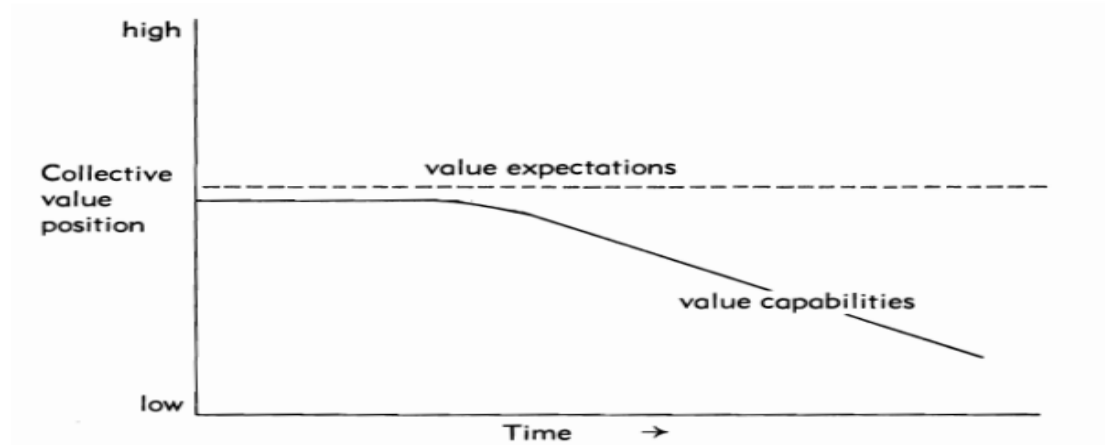
29.	6 November 2020	TNI-Polri armed contact with OPM in Titigi District, Intan Jaya
30.	26 November 2020	TNI-Polri weapons contact with OPM in Nduga
31.	10 January 2021	Armed contact between TNI-Polri and OPM in Intan Jaya (2 TNI killed)
32.	4 February 2021	Armed contact between TNI-Polri and OPM in di Intan Jaya (2 OPM killed)
33.	10 Februariy 2021	Armed contact between TNI-Polri and OPM in Ilga
34.	13 February 2021	Armed contact between TNI-Polri and OPM in Ilga
35.	15 February 2021	Armed contact between TNI-Polri and OPM in Intan Jaya (1 Satgas Raider 400 killed)
36.	19 February 2021	OPM shootout with Special Forces of the Indonesian Air Force at Amenggaru Airport
37.	28 February 2021	OPM firefight with TNI-Polri in Hitadina District (1 OPM killed)
38.	28 February 2021	OPM shootout with the TNI-Polri at PT Freeport Indonesia
39.	13 March 2021	OPM holds the pilot and passenger of the Susi Air plane hostage
40.	27 January 2022	Shooting of the Indonesian National Armed Force (3 people killed)
41.	19 February 2022	The shooting of PT MTT truck (1 gunshot wound)
42.	2 March 2022	Attack on PT Palapa Timur Telematika (8 people killed)

Sources: Ramdhan, 2021s

The data above shows that the separatist movement carried out by the Free Papua Organization (OPM) is very intensive and massive. The main causes of collective political violence are the growing discontent, the politicization of that satisfaction, and the actualization of violence against the targets of political violence. Political violence occurs when a group of people feel angry because of the gap between the expected value and the ability value which causes relative deprivation (Siahaan, 2012). This dissatisfaction triggers the OPM to act, because psychologically the greater the intensity of dissatisfaction of a person or a group, the greater the violence. In this case, violence is used to relieve some of the discontents. They maximize their chances of getting what they want.

Gurr in Webber et al., (2020) divides deprivation into three patterns. *First, decremental deprivation*, it occurs when the value of the expectation is constant but the ability decreases substantially. In this case, people are angry because they lost what they used to have.

Figure 1. Decremental Deprivation

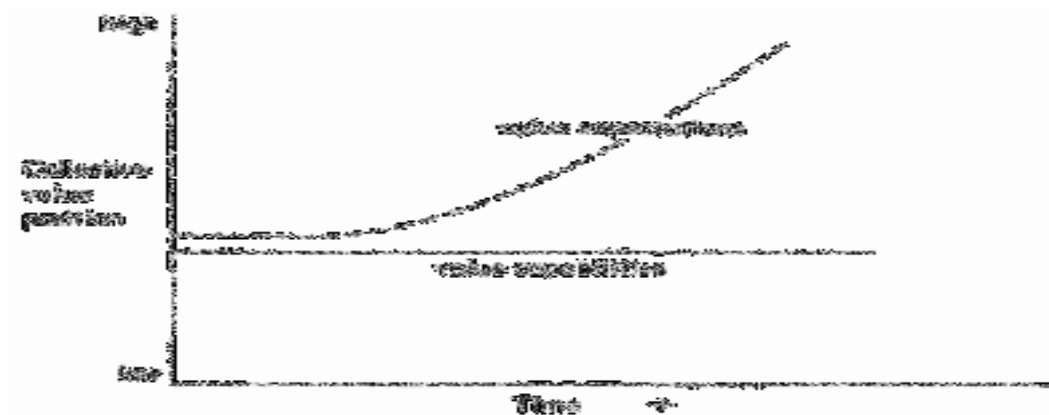


Source: Gurr, 2015

The picture above explains that the position of the capability value is decreasing, while the expectation value is stagnant. Furthermore, Gurr explains that the decline in the value of capabilities was due to the decline in production capacity, the capacity of the political elite to handle conflicts, the political elite is considered weak against incoming foreign powers and the loss of public confidence in the accompanying norms.

Second, aspirational deprivation, it happens when the ability value is relatively static but the expectation value develops intensively. Expectations increased because they were triggered by higher scores than other groups.

Figure 2. Aspirational Deprivation

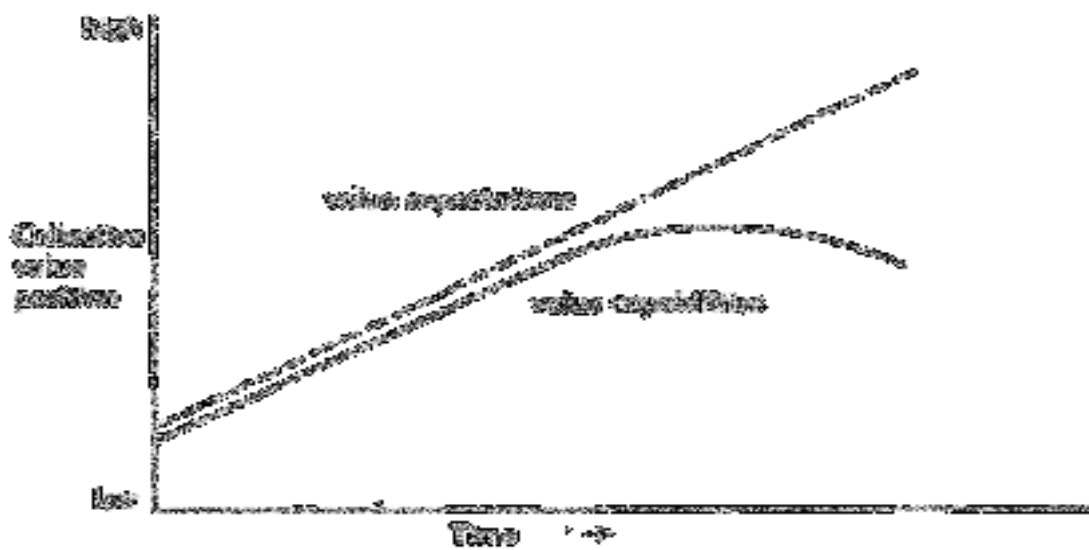


Source: Gurr, 2015

Expectations in humans arise because they see a higher standard of living. For example, with regard to modernization, non-Western societies look at the standard of living of Westerners and then they want it to be in their lives. Demonstrations appear to urge and demand for the implementation of life to a higher standard (Gurr, 2015). In addition, Gurr explains that literacy and education are also sources of increased expectations. The level of expectation tends to increase as education progresses and the values sought.

Third, progressive deprivation, the value of expectations increases that is accompanied by a decrease in the value of abilities.

Figure 3. Progressive Deprivation



Source: Gurr, 2015

In the long term, the increase in expectations and capabilities tends to be stable, resulting in continuous improvement. The capability value would decrease when the repair has been made. Another thing that it causes a decrease in capability is the simultaneous change of system and ideology, as well as economic depression.

In relation to Gurr's relative deprivation pattern, aspirational deprivation is most relevant to describe conditions in Papua. Government implementation capacity and natural resource values tend to be static, but the Free Papua Organization has high hopes for progress. Such as Gurr (2015) explained, the expectations in humans arise because they see a higher standard of living. Usually, the Papuan who have a higher level of education are more sensitive to the problems that occur in the community. The Free Papua Organization (OPM) is headed by educated people feel optimistic and confident, if they are separated from Indonesia, they will be much more advanced and modern.

Contemporary Political Development in Papua

The government realizes that the threat of the OPM is very strong. Although the movement has been successfully localized with the number of incidents continuing to decline, the support of some people for the struggle for the Free Papua Organization is still strong. Development policies are perceived as lacking in alignment with the Papuan people, which have left them behind in terms of economic welfare, education, and health compared to other regions in Indonesia. It can increase public sympathy for separatist groups. Community sympathy can be used as a moral force to encourage separatist movements.

The government is required to use a new approach to conflict resolution in Papua that accommodates the aspirations of indigenous Papuans by upholding democratic values, not in a coercive-repressive way (Mambraku, 2015). Resolution efforts have been made by the Indonesian government to suppress separatism in Papua through a dialogue process involving the following actors: Central Government, Free Papua Organization, Presidium Papuan Council (PDP), Papuan Customary Council (DAP), Churches, NGOs and tribal leaders (Pamungkas & Rusdiarti, 2017). These parties have different interests, such as the Free Papua Organization and the Presidium of the Papua Council which wants Papuan independence, while the Papuan Customary Council wants the establishment of a Papuan customary government.

As an effort to overcome separatism, the government formulates policy directions in the Prevention and Countermeasures of Separatism which are translated into development programs as follows (BAPPENAS, 2020):

- 1) National resilience development program aimed at developing and improving national resilience, national insight, and national management system, as well as national insight for citizens in order to overcome various aspects of threats to the life of the nation and
- 2) Research development program, safeguards, and mobilization of state security aimed at increasing intelligence professionalism capabilities.
- 3) Enforcement of Sovereignty and safeguarding the territorial integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia aimed at realizing operational readiness and taking action against threats in the form of invasion/aggression from outside and threats from within, both military and non-military threats. The main activities carried out are the anticipation and implementation of military or non-military operations against separatist movements that seek to separate themselves from the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, especially armed separatism movements and acts of radicalism with primordial ethnic, racial and religious backgrounds as well as ideologies outside of Pancasila, both independent and related with foreign powers.
- 4) Domestic security stabilization program aimed at improving and strengthening security and order in Indonesia's territory, especially in vulnerable areas. The main activities are security operations and law enforcement in terms of taking early action on separatism in the territory of the Republic of Indonesia and taking an intensive persuasive approach to people who are prone to separatist influences.
- 5) The program to increase commitment to national unity and integrity is aimed at reaffirming the importance of national unity in the changing political constellation. The main activities are providing public political education, socializing national insight, eradicating discriminatory attitudes, and respecting differences in society.
- 6) Improving the quality of public information services aimed at improving the quality of services and the flow of information to and from the public to support the process of socialization and people's political participation.

As an effort to overcome separatism, the government formulates policy directions in the Prevention and Countermeasures of Separatism which are translated into development programs as follows (Bappenas data):

The Special Autonomy Law, which was issued in 2001 and 2008, is intended to: 1) redistribution of natural resource management so that it can be managed by local governments; 2) regional heads become actors who make decisions related to natural resource management, and 3) decentralization has a positive impact on traditional property rights (Yanuarti, 2012). However, the decentralization of natural resources has resulted in rent-seeking behavior carried out by local elites, it was the excessive exploitation of natural resources to increase Regional Original Income (PAD). The exploitation was not able to prosper the people of Papua. The burden or potential of ethnicity which is very strong in many cases in Papua with the existence of Special Autonomy is quite helpful, but interferes with the implementation of Otsus itself.

The report on the results of the working visit of Commission I of the DPR RI in Papua in 2012 showed that the presence of separatist groups had an effect on the following (Sabir, 2018): 1) the decreasing level of trust of the Papuan people in the central and regional governments; 2) the strengthening of political issues related to the integration of Papua; 3) The Unit for the Acceleration of Development in Papua and West Papua (UP4B) is not running effectively; 4) the weak performance of the district/city regional government, and 5) the increase in acts of armed violence in Papua. This certainly affects the process of political development in Papua.

By using the concept of Lucian Pye, we can see that political development in Papua and West Papua has not succeeded. *First*, economic growth. The success of economic development will encourage an increase in the process of political development and vice versa. Application of Law no. 21 of 2001 concerning Special Autonomy since November 21, 2001, has been carried out as an effort to develop Papua's economy. However, this does not have a significant impact on the welfare of the Papuan people, both physically and non-physically. The implementation of Special Autonomy is considered to be a new problem, namely the high level of corruption due to misuse of Otsus funds, so the use of Special Autonomy funds is not optimal.

Second, political modernization. Political development as political modernization is intended as a process of transition from traditional politics to modern politics (rational), (Pye, 1966). The indicators of political modernization are increasing the capacity of state power and weakening traditional power (*capacity*), increasing political participation and equality, as well as differentiation and specialization of modern political institutions (*difference and specialization*). The high respect for tribal leaders, it is difficult to eliminate traditional power. Respect for the state is not so great due to the low trust of Papuans in the leadership of the central government. Increasing the specialization of political institutions (bureaucratic reform) is important in Papua given the high level of corruption. Thus, corruption will be reduced and equal rights will be achieved.

Third, it is carried out in nation-state operations. Understanding of Pancasila continues to be echoed in Papua. However, the conditions and problems in Papua make it difficult for the government to integrate. The placement of military personnel has become a trauma for the majority of Papuans. The history of military operations since 1965 has instilled fear in the Papuan people. There is a need for another approach by the state so that nationalism naturally arises in the hearts of the separatist groups.

Fourth, democracy development. The development of technology and information have opened the horizons of some Papuan people to get to know the concept of democracy. These things make them believe that the solution to all the problems they face is a referendum. The goal of the Free Papua Organization, which they want freedom for the Papuan people to choose their own future through a referendum.

Fifth, political stability and change. Political and security dynamics in Papua make it difficult for the government to carry out diplomacy. Separatism becomes a threat to the state, resulting in disintegration. International law justifies when a country uses military force to defend their territory. However, the presence of the military in Papua is highly undesirable for the Papuan people.

Sixth, mobilization, and power. The Special Autonomy Law issued in 2001 and 2008, is intended to: (1) redistribution of natural resource management so that it can be managed by local governments; (2) regional heads become actors who make decisions related to natural resource management; and (3) decentralization has a positive impact on traditional property rights (Bachtar et al., 2022). However, the decentralization of natural resources has resulted in rent-seeking behavior carried out by local elites, it causes the excessive exploitation of natural resources to increase Regional Original Income (PAD). This exploitation was not able to prosper the people of Papua.

CONCLUSION

The economic, education, infrastructure backwardness and racism that Papua has faced while under the rule of the Indonesian government has become the driving factors for separatism in Papua. *Aspirational deprivation* is a relevant term to describe conditions in Papua regarding the capacity to implement governance and the value of human resources which tends to be static, but the people have high hopes for advancement. The main cause of political

violence is the difference between expectations and reality. Collectively, the growing sense of dissatisfaction, the presence of elements of politicization of this feeling of satisfaction, and the actualization of violence against targets of political violence gave rise to a separatist movement carried out by OPM. The enactment of Law No. 21 of 2001 concerning Special Autonomy (Otsus) is also seen as only an Affirmative Action Policy (Special Treatment Policy) where from its pragmatic and short-term oriented management, it actually destroys the freedom and original color of Papua itself. Political development in Papua is considered not successful, the dynamics of political and security conflicts in Papua make it difficult for the government to resolve conflicts.

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