Conflict Analysis
and
Policy Recommendation
on Papua

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I have the audacity to believe that people everywhere can have three meals
a day for their bodies, education and culture for their minds, and dignity,
quality, and freedom for their spirits. I believe that what self-centered men
have torn down, other-centered men can build up.

Martin Luther King Jr

Executive Summary

This conflict analysis focuses on the conflict dynamics and issues arising in the post-otsus (Otonomi khusus or special autonomy) period after 2001 in Papua. The abundance of social, cultural and natural resources in Papua is in contrast to the level of human security in the area. Since its integration into the Indonesian state, Papua had suffered from persistent grievances arising from differences of perception about the history of its integration into the Indonesian state, continued impoverishment and an inferiority complex colored by human rights violations that undermined the dignity of Papuans. The birth of otsus in 2001 was one of the turning points when the grievances of indigenous Papuans started to come to light and to be addressed. Otsus has been expected to ensure affirmative action to protect the rights of indigenous Papuans and involve them actively both as beneficiaries and drivers of social change in Papua. Nevertheless, the implementation of otsus has been facing some challenges, including the lack of trust shown by the central government. The post-otsus period is still affected by persistent grievances: negative peace, problems arising from representational politics, culturally-incompatible policies, unbalanced extraction of natural resources, the approach to security, low levels of social capital, an anomic society in the phase of social change, a polarization that might trigger open conflict, and horizontal inequalities. These complex conditions have created anomalies in the post-otsus period that the international agencies working in Papua should be aware of. This paper also describes the role of each actor of change in Papua, such as grassroots and civil-society organizations, local governments, women, the military and the central government as well the international agencies and the impact of their intervention strategies. All institutions of change – be they provincial, national or international - should refrain from acting as agents of "salvation" that bring a "cargo cult" in disregard of Papuans´ dignity.

There is an urgent need to develop an integrated crisis prevention strategy that functions as a "safety valve" in combating anomalies in Papua and that deserves the attention of actors of change and the international agencies. The international agencies should have a deep and critical insight into the complex problems in Papua, including existing anomalies, and take them into account in the formulation of their intervention strategies by adding a culturally and conflict-sensitive dimension. The resultant intervention strategy might be expected to pay greater attention to aspects of dignity and to play a significant role in shaping human security in Papua.

1. General context of Papua

The total area of Papua is 421,981 km² (3,5 times bigger than the island of Java) and consists topographically of mountainous areas in the centre and large areas of swampy land along the coast. Papua's borders are: Halmahera Sea and the Pacific to the North, Arafura Sea and Australia to the South, Papua New Guinea to the East, and Seram Sea, Banda Sea and Maluku to the West. The total population of Papua

is around 2,576,822 people, making up only 1% of Indonesia's entire population; 70% of them are living in villages and remote mountainous areas in the centre. According to the census of 2000, the highest population density is in the highland area of Jayawijaya Regency with 417,326 people. The total indigenous population, with a rich cultural heritage, is estimated to be around 66% of the total population. An anthropological field study (FOS) identified seven cultural zones in the whole land of Papua: (1) Saireri, (2) Doberai, (3) Bomberai, (4) Ha-Anim, (5) Tabi, (6) Lano-Pago, and (7) Me-Pago. There are over 250 ethnic groups with different customs, languages, indigenous practices and beliefs in Papua. In other words, there are hundreds of customary norms that prevail in this province. Moreover, there are 100 different non-Papuan ethnic groups. The influence of ethnicity is still very strong; this is why any incidents that indicate a certain disregard for social harmony are usually followed by acts of violence. In reality, social communication is limited and people are reluctant to relate to individuals from a different ethnic and religious background. The conflicts arise in situations where we fail to understand this plurality of norms and values. In addition to its cultural wealth, Papua also enjoys an abundance of natural resources such as gas, oil, gold, silver, marine products and copper. Unfortunately, this abundance – of both natural and cultural resources - has been tainted by a long history of conflict which involved significant human costs and will be described in greater detail later in this paper.

2. Pre-otsus conflict lines

• Perception gaps concerning the history

As early as at the proclamation of Indonesia's freedom in 1945, the Dutch government separated the Papua region from Hindia in order to prepare Papua and its population for a government of their own that was not connected with the Dutch. During the 10-year development plan drawn up by the Dutch in 1950, UNTEA (United Nations Temporary Administration) was in charge of the transition. Accordingly, on 1 December 1961 some preparatory steps were taken which gained significant momentum: the Dutch government designated the elected local community members in Papua as 50% of the Nieuw Guinea Raad (legislative), the Morning Star flag was hoisted side by side with the Dutch flag, and the Papuan national anthem "Hai Tanahku Papua" came to be generally used. Yet the "New York Agreement" of 1962 did not involve any Papuans and was designed as a frame of reference for the transfer of Nederland Nieuw Guinea (Papua) from the Dutch to Indonesia. In 1964, the Dutch-educated Papuan élite demanded that Papua be free not only from the Netherlands but from Indonesia as well. A vote of "free choice" sanctioned by the United Nations was carried out in 1969; it involved more than 1.000 selected tribal leaders (out of an estimated population of 800.000) as proof of local "consultations" instead of a one-person, one-vote procedure. The above-mentioned problem of representational politics was caused by the absence of Papuan involvement in decisions that affected their lives and existence; this left its mark in the form of historical grievances arising from different perceptions about the integration of Papua into the state of Indonesia. As long as the history of how Papua came to be integrated into Indonesia is not deconstructed critically and openly in order to identify the shared history, historical grievances will persist.

• Impoverishment

Papua has the fourth highest GRDP per capita in Indonesia, amounting to more than 11 million rupiahs mostly from industries based on its natural resources. Unfortunately, this condition goes hand in hand with poor access to basic needs (e.g. education, health and people`s economy). For instance, the government's Demographic Health Survey in Papua (1997) recorded the infant mortality rate at 65 per 1000 live births, and child mortality at approximately 30 per 1000. Limited accessibility of public services has caused increased urbanization in some cases. Nevertheless, Papuans, as the majority of the population living in villages or remote areas, continue to be amongst those with lower access to basic needs. According to the 2000 census, 30% of Papua`s total population is living in the centre or cities, 55% of them being non-Papuans and 45% Papuans. Conversely, 70% of the population in Papua are living in villages or remote areas, of whom 95% are Papuans and 5% non-Papuans. As a result, there is an imbalance in the composition of the population not only between urban and rural areas, but between Papuans and non-Papuans in transmigration areas such as Arso with some 1,000 indigenous people, while the number of transmigrants (non-Papuans) is around 19,000 people

(according to the 2000 census). Under the transmigration program, inhabitants from densely-populated areas in Indonesia (mainly from Java) were planned to be moved to other less-densely populated areas in Indonesia (including Papua). This demographic imbalance resultant from transmigration has further aggravated the marginalization of indigenous Papuans caused by horizontal inequalities between indigenous Papuans and transmigrants (non-Papuans). The sudden encounter of traditional Papuans with other cultures, the alienation of indigenous people from their traditional customary land, a reduced lebensraum for the indigenous people as well as social, economic and ethnic tensions are some of the effects of the transmigration program. The transmigration program has resulted in a demographic distribution that does not correspond to the distribution of welfare.

Papua is considered a high-poverty area with a high level of regional disparity compared to Jakarta (the Capital of Indonesia). Indonesia`s poverty-related challenges include not only the large number of poor people but striking disparities between regions, provinces, districts and cities. Jakarta and Papua are a good case in point for the disparity between provinces: in Jakarta, only 3.4 per cent of the total population are poor, while about half of Papua's population lives below the poverty line. Objective analysis suggests that existing "poverty" in the region is the result of structural impoverishment caused by a lack of opportunities for the people to participate in decision-making. This in turn prevents them from accessing and using any resources (be it natural, social, economic, political, legal or cultural) that are rightfully theirs. Opportunities are non-existent for Papuans in the economic sector since the New Order era. In other words, Papuans are unable to provide for their own livelihood as those who already own capital are given greater opportunities to do business. This becomes clear when the following figures are considered: Papua has two dominant economic sectors, mining and agriculture, which are generating 76% of its GRDP. Indigenous Papuans are mainly working in the subsistence sector, while the business sector offers greater opportunities: the capital-intensive mining industry contributes 57% of GDRP with only 0.6% of the workforce, whereas the agricultural sector contributes 19% of GDRP with 75% of the workforce. Involvement of indigenous Papuans is very limited in the business sector and almost all business persons and entrepreneurs are migrants, in other words eco-

nomic growth does not translate into greater distributive justice, including access to basic services. This imbalance in opportunities resultant from prejudices and racism has left indigenous Papuans in an inferior position; this has been highlighted by some of the fundamental figures about the conditions of indigenous Papuans which came up in connection with the drafting of the Special Autonomy Bill for Papua Province to be turned into a self-governing territory in 2001: 75% do not have access to proper education, 50% have never enrolled in formal education or completed elementary school, 22% complete elementary school, 10% graduate from high school, and 2% from university. In the area of Pegawai Negeri Sipil, only 35% of second-tier positions of the Papua Provincial Government are occupied by indigenous Papuans, and the figure is 26% for the third tier.

• Inferiority complex

Papuans' collective identity as a modern and civilized people was imposed by means of a governmental program. In the period 1971-1973, for instance, the Indonesian government implemented operation Koteka (penis courds as traditional male clothing in the highlands), which involved members of the Armed Forces and the civil government in activities designed to civilize Papua`s inland communities, and to develop and create specific social, cultural, economic and political conditions; this was intended to function as the basis for Papua`s further development and ultimately to realize the national idea of Indonesia, notably a just and prosperous society based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. Operation Koteka was an Indonesian military campaign aimed

at inducing Highland Papuans to abandon some parts of their indigenous culture, attend school, modernize economically, and adopt a more mainstream Indonesian identity. Officials tried to force the Dani tribes in the Papuan Highlands to exchange their Koteka for Indonesian-style clothes. Actually, a strategy of humiliation was applied to enforce a development process amongst Dani tribes and make them change their social customs. The power imbalance manifested itself in hierarchical perceptions of indigenous peoples by undermining their local traditions and cultures and labelling them "backward" and "uncivilized". In the name of modern development and progress, the application of such a humiliation strategy convinces people of their own worthlessness and that of their culture so that they feel inferior and forced to involve in social change. The built-up frustration of indigenous Papuans will persist as long as their cultural rights and the notion of their collective dignity are being disregarded.

Papuans felt that their dignity and identity were not recognized in non-inclusive political processes such as the transmigration program, the denial of collective customary lands or ancestral domains, exploitation of natural resources, non-existing opportunities for local communities to participate in the administration of the State etc. Indigenous Papuans articulated their long-standing grievances in various peace demonstrations. In many cases, their inferiority complex was reinforced by the human costs caused by repressive security measures in the attempt to resolve the conflict. The demonstrations conducted by Papuans started to become politicized in the wake of the bloody tragedy in Biak on 6 July 1998 when the military responded to a peace demonstration with violence. The question of whether security regulations had been confirmed or not triggered acts of violence perpetrated by security forces when the Morning Star flag was hoisted in some places in Papua (e.g. in Timika, Nabire, Fakfak). In the meantime, the community had become polarized following the formation of the paramilitary called Satgas Papua (satuan tugas Papua or Papuan Assignment Unit) versus Satgas merah putih (Red and White Assignment Unit—pro-integration into the Indonesian state). In some cases, the hoisted Morning Star flag also triggered horizontal conflict between the two above-mentioned paramilitary groups. Although the status of Papua as DOM (daerah operasi militer or military operation areas) was lifted in October 1998, the sense of insecurity and fear persisted

amongst Papuans, and so did the violations of human rights perpetrated by security forces in some places in Papua. It became increasingly urgent to stop the domination of security forces and strengthen the civil government in Papua.

3. Turning point: Otsus in 2001

• Eliciting grievances

As tension increased, President B.J.Habibie received a delegation called "Team 100" on 26 February 1999, comprising representatives of the Papuan community who expressed a desire to separate from the Indonesian state. In response to this demand and in order to strengthen the territorial integrity of NKRI (Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia or the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia), the government produced UU (Undang-Undang or Regulation) No.45/99 concerning pemekaran policy (proliferation of administrative regions) of Irian Jaya (now Papua) into the provinces of Irian Jaya Tengah and Irian Jaya Barat, the Kabupatens of Paniai, Mimika and Puncak Jaya and the City of Sorong. This policy was followed with the appointment of Doctor Herman Monim to the Governorship of Irian Jaya Tengah, and of Brigjen Mar. (ret'd. TNI) Abraham Atururi to the Governorship of Irian Jaya Barat based on the decree of the President RI No. 327/M/1999 of 5 October 1999. This policy was rejected by various community groups in Papua and opposed in a big rally, including a sit-in, at the DPRD (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah or regional legislative assembly) Irian Jaya Province Building and the Governor's Office in Dok II, Jayapura on 14-15 October 1999. One of the reasons given for their rejection was the argument that the policy decision had been taken without consultation with the local community. In consequence, Papuans felt excluded from the policy-making process. On 19 October 1999, the General Meeting of the 12th Session of the MPR (Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat or People`s Consultative Council) adopted MPR Resolution No.IV/MPR/1999 in support of regional autonomy within the framework of NKRI; this was followed up by some strategic measures to address existing grievances in Papua, including to respect the variety and diversity of social and cultural life within the community of Irian Jaya as well as to resolve cases of human rights violations in Irian Jaya in credible and fair court proceedings. From that point, Papuans' grievances were addressed.

During the same period, B.J. Habibie was replaced by K.H Abdurahman Wahid as President. The MPR adopted Resolution No. IV/MPR/2000 concerning policy recommendations for the implementing regulation on Otsus (Otonomi Khusus or special autonomy) for Aceh and Papua with close attention to relevant regional community aspirations. After prolonged open discussions in and outside Papua on Otsus with many positive feedbacks, the DPR RI (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia or National Legislative Assembly) agreed to transform the RUU (Rancangan Undang-Undang or draft regulation) on Special Autonomy for Papua Province into the UU (regulation). Based on this, President K.H Abdurahman Wahid released UU No. 21/2001 concerning Special Autonomy (Otsus) for Papua Province, which aimed to improve public services, accelerate the development process and empower the entire population of Papua Province, particularly indigenous Papuans. Under its mandate to continue and implement MPR Resolution No.IV/MPR/1999 since inception, UU No. 21/2001 on Otsus for Papua highlighted some vital elements of how to cope with grievances in Papua, including protection of the rights of the indigenous people and reduction of existing horizontal inequalities between Papua and the rest of Indonesia. This policy was expected to improve the living standards of the community in Papua, minimize the disparity gap between Papua and other provinces within NKRI as well as provide opportunities for indigenous Papuans to benefit from progress made in Papua both as actors and beneficiaries of the development process.

• Indigenous rights against cargo cult

Otsus is perceived as the national policy that solved the conflict in Papua by political means. Yet this policy does not respond to demands from other deprived indigenous communities, such as the Dewan adat (customary council) of the Dayak tribe in Kalimantan; in September 2007, it requested Otsus in Kalimantan in order to improve public services, especially the living conditions of the people living inside its border. In other words, Otsus is based on an MPR recommendation and granted specifically to Papua as a means to resolve the conflict following some political bargaining. Under the Regulation on Special Autonomy for Papua, the Government committed itself (1) to respect human rights, religious values, democracy, legal and cultural values existing within the adat community (refers to custom or culture practised by each ethnic group and comprising knowledge, behaviour, rules, laws and systems to explain and regulate the individual and collective life in 'adat communities' law); (2) to honour the variety and diversity of social and cultural life in the Papuan community; (3) to protect and respect ethics and morals; (4) to protect the fundamental and human rights of the indigenous inhabitants; (5) to ensure the supremacy of law; (6) to maintain democracy; (7) to respect pluralism; and (8) to resolve the problems related to human rights violations against indigenous inhabitants of Papua. The protection of indigenous Papuans' rights which these commitments entail ultimately means that local cultures and values are taken into account in development policies for Papua and that indigenous Papuans are empowered accordingly. This calls for a sustainable long-term program which enables indigenous Papuans to define and share the progress made in their land. At the same time, some local Papuans expect it to be cargo cult that will improve their livelihood and/or function as a way out of their grievances. Prolonged periods of grievances have resulted in high expectations as regards Otsus which is now viewed as the "salvation" - a paradigm producing the desired immediate social change. This idea of rapid changes might run counter to the required sustainable impact in the longer term.

4. Post-2001 conditions

• Trust to bridge the implementation gap

There is still a gap in Otsus implementation which is caused by the level of distrust in the vertical relationship between the State and the local community in Papua, which has also affected horizontal relations and the grassroots community. For instance, there were some distrustful comments from the Head of

BIN (Badan Intelijen Nasional or National Intelligent Service) alleging that Otsus funds were being used to support separatists. These accusations resulted in social unrest and strong reactions from Papuans and required strong evidence to allay the fears. The allegation is also believed to destabilize the peace process in Papua. It is therefore imperative to improve the implementation of Otsus so that indigenous Papuans can benefit from it. Papua, as a fragmented society in nature (comprising many ethnic groups), is burdened with another post-Otsus fragmentation. The fragmented discourse between "O" (Otsus or special autonomy) and "M" (Merdeka or freedom or being separated from the Indonesian state) leaves its mark on the level of social cohesion in civil society. It labels those in favour of the status quo and deprived groups. This lack of trust and ensuing low levels of human security and social capital hinder the implementation of Otsus in Papua. UNDP has identified nine dimensions of human security which are a reflection of both the various causes of human insecurity and the human development agenda: 1) economic security, 2) financial security, 3) food security, 4) health security, 5) environmental security, 6) personal security, 7) gender security, 8) community security and 9) political security. According to UNDP, attention needs to be given to each dimension to strengthen human security. Conversely, social capital is simply defined as an instantiated set of informal values or norms shared by members of a group enabling them to cooperate with one another.

• **Ongoing grievances and frustration**

Local frustation persisted in the post-Otsus period after 2001. A panel discussing the 6 years of Otsus in Papua, which was brought together in November 2007 by the Democratic Centre, Cendrawasih University (Jayapura), concluded that the implementation of Otsus had thus far had merely some symbolic, yet not enough substantial impact. Papua has been granted Otsus from the Central Government for a period of 25 years. Some significant changes of the living conditions of Papuans are expected during this period in order to cope with the long-standing grievances in Papua. Unless significant changes are made to improve the situation of indigenous people in the course of the development process, accumulated grievances might turn into social aggressions. Persistent grievances of Papuans are still expressed through peaceful demonstrations (e.g. a huge peace parade organized

by DAP (Dewan Adat Papua or Papuan adat council) in 2005 in favour of returning Otsus to the Central Government) and the symbolic display and expression of cultural grievances by means of flags (e.g. raising the Morning Star flag as part of the traditional dance performed during the opening of the Major Conference of DAP in Jayapura in July 2007), songs, dances, writings, attires, etc. The huge amounts in the Otsus fund equivalent to 3.29 quintillion rupiahs budgeted for 2007 have not been able to reduce the frustration amongst indigenous Papuans. The discourse on separatism is not really compatible with attempts to improve the situation of the indigenous people, as idealized in the concept of Otsus.

5. Sources of frustration

• **Negative peace**

2007 government data show that Papua Province has 2,179 villages, of which 82.43% are categorized as marginalized in terms of variables such as the main road in the village, the area of work of the majority of the population, educational and health facilities, health officers, communication media, and the percentage of households using electricity. The number of families living below subsistence standards is 271,278 family units or almost half of the total number of 441,987 family units in Papua Province. Papua has a high level of poverty: data provided for SLT (subsidi langsung tunai or direct cash subsidies paid to poor people) in March 2006 indicated that almost half of the population in Papua Province – equivalent to about 47.99% of the total population of 1.8 million inhabitants in Papua Province, in contrast to about 36.85% in Irian Jaya Barat Province - is categorized as poor. In total, 45.43% or almost half of the population on the entire Island of Papua is living under conditions of poverty. Given the general social condition caused by high poverty levels, there is a continuous need to manifest positive peace, ie the absence of physical violence supported by distributive justice. Indigenous Papuans at the grassroots, who have been the main target of Otsus, have not been able to reap maximum benefit from the current development process. For instance, despite the fact that Otsus was intended to improve public services and ensure access to basic rights, locals still state that the quality of public health services is below required standards or has even decreased. No significant change has

taken place in the field of human resources; according to the Indonesian Human Development Report of 2004, Papua has the lowest level of adult literacy of the nation with 74.4%. Otsus was supposed to form a "real pyramid" with greater resources available at the grassroots, notably to indigenous Papuans; yet greater efforts need to be made to improve its delivery system and end the high levels of impoverishment mentioned. Good governance in support of this delivery system is also called for.

• **Politics of representation**

Paragraph 5 UU No.21/2001, article 2 states "In order to implement Otsus in Papua Province, MRP (Majelis Rakyat Papua or Papuan people assembly) is formed as a cultural representation of indigenous Papuans that holds certain authority to protect the rights of indigenous Papuans, based on the respect towards adat and culture, women empowerment and strengthening inter-religious harmony." In essence, this means that MRP plays an important role in the application of affirmative action to protect the rights of indigenous Papuans, which is at the core of Otsus. Affirmative action by means of compensatory preferential treatment is expected to promote inclusion and facilitate equal opportunities for the groups which had suffered from discrimination, including ethnic minorities and women. While regulation UU No. 21/2001 clearly stated that the MRP must be formed within one year after the enactment of Otsus at the maximum, and the Provincial Government of Papua had already submitted the draft of PP (Peraturan Pemerintah or government regulation) on MRP in 2002, the MRP was finally set up as late as November 2005. The delay was mainly caused by the the Central Government and its late delivery of PP No.54/2004 concerning the formation of MRP in December 2004. As the lives of indigenous Papuans are still expected to improve considerably, the line of authority as to which institution represents indigenous Papuans should be clearly identified. It is necessary to initiate a monitoring process in order to understand clearly how the huge amounts of money are spent under the Otsus scheme. The further development of PP No.54/2004 on MRP does not spell out clearly what authority the MRP holds in society or the public space. This condition prevents the MRP from exercising its mandate to protect the rights of indigenous Papuans in the development process. Some recommendations made by the MRP, for example concerning the division pol-

icy and the mining problem (Freeport case), should preferibly come from the main parties, especially the Central Government, to protect the rights of indigenous Papuans. While the MRP has accommodating and facilitating functions, it has not been given any authority to control the development process and ensure that indigenous Papuans enjoy the distributive justice and welfare in dignified ways. Moreover, the relationship between the MRP and DPRP (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Papua or Provincial Legislature of Papua) needs to be clarified in order to improve coordination amongst them. As the key institution at the heart of Otsus the MRP deserves greater attention, enabling it to initiate affirmative action that provides for equal opportunities or inclusiveness, and protects the rights of indigenous Papuans. A successful strengthening of MRP capacities will motivate many Papuans to place greater trust in Otsus.

Under Article 64, Act No. 21/2001, the Government of Papua Province is obliged " to manage and use the living environment in an integrated manner with due attention to its spatial characteristics, the protection of its biological natural resources, non-biological natural resources, artificial resources, the conservation of biological natural resources and the ecosystem, the preservation of its culture and biological diversity, and climate change, taking into account the rights of the adat community and the welfare of the people". With regard to social capital, which depends on the level of trust between the State and civil society, no common paradigm has been identified yet. Indigenous Papuans known as adat community, the main target group of Otsus, have not yet been given the space necessary to become actively involved in this process as both beneficiaries and actors. On the contrary, activities related to adat rights are still labeled as separatist owing to suspicions and prejudices. The resistance movement is labeled as OPM (Organisasi Papua Merdeka or organization for Papuan independence). The resultant absence of peace contributes to low levels of human security. The major conference of Dewan Adat Papua conducted in July 2007 was under security scrutiny. Though a formal representative of the provincial government attended, none of the MRP representatives took part in this event. Moreover, the conference was self-funded without financial support from the Government, which only recognizes the LMA (Lembaga Musyawarah Adat or institution of adat deliberation) set up by the Government. Unlike the LMA, whose members are selected and appointed

by the Government, Dewan Adat Papua is based on local traditional structures of adat communities in Papua. The different perceptions about the institutions that provide for the adat community's needs and aspirations produce another fragmentation. The problem of politics of representation is also linked to other issues concerning local political parties. Unlike in Aceh, UU No.21/2001 on Otsus does not provide for the formation of local political parties, as para. 28 only mentions political parties in general and not local political parties in particular. Accordingly, the unclear situation regarding the formation of local political parties creates another perception gap between Papuans and the Central Government. Further legal provisions, for instance a PP (Peraturan Pemerintah or government regulation), are needed, based on paragraph 28 UU No.21/2001, to allow Papuans to form local political parties.

• **Culturally-incompatible policies**

The Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples adopted by the UN on 8 August 2006 provides opportunities for indigenous peoples to determine freely how to progress based on their cultural values and system. The lack of respect for Papua's unique culture, in addition to economic injustice and an unfair distribution of state revenues, is one of the biggest problems in the effort to bring about genuine reconciliation. The modern development paradigm with its focus on growth and modern lifestyles has been introduced as a rigid standard against which the level of civilization of a local community is measured in the development process. Such a rigid modern paradigm perceives indigenous people as the target rather than the driver of development. Modern lifestyles imposed on indigenous people from the outside are based on the assumption of their original cultural impoverishment, for example in the case of the "Koteka operation" carried out in Wamena in the late 1970s, which forced indigenous people to drop their traditional values and adopt modern lifestyles, including clothes instead of penis courds for men. Indigenous people with traditional lifestyles are most commonly labeled as backward and stone-age people. It is therefore imperative to deconstruct the development approach and to respect and accommodate local wisdom when progress is defined.

Apart from a person's social position (government officials, civil society, etc.), the status as anak adat Papua (children of Papuan adat) is key to identity-building amongst indigenous Papuans. When measuring progress in Papua, reference should be made to ethnographic studies and a socio-cultural approach that acknowledges indigenous Papuans and their position as a customary entity defined in terms of individual customary rights, collective customary rights (ulayat), and culture. Current developments, including the division policy, do not always correspond with the cultural mapping of Papua. For instance Kurima District, which used to be part of Jayawijaya Regency, is now part of Yahukimo Regency following division. This division is not compatible with the local cultural map that includes Kurima as part of the Grand Valley people (Hubula) living in Wamena, Jayawijaya Regency. In addition to customary or cultural mapping, hukum adat (adat law) might potentially be used as the basis of a national positive law. Local initiatives, be they community or civil society-based, or inter-institutional between government departments or between government and civil society, should be supported and continued. One of the first examples of this can be found in the special police department called FKPM (Forum Kemitraan Polisi Masyarakat or forum on police partnership with society), which mediates local cases such as land issues, murder, adultery, fraud etc. on the basis of local customary rather than positive law. It is an effective method of resolving conflict that will produce optimal results in solving community problems once efforts to codify customary law and teach mediation skills to police officers that tackle such jobs have been stepped up.

The second example is the new special desk at BPN (Badan Pertanahan National or National Land Institution), which is called conflict resolution desk and

mediates and resolves local land problems in coop-eration with local governments and the police. There should be more support and coordination with local governments. The National Land Institution is consid-ered to be part of the national government and there-fore excluded from Otsus. This does not really make sense since many problems related to indigenous rights arise from land issues. The above-mentioned desk would produce optimal results in the resolution of local conflicts about land if it were to apply posi-tive law in a manner that was culturally compatible with the specific local context in Papua. As regards indigenous land rights, for instance, the State only recognizes tanah adat (customary land) when the in-digenous land belongs to a specific person – or what might be termed privatized indigenous land rights. Yet the State does not recognize tanah ulayat (col-lective customary land) in the form of an ancestral domain that is collectively owned in its entirety by indigenous people who consider themselves "custo-dians" of the ancestral domain rather than owners in the modern market-economic sense. It is therefore imperative to apply an integrated-mechanism-and-policies-specifically-designed-for-local-use.

• **Unbalanced extraction of natural resources**

Excessive extraction of natural resources takes place in mining, illegal logging and fishing, on large private plantations etc. Papua's rich natural resources will remain a major bone of contention and trigger con-flict (both vertically between the State and the peo-ple and horizontally amongst community members) as long as the wealth generated from this exploita-tion of nature is not distributed fairly and clearly. The last bloody demonstrations in 2005 in Jayapura, the capital of Papua Province, called for the closure of Freeport Indonesia's Grasberg copper and gold mine (the largest business enterprise in Papua with estimated gross revenues approximating 1.7 billion US$ per year) and caused casualties on the part of both the protesters and security forces: it urged the Central Government to address Papuans' grievances. As the majority of Papuans are living in the villages or remote areas in a subsistence economy, they are in close contact with the nature surrounding them. Ac-cess to natural resources is important to indigenous Papuans not only in the economic context, but as a manifestation of their collective identity and dignity. For the Adat community, nature is not only a source of natural products for their daily lives, but it gives

them a spiritual holistic frame. Customary land is believed to be mamak (mother) and should be re-spected, as it is by other indigenous peoples in other parts of the world. Moreover, customary land con-nects them with their ancestors and the world of the spirits. The traditional system and values define the zones of customary land and its usage: some parts of these zones are not allowed to be used for any pur-pose as they are considered sacred and untouchable. In the large-scale development process with its focus on growth, local wisdom should not be neglected, in-cluding the values associated with customary land, as a sign of respect for local cultures. Economic profits should not take precedence over the needs and inter-ests of the adat community.

The identification of traditional values associated with any customary land that is planned to be ex-ploited is a first important step towards understand-ing and appreciating this wisdom. In some cases, the adat community is only involved in the pragmatic pro-cedure of choosing investors nominated and selected by local government. The adat community is not yet comprehensively involved in the sense that they are given space to describe their local wisdom and define the level of desired progress that is compatible with such wisdom. At the macro-level, the provincial gov-ernment has already started to draft Perdasus (Per-aturan Dearah Khusus or regional special regulation) in the attempt to regulate customary land in the form of equity participations to attract investors. Never-theless, attention needs to be paid to the interface between a subsistence way of life and pressure from commercial exploitation. Development should not merely bring about economic growth in the search for profit, but protect the perceived collective dig-nity of the people. The adat community should be involved in the entire management cycle from the planning phase to the final control of and access to development. Despite the fact that some academics in Papua had warned against possible damage caused by the planned mining operations, some exploitation was continued and caused problems owing to the ab-sence of public consultation or exclusion of the adat community from the entire management process as well as duplicate permits issued by the provincial and regional governments. An inclusive participatory pro-cess that takes into account local cultures and deals with the concerns about environmental impacts will result in culturally-compatible and environmentally-friendly policies. The local initiatives working for

balanced natural resources policies which are both pro-indigenous Papuans and pro-environment at the macro-level (e.g. coordination between MRP and the provincial government to set up a pilot project intended to solve the problems related to customary land, consultation of traditional leaders in the drafting of a regional regulation concerning the village representative body, drafting of regional regulation concerning a customary land map in Papua) and at the community level (e.g. integrating adat, church and government regulations) should be continued and supported.

• Security approach

Indonesia has become a member of both the United Nations Human Rights Council and the UN Security Council, and also acceded to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Convenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in 2006. However, reality on the ground in Papua shows the limited amount of space given to exercise these rights. The approach to security leaves a strong mark on public space and affects the level of freedom of expression. Local journalists have expressed the view that for them independence means freedom to investigate the facts without pressure from those in power. Underlying suspicions have resulted in the labeling of some activities as illegal meetings directed to makar (attack against the government), including certain people's forums which were defined as "security disturbance". The parameters of and reasoning behind such a list should be made public so as to ensure a democratic and open process in society built on strong social cohesion. Public space is also restricted in the open public forum. When security personnel banned speakers from the international academic community at the very last minute from the open workshop on democratization and Otsus implementation in Papua without giving reasons, and intelligence services were conspicuously present at that workshop, it created feelings of unease and frustration. Other examples of restrictions include the seizure of publication material considered a threat to the public order under UU No.5/1969. Some publications on Papua written by local Papuans were confiscated on the grounds that they might cause public unrest. Restrictions also affect external parties wishing to write about Papua: foreign journalists have been denied access since 2003 (except for some known Jakarta-based international journalists working on non-political themes) and a selective process

has been applied to other dispassionate observers. Severely-restricted access to Papua prevents them from obtaining any reliable information about the conditions and the current situation on the ground. Furthermore, the restrictions have increased suspicions about any parties in Papua (both government and civil society) which address the issue of basic rights of indigenous Papuans.

The security approach applied by the Central Government, including the omnipresence of military personnel, has caused fear, low levels of trust in the government and escalating prejudices towards non-Papuans. Some locals have already suggested that a Perdasus be drafted regulating the placement of non-organic military personnel, especially Kopassus (Komandan pasukan khusus or commander of special force), the number of military posts and personnel be reduced, and the police authorized to work effectively in the civil society. Whatever is written about Papua or presented by academics and covered by foreign journalists or observers, the security approach continues to be focused on strict preventive measures rather than space for open controversial debate. As part of the peace-building and crisis prevention strategy, clearly-defined parameters for security and adequate space for freedom of expression should be put in place and made public. Greater emphasis should be placed on confidence-building in future as an important step towards reconciliation at both the horizontal (between non-Papuans and Papuans) and vertical levels (between Papua and the Central Government).

• **Low levels of social capital**

The level of social capital in Papua is marked by some significant elements of segregation. Social capital is important as "the glue" that creates cohesion in so-

ciety and thus facilitates peaceful coexistence. Social capital reflects the essence of cooperation-based norms that govern interactions, while social deviance reflects ipso facto a lack thereof. During a December 2007 workshop, religious leaders in Papua put forward some significant arguments, including the absence of a separatist movement in Papua and existing stigmatization of OPM by government officials, which was maintained and taken advantage of by government officials in the pursuit of government interests. In addition, stigmatization obstructs access to basic rights for the people in some parts of Papua. Generally speaking, Highlanders (Papuans living in the highlands), especially those in areas labeled "red zones" (assumed by the security forces to function as a base from which OPM is operating), are accessible to outsiders to a limited extent only. This restriction also applies to any party or organization that delivers basic services to the people, such as public health for the local community. There is an elaborate procedure which these organizations need to go through before they are allowed to work. In some cases, the local security officers do not guarantee the safety of the staff of such organizations unless enough money is paid and the level of security in the "red zones" concerned is negotiated. The level of safety and security thus depends on the bribes paid. Reality on the ground shows that there is a bare minimum of basic services (e.g. health and education), if any, in remote areas labeled "red zones". Papuans who are stigmatized are thus even more marginalized and deprived of access to their basic rights. Social stigma widens the gap of horizontal inequalities and lower human security levels.

Another element of segregation has to do with various rumours that are spread to influence people's thinking and the constellation for peace. Such rumours usually come up during lull periods - a time of apprehensive quiet. "The conflict entrepreneurs" frequently spread rumours to escalate tensions and attain specific objectives. They select some sensitive issues as the main focus which are expected to make people angry and stir up tension. Rumours are usually spread from mouth to mouth or by mobile phone. In June/July 2007, there were rumours about a possible hoisting of the flag in Wamena, which stirred tensions amongst the civil society. This rumour made people fearful because some collective violence had occurred in Papua in connection with the hoisting of the Morning Star flag (perceived by the State as a symbol of the identity of the Nation Melanesia that is often associated with freedom for Papua), including a tragic event in Wamena on 6 October 2000, when acts of structural violence by the security forces took place against parties that hoisted the Morning Star flag; this left its mark on the horizontal conflict between Papuans and non-Papuans. According to the report compiled by SKP Keuskupan, Kontras, Elsham and LBH Jayapura, the Wamena tragedy in 2000 has changed the social map in Balim, Wamena, and Papua generally. These changes were of a fundamental nature and had long-term impacts, including: (a) a widening of the cycle of violence; people living in Balim and Wamena were not treated respectfully as citizens with guaranteed citizen rights. Violence on the part of the State apparatus triggered a war culture in Balim that was akin to retaliation; (b) the emergence of a traumatic situation caused by fear; (c) the breakdown of the educational system: many teachers were killed or left; (d) a segregated society: increasing numbers of IDPs, segregation of people from inside and outside the Balim valley, Papuans and non-Papuans, coastal and Highland Papuans. The trust that had been built amongst these communities over the years collapsed in the face of this extraordinary violence. Each ethnic group tended to close ranks. Unethical and unprofessional news which were not based on facts caused further suspicions about the other groups and augmented the fears; (d) no sense of safety and security, IDPs left Wamena; (e) isolated area; (g) inhabitants of Balim and Papua were stigmatized; (h) a security approach based on the deployment of more troops and police.

As regards the profound impact of this tragedy, it was the rumours related to the hoisting of the Morning Star flag which gave rise to fear and terror as well as suspicions amongst local people. In order to de-escalate the tension, Dewan Adat Papua in Wamena, another adat community that is stigmatized and labeled as supporters of separation, disseminated information that there had been no intention to hoist the Morning Star, and strongly advised the local community to stay calm and disregard the rumours. The rumours turned out to be false; no flag had been hoisted. Nevertheless, a state of fear and terror prevailed in the daily lives of people during that period and decreased productivity in the local community in Wamena. Apart from that incidence, anything might give rise to rumours, for instance in September 2007, when some Papuans suffered from effects of poison-

ing after eating and/or drinking products bought at local shops in the Wamena market. Rumours spread that this was a genocidal attempt to eliminate Papuans by means of poison inserted in food, drink and cigarettes. All shops in the market are owned by non-Papuans. Local Papuans became very scared to buy their provisions in those shops. Again, people were in a state of fear and terror. When tensions escalated as a result of the rumours, some people became angry and threw stones at the shops in the market. Following that, some markets, including Sinakma and Woma, were closed for several days. In order to de-escalate the tension, local police went around and announced that it was safe enough to consume the products sold in these shops, and encouraged the local community to stay calm and ignore the rumours. It was later revealed that the food poisoning was caused by products beyond expiry date sold in the shops. These two examples from Wamena are proof of the sensitive role of rumours in the escalation of conflict. Rumours might also spread in connection with specific days of commemoration in Papua such as 1 December (regarded as Papua's National Day) and 14 December (regarded as the Independence Day of the Melanesian nation). There were rumours across Papua about possible rioting or open conflicts erupting during these days of commemoration which caused people to feel afraid and terrorized. Rumours have an effect on public opinion and at times confirm existing prejudices or function as a self-fulfilling prophecy about the others.

• Anomic society undergoing social change

While Papua is rich in natural resources, this is not matched by the level of education. Many young people drop out from school with a resultant generation gap between the youth and the elders. Older people in the villages are worried about how to continue their adat tradition when a growing number of youth move to the towns. The elders are not merely complaining about the urbanized youth who leave to study, but especially about the unemployed or jobless youth. The elders hold the view that these young people should stay to work in the village, cultivating their gardens as part of the subsistence society. Such youth groups do not participate in traditional adat rituals because they regard them as out-dated, but they are not able to profit from modernization either for want of required qualifications. In consequence, they are anomic agents of change in need of empowerment in

the development process. Investments in education in Papua will help to overcome the inferior complex of being Papuans and enable them to become drivers of social change themselves. Members of an anomic community are easily trapped in situations of social deviation or negative values produced by modernization. In Papua, non-conducive behaviour such as being lazy and not sufficiently motivated to study at school as well as most crimes (in both cities and villages), including murder, rape, theft, physical abuse, fraud, and domestice violence, are caused by the consumption of alcohol. Despite the fact that sales of alcohol generate significant amounts of revenues in the region, socially-deviating conduct and/or confusion about one's cultural identity are commonly asociated with alcohol addiction. Ironically, except for Manokwari Regency (located in West Irian Jaya Province), no regional authority has regulated the consumption of alcoholic beverages. In addition to formal education, life skills education is urgently needed as part of a preventive strategy against certain epidemics that affect human resources in Papua, such as the spread of HIV/AIDS, which had reached as many as 2,703 cases by June 2006. As long as the level of education is low and individuals are increasingly being derooted from their native culture, socially-deviating conduct and low human resources (quantitatively and qualitatively) as well as violence at the grassroots will persist in the absence of structural protection through regulation.

• Polarization

Polarization both horizontally (amongst civil society) and vertically (between the State and the people) further widens the gap that escalates the conflict. One of the elements triggering this polarization is a different perception of what constitutes cultural identity as compared to a sense of nationalism. Some of the overt conflicts and acts of violence were caused by hoisting the Morning Star flag, which is considered to be a manifestation of separatism. Furthermore, public opinion becomes more polarized and divided owing to a pervasive sense of militarism; the result is a worrying formation of the paramilitary Barisan merah putih (red and white ranks), consisting of civilians who see themselves as the defenders of the Indonesian State. At their meeting in December 2007, the religious leaders of Papua expressed concern about the level of militarism penetrating and disturbing the lives of civilians in Papua, including a

military lifestyle demonstrated by wearing military attire, for example. As regards this last issue, individuals (children and adolescents) across Papua can be seen wearing t-shirts with various military icons or jargon. Former President Abdurachman Wahid confirmed that the Morning Star flag reflects Papuan cultural identity; hoisting this flag is acceptable and not considered a symbol of separatism as long as it is put up alongside the national Indonesian flag. Yet public opinion continues to be divided because there is not yet a common understanding and consensus about the essence of cultural identity and nationalism, and how to draw the line between them.

Persistent impoverishment in Papua has focused attention on the trickle-down effect of Otsus as a means of ensuring access to basic rights for indigenous people at the grassroots. According to some analysts in Papua, the beneficiaries of Otsus are mainly from the political élites and bureaucracy. As long as current cases of corruption in Papua are not brought to light, there will be polarization not only between the Central Government and Papuans, but between local government or élites and the people at the grassroots in Papua. In short, Papua is not served well by its own élites. The élites are believed to reap the benefits of Otsus. In fact, the Otsus process is seen negatively as a means of widening the social gap between the rich and the poor within Papua itself. In some areas of Papua, one finds many cases of OKB (Orang Kaya Baru or newly-rich) who became the owners of luxurious properties, such as houses and vehicles, soon after being appointed to local offices. The status of government official is perceived to be an opportunity to enrich oneself rather than serve the public and its needs.

Similarly, polarization at the micro or local level in Papua is the effect of policies imposed on Papua by the Central Government. A good case in point is the proliferation of administrative regions concerning Papua. When President of Indonesia, Megawati Soekarnoputri issued Inpres (Instruksi Presiden or Presidential decree) No.01/2003 concerning the division of Papua and the birth of Irian Jaya Barat Province. This policy has polarized the groups in Papua who are in favour or against it. The pro-division policy groups argued that it was a strategic step planned to ensure more government services for the local community and greater welfare for Papuans. On 4 November 2004, Mahkamah Konstitusi (The Supreme Constitutional Court) implicitly recognized the status of Irian Jaya Barat Province. DPRD Irian Jaya Barat Province held a public consultation and subsequently supported the formation of Irian Jaya Barat Province. Conversely, the anti-division policy groups argued that Inpres No.01/2003 was not in line with UU No.21/2001 on Otsus Papua, paragraph 76 that stipulated that the formation of new provinces must be approved by the DPRP and MRP. Yet MRP had not been formed at th time when Inpres No.01/2003 was issued. The public consultation held by the MRP arrived at the opposite conclusion, notably that the division policy, including the birth of Irian Jaya Barat Province, had been premature and that any division policy must be in line with paragraph 76 UU No.21/2001. Both DPRP and MRP now reject the existence of Irian Jaya Barat Province. DPRP issued their formal decision No.05/DPRP/2006 on 17 February 2006 in support of MRP's recommendation. If the Central Government continues to apply any division policy in Papua, DPRP will organize a plenary meeting aimed to reconfirm UU No.21/2001 on Otsus Papua on behalf of Papuans.

• **Horizontal inequalities**

The money earmarked for Otsus Papua in 2008 amounts to 4.53 quintillion rupiahs and is expected to be used to decrease existing disparities, accelerate the development process and improve public services in health, education and infrastructure. Fiscal and regional expenditure policies are expected to improve the synchronization between national and regional development plans. The 40:60 distribution of Otsus funds between the provincial and regional governments is intended to channel more money towards the lower levels of society and thus make sure that the 70% of the Papuan population living in villages or remote areas will benefit to a greater extent. In other words, one of the indicators of Otsus success is less disparities between the centre and the villages or remote areas as well as greater benefits for indigenous people in these areas (less horizontal inequality between Papuans and non-Papuans). The lack of government capacity at the village level to manage Otsus is one of the reasons why Otsus funds do not trickle down to the grassroots. The assumed abundance of resources at village level needs to be matched by corresponding capacities at the same level to manage them from planning to monitoring. A second possible element impacting on a successful outcome for indigenous Papuans as regards the distribution of Otsus welfare is budgetary management. The largest amounts of Otsus funds are ear-

marked for government administration. In the 2006 draft regional budget and expenditures, Otsus funds can be broken down as follows according to the State University of Papua: 36% for government administration, 12.2% for education, 9.74% for health, and 7.6% for the people economy. This imbalance in budgetary allocations does not reflect the main targets of Otsus itself with its focus on education, health and people economy.

Geographical obstacles to reach the remote areas where most Papuans are living are believed to be among the reasons that explain the lack of success in distributing benefits to indigenous Papuans through successful implementation of Otsus. Limited public services are inadequate for the population and its distribution. In order to move public services closer to the local people given the long distances to be covered in major parts of Papua, encouragement was given to the establishment of the Province of Papua Barat Daya (PBD), which was officially declared in January 2007. This declaration of Papua's division was accompanied by a strong desire to also form the Province of Papua Tengah (Central Papua). However, on 14 February 2007 a plenary meeting attended by the Governor of Papua and West Irian Jaya provinces decided to stop this process of division. The Central Government issued a Presidential decree to speed up the development and welfare in Papua. Nevertheless, the regencies (Kabupaten) within the same province continue to be divided up. Recently-established new regencies split from the regencies of Jayawijaya, Puncak Jaya and Nabire, namely Lanny Jaya, Memberamo Tengah (centre of Memberamo), Yalimo, Nduga, Dogiyai and Puncak, raised protests, including a demonstration in front of the office of the Minister of Interior on 11 December 2007. Yet again public opinion was divided between those in favor and against owing to the frustration about being excluded which was caused by a lack of public consultation. The lesson learned from these developments is how important an inclusive approach is for the policy-making process. The absence of inclusion causes polarization in society. People at the grassroots, who had supported the creation of these regencies, had done so because they expected more public facilities in their areas as a result. Their high expectations should have been met by providing realistic human resource capabilities in the administration of the new regencies. If expectations are not met by adequate capabilities for the management of the regencies at

a later stage, greater frustration will ensue. In some cases, it might even lead to a heightened pride in one's land, a form of ethno-centrism based on being members of a certain region. Furthermore, such a situation would affect the pattern of demographic mobilization and restrain migration as people would prefer services to be localized. The discourse about one's place of origin or descent will leave a mark on vertical mobility in achieving higher career positions. In other words, Papuans would have more opportunities to have a career in their own hometown. Such a region-centred sentiment might ultimately affect negatively the empowerment logic of critical forms of self-governance of indigenous Papuans.

Looking back at primordial leadership, ethnic politics and the functioning of élites, the subjects covered in this paper earlier, it becomes clear that unless such division is followed by a better delivery system within the framework of good governance, it might trigger another conflict. Instead of accelerating development, division might itself become an obstacle to development. A good case in point are some disputes caused by the division policy: Suru-suru, an area of 200.000 m2 with rich natural resources, including forests, sand and coal, was part of the Merauke regency before the adoption of the division policy in 2002. As a result of the division policy, Suru-Suru became part of the Asmat regency in 2003. The development process was blocked in the Asmat regency as they have had a dispute about the Suru-suru area with the Yahukimo regency since the year 2003. In this context, the division policy has resulted in less social cohesion and localized competition over resources rather than increased public services and the distribution of welfare. It is therefore imperative to develop a strategic approach to cope with geographical obstacles, increase accessibility and welfare distribution and at the same time maintain social cohesion in order to narrow the gap between the centre and the villages.

Apart from the functioning of the élites, there are other horizontal inequalities between Papuans and non-Papuans at the grassroots that still need to be tackled. The absence of a sense of entrepreneurship and professional financial management amongst Papuans is believed to widen the gap. Different perceptions of money adds to this. Non-Papuans regard money in terms of a commodity, whereas Papuans regard it as a gift received; for pendatang (non-Papuan migrants), money is associated with a capital invest-

ment with which to improve one's personal economic condition, while for Papuans, money is a resource to be spent on having instantaneous fun and social relations with others. At the macro-structural level, the absence of a special regional regulation such as Perdasi (Peraturan Dearah Istimewa or extraordinary regional regulation) and Perdasus (affirmative action under Otsus) leaves little space for the protection of the rights of indigenous Papuans. Special regional regulations concerning indigenous land rights would prevent the marginalization of indigenous people on their own customary land and related conflicts; this would also prevent conflicts between customary land owners and the new owner of the land, or amongst customary land owners themselves. Special regional regulations would not only prevent marginalization as a result of conflicts over ownership, but also those related to job opportunities. The fact that non-Papuans are preferibly employed in certain positions leaves Papuans with an inferior complex, it creates unbalanced employment opportunities and further widens the gap arising from horizontal inequalities between Papuans and non-Papuans. Such unbalanced opportunities might contribute to local structural violence and evoke frustrations amongst Papuans. In the southern part of Papua, non-Papuan settlers were brought in to work on plantations planned to produce palm oil, and eventually outnumbered the indigenous people. This gave rise to further frustrations because the customary land owners felt their land rights were not being respected, and conflicts ensued amongst the clans over land boundaries and the sharing of compensation. As long as the strategies (e.g. preference given to Papuans in employment) developed by the provincial government to minimize social disruption have not yet been fully implemented, efforts must be made to manage the accumulated frustrations and horizontal inequalities that still persist.

6. Local actors

• Grassroots

In the framework of Otsus, indigenous people at the grassroots are the main target both as beneficiaries and actors of progress in their land. Utmost attention should therefore be paid to that level so as to provide them with enough space to define the desired social progress and direct it towards positive peace. During the last two years, the City Government of Jay-

apura has granted incentives or working honoraria to heads of the RT/RW (Rukun Tetangga/Rukun Warga or neighborhood associations) in Jayapura city to motivate them to do a better administrative job. Technically and ideally speaking, resources have been channeled to the lower levels of society. Yet this implies that sufficient capacity and capability is available to manage such resources. The village head plays an important role in distributing and managing these resources. Each village will receive 100 million rupiahs per year. With 2,178 villages across Papua, the total amount of Otsus funds allocated is around 217.9 billion rupiahs. Should capacities be non-existing at the village level, further frustration will ensue. In terms of money, Otsus is generally seen as part of the cargo cult at the grassroots level and not as the basis of a sustainable programmatic scheme focused on education, health, infrastructure and people's economy.

Social capital or cohesion amongst members of the society is volatile. Prejudices and an inward rather than an outward focus determine relationships at the grassroots level. A sense of mutual understanding about existing diversities and pluralism is not sufficiently fostered in the school curricula which mainly deal with knowledge from outside Papua. For example, history lessons are simply taken over from the history of Java without sufficient space being given to local wisdom and contextualized knowledge of Papua. Intercultural knowledge and understanding to help develop tolerance and respect of differences are not supported from early childhood. The acceptance of differences continues to be a challenge.Informal leaders such as the kepala suku (tribal leaders) are playing an important role in ensuring peaceful coexistence in their community. People still listen to the tribal leaders who are well-respected amongst individuals at the grassroots. Tribal loyalties, as part of primordialism, still determine relationships amongst Papuans and their collective identity as anak adat Papua. The charismatic tribal leaders possess the traditional authority to influence and even mobilize their community in some cases. It becomes a sensitive issue when such primordialism is taken advantage of by some conflict entreupreneurs seeking to transform such loyalties into ethnic politics. In addition, there have been indications of a crisis of legitimacy in the informal leadership caused by fragmentation and various affiliations of informal leaders. In addition to those who claim to be tribal leaders and present proposals in the public space or at the government office

applying for money, there are some kepala suku topi merah (tribal leaders with red hat) who are appointed and recognized by the government. This fragmention causes confusion at the grassroots level as the tribal leadership has originally been passed on from one generation to the next or an ascribed status. Being in close contact with the grassroots and able to communicate with them directly, tribal leaders are often expected to pass on and disseminate certain information, including indoctrination from some interested parties or conflict entrepreneurs seeking to influence public opinion. It is therefore necessary to be aware of the critical context in which tribal leaders are acting and not to see them as objects of manipulation; this would enable them to make an active and positive contribution. The more aware people are of their intentions, the greater the options to be chosen from.

A deconstruction process is not only taking place in connection with tribal leaders. Current dynamic social change encourages a re-interpretation and deconstruction of traditional culture as well.

Sacred adat rituals have become a commodity. Unlike at the cultural festivals where mock adat rituals are displayed, some community members invite foreign tourists to witness genuinely sacred closed rituals and charge them for this attraction. Commodified sacred rituals highlight the clash between traditional values and a modern market economy. In some areas, the sacred objects required to perform traditional rituals are rare or hard to find as they were stolen or sold to souvenir shops. In the coastal southern parts of Papua, a traditional drink made of local herbs is produced which has a similar effect as alcohol and is only used during a traditional sacred ritual. Nevertheless, traditional rituals have lost some of their sacred meaning and so cultural values have taken on a more pragmatic feature; in consequence, the referred traditional drink is also consumed outside the rituals nowadays. Such impoverished culture causes social deviation (alcohol addiction) and a cycle of violence (e.g. acts of domestic violence by drunken husbands against their wives).

Some deprived and frustrated community leaders took the initiative and explored the problems in their community in an attempt to solve them. Many problems came to light, covering a wide range of subjects from disputes amongst Papuans and/or non-Papuans, customary land issues, social deviation (theft, murder, drunkenness, rape, harassment, etc.), the struggle with modernization, a crisis of legitimacy amongst informal leaders, including tribal leaders, youth problems etc. These community-based initiatives resulted from an awareness amongst the locals of an increasing complexity of community problems. One example of such a community-based initiative is the formation of Komunitas Tiga Tungku Distrik Kurulu (community association of three fireplaces of Kurulu District), initiated by Lembaga Ketahanan Kampung (institution of village tenacity) in Waga waga village, Jayawijaya regency. This community association tries to bring together and create harmony between three key actors in the village (adat, church and government), inviting them to join the efforts of managing actively social change in the village. This community association has even adopted association rules. Although a community-based organization does not enjoy the same formal legal status as NGOs, given enough professional management support (e.g. facilitation skills, organizational management) it might become the incubator for a sustainable program based on personal initiative, with space for local actors as the problem solvers, and contribute to positive peace in so doing.

• **Civil-Society Organizations**

In the Papuan context, civil-society organizations (CSOs) comprise religious and adat-based (customary) organizations, NGOs, media and educational institutions. The religiously-oriented organizations from various denominations (Protestant, Catholic, Islam, Buddhism and Hinduism) and their leaders have been actively involved by making recommendations and organizing initiatives with the aim of reaching positive peace in Papua. Since 2003, these religious leaders have drawn up and promoted the concept of PTD (Papua Tanah Damai or Papua Land of Peace) as a frame of reference for critically analyzing the development process in Papua. The religious leaders believed that in the course of developments during the Otsus era it would be possible to move away from a "culture of conflict" towards a system of welfare and benefits for society in order to manifest PTD. They regarded the MRP as a cultural representation of Papuans, which was not supposed to become involved in local politics. Owing to the fact that the MRP tended to assume some political character, the religious leaders refused to become members of the MRP and did not set a quota for representatives from

the religious community. Nevertheless, they are still actively involved by making recommendations to many parties in Papua on how to initiate a dialogue and develop a sense of community as well as on how to avoid human costs in the conflict resolution process in Papua. Apart from the religious leaders, some institutional parts of the church such as the SKP (Sekretariat Keadilan dan Perdamaian Keuskupan Jayapura or voice of the Catholic Diocese of Jayapura, peace and justice department) are working actively on peace-building and human rights-related issues.

Regarding the representation of the adat community, there are two main adat-affiliated organizations: PDP (Presidium Dewan Papua or Papuan Presidial Council) which mainly works on politics and has become widely known, especially when its leader They Eluay was killed. The second adat-affiliated organization is DAP which is built by adat community members from across Papua. DAP has an executive board and an organizational structure based on the cultural map of Papua (e.g. the regional customary council from seven customary territorials in Papua, whose lowest level is the village level); its members are elected as representatives of indigenous people in their areas. DAP, too, has already set up independent organizations dealing with the protection of indigenous rights through various programs: Yadupa (Yayasan Anak Dusun Papua or foundation of Papuan villagers), LPDAP (Lembaga Penjaga Dusun Adat Papua or institution of Papuan village preservation), KAP Papua (Kamar Adat Pengusaha Papua or customary chamber of Papuan entrepreneurs), and LBHMAP (Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Masyarakat Adat Papua or institution of legal aid for Papuan customary community members). Unfortunately, DAP - the potential customary group - is not acknowledged by the Government which has set up the LMA with leaders appointed by the Government instead. Ironically, interagency coordination is not yet functioning between these organizations which all deal with the same issue of protecting indigenous rights in Papua, including the DAP (one of the CSOs), LMA (formed by the Government), MRP (as the result of Otsus). Some integrated effort towards a common strategy for the benefit of indigenous Papuans has not yet materialized.

Two new local television stations have already been set up, yet newspapers still reach a larger number of geographical locations in Papua, especially the majority of the population in the villages or remote areas. In conflict areas such as Papua, where rumours play a significant role during lull periods, the media are important in terms of clarifying information and de-escalating tension. In such a situation, knowledge and investigative skills and peace journalism are indispensable to support the work of critical local journalists. And as long as Papua does not provide the necessary space for international journalists, local journalists in Papua should be sufficiently qualified and have the professional skill to describe reality on the ground in a critical manner. A balanced coverage of the news, including ethical journalism, will support the media in their role of contributing to positive peace in Papua. There are still both ethical and material challenges faced by local journalists in Papua, including the absence of a strategy of how to deal with the various conflict entrepreneurs who keep luring and channeling news according to their interests; this requires a high standard of journalistic integrity to be maintained and the protection of local journalists in the exercise of freedom of the press. These ideals need to be matched by a proper business and management strategy in response to the financial challenge of becoming viable.

Integration and harmonization between the many local NGOs in Papua working on various discourses or subjects (human rights, education, health, culture, gender, people's economy, etc.) are indispensable for the building-up of an effective network based on a shared concept and an end to the sense of competition resultant from project orientation. There are some potentially good local NGOs with an indigenous agenda, i.e. they have clear original ideas and a program based on local needs and interests, and do not follow the agenda of other organizations or donors. In some cases, these NGOs with their indigenous agenda are initiated and organized by members or leaders of the local community in a shared concern about conditions on the ground. Unlike community associations which are also community-based initiatives, the formalization of the movements or forums into NGOs calls for greater managerial skills. Some of the NGOs mentioned are currently going through a period of stagnation in their programs owing to lack of interest in investments in capacity-building (both managerial and professional development skills such as research, investigation, mediation, data verification, logframe, reporting, etc.) on the part of external parties such as donors. Capacity-building programs for these NGOs are needed explicitly in support of their projects.

• Local Government

UU No.34/2004 on Pilkada (pemilihan kepala daerah langsung or direct election for head of region) states that the head of the region is elected directly by the people. This democratization process should go hand in hand with increased political education, enabling people to analyze and express their choice critically. Nevertheless, in a society with specific strong affiliations (in terms of traditions, religion etc.) strategic steps need to be taken to empower people at the grassroots and involve them in good governance marked by transparency, accountability and participatory inclusion. Good governance plays a key role in reaching positive peace. Otherwise democracy will not function and be inferior to primordialism. Unless followed up by outward-looking policies and trust-building towards others as well as proper political education, direct elections in a society like Papua only opens up channels for Papuanization based on tribal loyalties that trigger horizontal conflict. They will reinforce division along ethnic lines; the competition for political power between tribal élites often results in disunity amongst them rather than unity in their opposition to Jakarta. The polarization of groups along ethnic lines also influences the pattern of local leadership and coordination between government institutions (e.g. the executive versus legislature).

The traditional style of leadership, which prioritizes one's own ethnic interests rather than those of the general public, is accompanied by a lack of professional capacity in government, i.e. orientation towards projects instead of the public good. Opportunities to misuse public funds arise because of the manner of channeling Otsus funds which determines the quality of monitoring and transparency. Otsus funds have so far been processed through the bank accounts of dana umum (general budget), which makes it difficult to monitor how it is spent. A greater measure of coordination of both managerial and programmatic elements between provincial governments, regencies and the village level needs to take place and be maintained in order to avoid any overlapping of programs and reinforce the trickle-down effect in the development process. For instance, Jayapura Regency has been implementing its empowerment program in districts and villages for the last five years despite the fact that there has been a new similar program introduced by the new Papuan Governor called Respek (rencana strategis pembangunan kampung or strategic plan for village development). Generally speaking, further coordination at the élite level remains part of the agenda. There is no procedure or regulation concerning coordination between government institutions, i.e. the MRP, DPRP and the Governor. During the 5 years of Otsus implementation, only one provincial regulation has been issued so far, namely Perda Provinsi Papua (Peraturan Daerah Provinsi Papua or regulation of the Province of Papua) No.4/2005 concerning the procedure for electing MRP members. The non- existent framework provided by an administrative policy such as Perda (Peraturan Daerah or regional regulation) and Perdasus, which should have been adopted at the latest two years after Otsus was enacted according to UU No.21/2001 paragraph 75, is an obstacle for the implementation of Otsus itself. Greater capacity-building efforts are required for government institutions in order to produce Perda and Perdasus as affirmative action for the protection of indigenous Papuans' rights.

• Women

Traditionally, women in Papua are the group that has access to natural resources and traditional markets. Any conflict related to natural resources and market access therefore has a significant impact on the livelihood of women and children. A gender and development approach (GAD) is required to ensure equal participation, access to and control over the development process in Papua. The Otsus monitoring team did a survey in 2001 and arrived at the conclusion that, following elections in 1999, only 0.06% of the female population had been elected to representative bodies in cities, regencies, and provincial legislature. It is therefore imperative to carry out a gender and human rights approach in connection with any social program in Papua, including those related to HIV/AIDS. Such gender approaches are necessary to ensure the formulation of gender-sensitive policies. Increased resources under Otsus are accompanied by increased violence against women and children, including domestic violence, in Papua since UU KDRT (regulation concerning domestic violence) has not become generally accepted. Suara Perempuan Papua reported that in the first year of Otsus in 2002, 13 cases of domestic violence were recorded compared to 65 in 2005. The number of cases of rape of children under age is on the increase. PN Papua noted that during the period 2002-2004 the cases of rape increased by 85%. During 2006, PN Klas I Jayapura
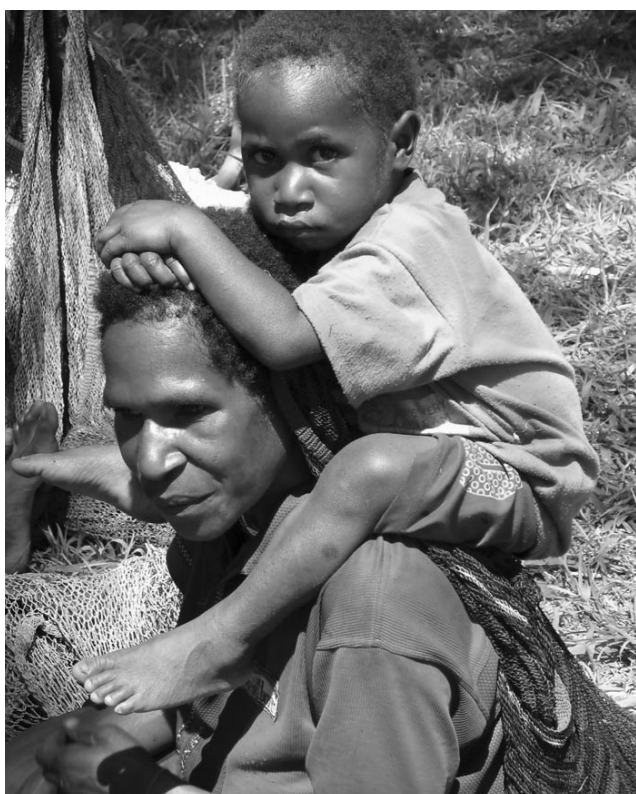
tackled 245 criminal cases, of which 97 were related to domestic violence and 57 were related to rape and non-compliance with ethical norms. Unicef supplemented these findings in November 2007 by noting that in addition to the wives, female children were often the target of domestic violence. Some of the root causes of domestic violence include alcohol addiction and the bride price. The first results in drunken husbands beating up their wives or children, the latter creates pressure from the wife's family when the husband has not paid the bride price and the husband reacts by acts of violence against his wife to express his anger.

On a larger scale, the open conflicts that erupted always made women and children the first victims or casualities. Based on the report written by Gereja Kemah Injil Indonesia (GKII) daerah Mimika, Gereja Katolik Tiga Raja Timika and GKI Klasis Mimika, violations of human rights that caused casualities (most of them women and children) occurred in the wake of the release of hostages kidnapped by the guerilla a few years ago. The high rate of violence against women indicates a need to carry out affirmative action in favour of women and children, including proper programs for the survivors of violence. Nevertheless, women are not only victims or survivors

of violence, but active peace builders in Papua. Some prominent women leaders have gained local, national and even international recognition and a reputation for their crucial work in peace building. At the macro-level, the key local actors in gender-related issues include the following: a local tabloid called Jurnal Perempuan Papua (journal of Papuan women) focusing on gender issues, women representatives in MRP, the newly- formed Government's BPP (Badan Pemberdayaan Perempuan or women empowerment institution) as well as CSOs and commission F - DPRP that deals with gender-related issues. The inter-agency coordination between these institutions working on gender-related issues needs to be developed to a greater extent so as to create synergies in their efforts and reach the best possible results in protecting women's rights given that women are the marginalized group in the conflict areas. At the grassroots level, many women have already initiated a local network with the aim of becoming actively involved in social change. For instance, JPM (Jaringan Perempuan Mimika or the women network of Mimika) carried out a peace demonstration against the distribution of alcohol which was believed to be one of the causes of violence in Papua. Local community-based initiatives and networks should be continued and receive support.

• **Military**

The strong military presence in Papua is one of the issues mentioned often by many parties. Though Papua is indeed a massive territory to defend, there are currently more soldiers per citizen in Papua than in other places in Indonesia. In some cases, the flux of military posts and/or police presence has to do with the period of post-division policy. In areas with rich natural resources, the competition over resources is a major trigger of disputes involving the military. The Indonesian military presence is still a cause of anxiety that results in low levels of human security amongst indigenous Papuans. In June 2007, the appointment of the military commander for the District Jayapura, who was twice indicted for crimes against humanity in East Timor, led to protests from a coalition of NGOs on the grounds that the Indonesian authorities had failed to hand him over to East Timor for trial. As a result of this case, the trust in the security forces has deteriorated. The Minister of National Defense stated as early as March 2006 that Papua should be handled in an integrated manner by all relevant Gov-

ernment institutions in order to resolve various political and security problems in Papua and prevent an internationalization of Papuan issues by parties that would like to see external intervention. In order to build an environment that is conducive to Papua, the Department of Defense together with the TNI (Tentara Nasional Indonesia or National Indonesian Army) is evaluating job applications of TNI staff in Papua. Before being assigned, every TNI soldier is briefed in advance about human rights and local culture. Yet despite this preparation and evaluation by the TNI, some cases of random violence perpetrated by the military still occur, starting with physical abuse on a local Papuan in Kurima, Wamena in mid-2007 until the more recent physical harassment and intimidation of informal and formal leaders in October 2007 in Arso and Waris district, Keerom regency at the border between Papua and Papua-New Guinea. Papuans have called on the Government and the TNI Commander to pull out all Kopassus personnel from Keerom regency. These incidents of random violence caused resentment amongst local Papuans and called for greater attention as to the accountability of the military and its presence in Papua. The extent to which these requirements can be met will ultimately determine the role of the military in building positive peace.

• **Central Government**

The manner in which policies are applied is one of the triggers of conflict in Papua. Consistent, synchronized and coherent policies (from Central Government down to the village level) are a prerequisite for greater human security. Confidence-building needs to become part and parcel of any Central Government policy so as to avoid misunderstandings and ensure a joint effort, including by Papuans, to implement them. There is greater scope for a misinterpretation of policies if Papuans are not sufficiently involved in the relevant policy-making processes. For instance, the selection of civil service candidates (CPNS) in 2004 was determined centrally in Jakarta and added to disunity between the center and the region as well as to the inferiority complex amongst Papuans. In their research from November 2006 to January 2007, Pokja Papua (Kelompok Kerja Papua or Papua working group) found that the lack of transparency regarding the plan and agenda of revising UU Otsus created a feeling of unease amongst Papuans who regarded the revision plan as an effort by Central Government to interfer with the authority of the Papuan provincial

government and the MRP. Papuans would prefer Otsus to be optimized rather than revised. The perception gap between the center and the regional level can be bridged if greater Papuan involvement is followed up by a transparent process.

Each President of the Republic of Indonesia applied his/her own policies on Papua. President Abdurachman Wahid enacted Otsus in 2001, particularly paragraph 76 UU No.21/2001 stating that any territorial division requires the approval of the MRP. His successor President Megawati Soekarnoputri issued Inpres No.01/2003 regarding the creation of West Irian Jaya Province that covers Papua's Bird Head region, yet without approval from the MRP which had not yet been formed at that time. These two different policies split the local population in Papua into those in favour and those against the division policy and in some cases triggered horizontal conflict, such as the tribal war in Timika. The tensions emanating from the division policy also affected the élite level, ie the provincial government of Papua and West Irian Jaya. Fortunately, these two provincial governments held a reconciliation meeting in Biak in April 2007 in order to explore the legal basis for West Irian Jaya Province. It is imperative that a common understanding is reached between the Central Government and Papua about the substance of decentralization policies. President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono issued the new deal policy for Papua through Presidential Decree No. 5/2007 to accelerate developments in Papua Province and West Irian Jaya. Although the Minister of the Interior and the Governor of Provincial Papua confirmed that the latest Presidential decree would support Otsus implementation, worries persisted in Papua about a possible threat to the very existence of Otsus and motivated the Central Government to give political support to local governments in Papua with the aim of formulating legal documents for UU Otsus implementation, including Perdasi and Perdasus. There are ongoing discussions about the merits of centralization versus decentralization and corresponding implications. An open dialogue between the Central Government and Papua is required to ensure a relationship of trust between them that will bridge the perception gap and synchronize a strategic approach for the benefit of Papua. On a larger scale, the policies of representation described earlier should be addressed with some urgency in order to ensure that the dialogue is inclusive.

7. International actors

Perceptions regarding international involvement have influenced Papua both in terms of positive expectations and historical grievances. International assistance to Papua should include affirmative action as part of the implementation and management of the programs in dignified ways. This calls for more space in which to make use of local wisdom and ensure empowerment rather than acting as "salvation agents" by bringing in mainly experts or human resources from outside Papua to solve local problems. At a minimum, enough space should be available for an exchange or sharing of knowledge, skills and wisdom with indigenous Papuans. Such a strategy would prevent dependencies and inspire a sense of local ownership, thus rendering programs sustainable. The single homogenous modern paradigm introduced by international agencies should be deconstructed and related to the Papuan context. There are currently many international agencies working in Papua, ranging from UN agencies, embassies, donor organizations to missions and INGOs, with a diversity of programs: gender mainstreaming, natural resources management, health, education, capacity-building, natural disaster management, local economy, etc. UNDP Papua, together with the provincial government and multi-stakeholder organizations, provides regular coordination and publication in order to ensure harmonization of support to human development programs in Papua. The abundance of international agencies in Papua is an indication of the amount of attention focused on Papua.

Among these various programs, more space ought to be given to the most vulnerable groups, including women and children. For instance, the empowerment program, intended to give indigenous people greater access to natural resources, should involve women as the main actors with access to natural resources and their conservation. As some members of these vulnerable groups are survivors of violence, some programs should also support them by offering counseling and trauma-healing. While some programs have already started to deal with restorative justice concerning child protection, no community-based healing program has yet been put in place addressing the burden of the past. Macro-structure programs and policies are important to ensure the protection of rights. Yet those affected (in this case women and children as survivors of violence) deserve to be given similar support. Programs need to be distributed along geographical lines as well: more support to more remote areas. International agencies are mainly working in the coastal areas rather than in the highlands. This situation is not conducive to efforts towards greater accessibility of basic rights. The highlands of Papua are the areas with the highest density of indigenous Papuans and the lowest level of human security at the same time. These areas need to have more supporting programs in order to attain the desired level of distributive justice. Low accessibility (caused by remoteness) and high costs (non-existent means of transportation, with some areas only accessible by planes) are challenges that need to be taken into account in managing any program in the highlands or other remote areas. There is still a great need for programs focused on the village level and the community as many international agencies are present at higher administrative levels such as districts, cities, regencies and provinces. As described ealier, the majority of the population in Papua is living in the villages. Furthermore, having programs at village level would produce the desired trickle-down effect regarding the distribution of welfare. Proper community-based programs should ensue to provide more space for the civil society to grow. Conflict prevention should start at the basis of the community. Community-based organizations have not been given proper support that would enable them to continue and develop their initiatives, while civil society organizations (CSOs) are greatly encouraged, especially those with a central office at the provincial level. In order to contribute to democratization, greater support is needed not only for policies at the macro-level involving large formal institutions, but for capacity-building amongst the civil society by, for instance, providing more space for freedom of expression. Inclusive and comprehensive approaches that offer equal opportunities to the key local actors in social change are still much needed to attain positive peace.

Some international agencies have already started to pay greater attention to the adat framework as either part of their program (poverty alleviation, natural resources management, gender, cultural mapping and integrated law enforcement) or as an assessment tool (e.g. having ethnographic assessment). Such initiatives should be continued and followed up by providing more space to enable adat communities to play an active part in social change (at the grassroots

level) as well as in capacity-building and coordination at the élite level (amongst institutions that represent adat communities and/or handle adat-related issues), thus ensuring culturally-compatible policies and supporting affirmative action for the benefit of indigenous Papuans. Crisis prevention programs are still in need of greater support. None of the abundant programs implemented by international agencies specifically focuses on crisis prevention, notably related to conflict management during lull periods; such programs might range from the community level (e.g. involving traditional leaders and women, handling horizontal inequalities and polarization), media (peace journalism) to larger formal institutions (security forces, MRP, DPRP, local governments). While the topic of peace-building has been addressed by many CSOs, there is still a lack of support. This has also to do with the space provided by the Indonesian government for international agencies working in Papua; the ongoing, yet fragmented discourses concerning internationalization and nationalism should be brought together under the heading of confidence-building. It is obvious that confidence-building is essential for Papua and that it touches upon a wide range of issues both at the vertical level (the State and the people), the horizontal level (amongst civil society members), and also between the State and external parties (in this case international agencies); it calls for an open dialogue and coordination with the aim of working for a better Papua.

8. Future scenarios

• Crisis prevention

Lull periods deserve attention as an opportunity for a good crisis prevention strategy. The quiet period in the context of Papua still holds elements of negative justice and is associated with accumulated grievances that might function as a time bomb triggering overt conflict unless managed properly. The dual strategy applied to Papua (improvements in both livelihoods and security) preserves a state of fear and terror, low levels of human security, and affects the trust-building between Papua and the Central Government in a negative way. During lull periods, the conflict entrepreneurs contribute to the escalation of tensions by abusing the persistent state of fear and terror amongst the people and spreading rumors, and/or indoctrinating them in order to influence public opinion. It is therefore important that local actors

from various sections (for instance, media, informal leaders including women, religious, and adat or tribal leaders) distance themselves from this manipulation by respecting and tolerating differences, while being critically aware of their rights and the overall context. This calls for an early warning system (from macro or provincial down to village level) to strengthen social cohesion and protect the people against factors that might trigger further conflict.

• Safety valves

In order to de-escalate current tension as part of proper conflict management, some important elements might be applied to function as a safety valve in Papua. Such elements will play a significant role in preventing social aggression emanating from various accumulated grievances. Generally, improved access to basic rights in support of distributive justice should be accompanied by improved human security and a reform of the security sector. The elements enumerated below are relevant in the context of ethno-development and facilitate grassroots involvement in development, thus securing empowerment and equal opportunities for all sections of the civil society (including the poorest of the poor) and drawing on cultural knowledge at the same time. Ethno-development refers to the cultural integrity of indigenous people and stresses their important role as active agents of social change even under a modern Capitalist system. The enduring integrity of indigenous peoples and their cultures secure continuity in processes of change since indigenous peoples are pro-active in their struggle to encompass what is happening to them, in terms of their own world system. All key actors (security forces, government and all layers of the civil society) and international agencies working in Papua should be aware of cultural integrity as an integral part of human rights, and support it accordingly. Safety valves might be used in the following manner: historical grievances caused by different perspectives on how Papua came to be integrated into the Indonesian state should be mediated within the context of the White Book, providing for a critical deconstruction of that history. Sufficient space should be made available for indigenous Papuans to grow both at the grassroots level and in other parts of civil society in Papua.

Community-based initiatives and CSOs that are indigenous in character should be supported (through capacity-building and education) and given adequate

space to develop constructively. Clear and transparent parameters should be applied to exercise freedom of expression in Papua (e.g. cultural performance or production, written and oral presentations etc.). The recognition of collective dignity should be manifested through culturally-compatible policies that cover ancestral domains, sacred cultural objects, indigenous practices etc. Any differences that have caused polarization at various levels should be resolved peacefully and on the basis of a humanistic approach by means of an open dialogue. Otsus implementation should be followed up by improvements in the professional delivery system so as to enhance access to basic rights and help reach indigenous Papuans in the villages or remote areas, especially the most marginalized groups (e.g. women and children as well as stigmatized people living in stigmatized areas, such as the red zones). The professional delivery system as the basis of good governance, supported by special regional regulation (Perdasus and Perdasi), should function as affirmative action in favour of greater distributive justice and at the same reduce social deviation (e.g. corruption, circulation of élites etc.) in the delivery process. The building-up of a professional delivery system is a matter of some urgency and requires capacity-building and structural support, including interagency coordination amongst the relevant authorized institutions that provide special regional regulations, such as local governments, the legislature and the MRP. Coordination amongst the top-level institutions should be followed up by similar capacity-building efforts at village level, because the village provides a direct link to the grassroots as the main target. In other words, a concerted and synergized effort is required from the macro to the grassroots level.

9. Recommendations for international agencies

• Managing horizontal inequalities

Existing horizontal inequalities in Papua are caused by many and diverse factors, ranging from geographical location (between coastal areas and highlands), ethnicity (amongst Papuans or between Papuans and non-Papuans), gender (unbalanced power relation between women and men) etc. These horizontal inequalities should be taken into account in designing an intervention strategy, for example as to the extent to which international presence influences the area of impact (cultural, economic and social) or whether it widens or narrows the gap. A proper impact assessment on horizontal inequalities is called for so as to avoid any damage to be caused by the intervention strategy. International agencies might contribute to the building-up of social capital by inserting capacity-building into their programs, strengthening social cohesion and creating a common interest amongst the different key actors in Papua. Such an approach would not only narrow the gap and horizontal inequalities, but improve the trust-building across different groups as well. Affirmative action should not only be applied at the community level, but incorporated in the program management of international agencies, for instance in their selection of local implementing partners. Ensuring that equal opportunities are available to local actors at all levels, including local CSOs with an indigenous background, is one example of affirmative action in program management. The large and well-known CSOs, which are mostly based at national or provincial levels, have greater opportunities of becoming involved in the "charity industry" than some of the local initiatives of smaller CSOs owing to the fact that the latter are often short of resources for capacity-building investments. The achievements of the intervention strategy should be deconstructed critically: what counts is not only the success of the project itself, but greater attention to investments in the development and equipment of local initiatives, including the necessary managerial skills. The presence of international agencies should prevent social problems from becoming a commodified product as well as prevent project competition both amongst CSOs and international agencies working in Papua. This calls for a shift of paradigm away from project orientation to a local sense of ownership - with international agencies acting as facilitators rather than implementers. Employment in the charity industry

should prevent a brain drain in which human resources and know-how are used to sustain an inequitable condition rather than provide greater opportunities for many sections of the population to participate in social change, thus narrowing the gap; if the "key" players of social change only circulate amongst certain institutions or "activist élites", the presence of international agencies will aggravate rather than diminish horizontal inequalities amongst institutions or agents of social change.

• Combating the inferiority complex

Given the extreme complexity of the conflict in Papua, an intervention strategy should enhance sustainability through inclusive and community-focused programs. Intervention is not feasible as a "hit and run"-exercise and/or as a short-term program. The program must either address the root causes of the conflict by providing greater access to justice or improving distributive justice for indigenous Papuans and other marginalized groups, or manage the conflict by supporting the formulation of culturally-compatible policies at the macro-level and embedding them at the community level. This ultimately calls for an exploration and proper understanding of the specific structure and nature of the community in question (its system of values and culture). Greater attention to the community level might be achieved by eliciting local wisdom, local cultures and needs by means of participatory planning, management and monitoring. To invest in a long-term program of local capacity-building is a worthwhile exercise in order to ensure sustainability, and implement the program in a manner that enables the local people to solve their own problems. This participatory approach will

also reduce or even eliminate the inferiority complex of indigenous Papuans. The exchange of knowledge, skills and experience between experts hired by international agencies and members of the local community, with due regard to local values and cultures, helps to transfer authority to the local level and is therefore much more constructive than merely "importing" or flying in the "experts" from outside of the community in question. The greater the authority passed on to the local community in the course of program implementation, the lesser the dependency that might ensue. In other words, sustainability is just as important as sufficient space for the civil society to grow and develop. With this in mind, adequate attention and support is needed for community-based initiatives and associations in addition to CSOs.

• Protecting vulnerable groups

It is imperative to carry out a comprehensive assessment and to follow it up by strategic program intervention in favour of vulnerable groups in Papua. International agencies could contribute by offering equal opportunities to local actors, including vulnerable groups, and enabling them to play an active role in resolving the conflict themselves. Greater attention needs to be paid to vulnerable groups within the indigenous Papuan population, including groups that are geographically excluded by living in remote areas and/or areas that are politically stigmatized, thus providing them with limited access to their basic rights and putting them in a vulnerable position as regards the potential use of violence or violation of human rights. Limited access (lack of means of transportation) to these areas and/or restrictions imposed by local governments or security forces to enter the areas where these vulnerable groups are living render them almost "invisible". Everybody is entitled to take part in this progress in equal measure. An intervention program should provide equal opportunities and ensure the inclusion of vulnerable groups. Other vulnerable groups include survivors of violence such as women and children. They should be given an opportunity to come to terms first with the burdens of the past (e.g. as a result of the violence) before becoming actively involved in social change. These survivors of violence would have fewer opportunities if they continued to carry the burdens from the past. This calls for some efforts towards community healing and restorative justice as part of a potential intervention strategy. At the same time, a

macro-strategy should also encourage the formulation of public policies in favour of vulnerable groups (either by addressing the burdens of the past through reconciliation or a human rights court, or by dealing with the current social change) in order to transform the paradigm of vulnerable groups: from being victims of violence, neglected groups or targets of social change to agents or active participants in social change.

• **Resolving anomalies**

Referring to what was said earlier about the root causes of existing frustations, some anomalies are persisting in the Papuan situation that deserve conflict-sensitive approaches: two-pronged public policies (security approach and livelihood improvement), politics of representation, polarization, and an anomic society. An intervention strategy that adopts conflict-sensitive approaches in resolving these anomalies would ultimately have to contain a crisis prevention strategy, the promotion of human rights and synergized efforts towards coordination at the level of the élites (including interagency coordination) and the civil society at the grassroots level. Such an intervention strategy should be able to address and take into account the anomalies enumerated as they characterize social change and determine the level of human security in Papua. In fact, international agencies should be aware of these anomalies when working in a conflict zone such as Papua, and of the extent to which their presence contributes to the escalation or de-escalation of the local conflict. Updated information shared amongst international agencies should be available not only as regards the actors involved ("who is doing what"), but as a means of disseminating regularly the latest information about the comprehensive context of human security in Papua. A critical awareness of the Papuan context would enhance sensitivity about human security, encourage the formulation of culturally-compatible and environmentally-friendly policies, and prevent international agencies from causing harm.

10. Final remarks

Existing grievances in Papua have been addressed since the onset of otsus. Decentralization should be continued seriously and consistently. Further efforts are still needed to create a positive environment for attaining distributive justice as a manifestation of the essential philosophy of otsus, i.e. the protection of indigenous Papuans down to the village level. Any intervention strategy should ensure a trickle-down effect of the program to reach the vulnerable groups. There are many international agencies already working in Papua to support the implementation of otsus. All of these international agencies should refrain from being another form of "cargo cult", propagating the idea of salvation by pouring out external resources. An intervention strategy should pursue balanced policies concerning both the context (e.g. related to distributive justice) and the actors (e.g. eliminating the inferiority complex). Support for a self-sustained program in Papua would affirm the dignity of indigenous Papuans in their own land, as reflected in one of the local sayings: "What we can or cannot do, what we consider possible or impossible, is rarely a function of our true capability. It is more likely the result of our beliefs of who we are." A profound understanding of the complexity of the problems in Papua, including its anomalities, cannot be detached from the national framework, i.e. the relationship with the Central Government. In addition to local deficiencies, including lack of a professional delivery system in the distribution of welfare, the level of human security amongst the vulnerable groups in remote areas is also influenced by the peace constellation, marked by a lack of social capital in the relationship between the State with its security apparatus and the people. The final resolution of the conflict will ultimately be in the hands of these two parties (Jakarta and Papua) as the main actors in the pursuit of positive peace in Papua.

Wamena, January 2008
Yulia Sugandi *)

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Glossary

Adat
Refers to custom or culture held by each ethnic group and comprises knowledge, behaviour, rules, laws and systems to explain and regulate individual and collective life in 'adat communities' law)

Anak adat Papua
Children of Papuan adat

Barisan merah putih
"Red and white ranks", consisting of civilians who form to act as the defenders of the Indonesian State

BIN
Badan Intelijen Nasional or National Intelligence Service

BPN
Badan Pertanahan National or National Land Institution

BPP
Badan Pemberdayaan Perempuan or women empowerment institution

CSOs
Civil Society Organizations

Dewan adat
Customary council

Dewan Adat Papua
Papuan customary council

DOM
Daerah operasi militer or military operation areas

DPRD
Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah or regional legislative assembly

DPR RI
Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia or national legislative assembly

DPRP
Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Papua or provincial legislature of Papua

FKPM
Forum Kemitraan Polisi Masyarakat or forum on police partnership with society
Hukum adat
Adat law

Inpres
Instruksi Presiden or Presidential decree

JPM
Jaringan Perempuan Mimika or the women network of Mimika

Kabupaten
Regency

KAP Papua
Kamar Adat Pengusaha Papua or customary chamber of Papuan entrepreneurs

KKR
Komisi Kebenaran dan Rekonsiliasi or truth and reconciliation commission

Kepala suku
Tribal leaders

Kopassus
Komandan pasukan khusus or commander of special force

Koteka
Penis courds as traditional male clothing in the highlands

LBHMAP
Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Masyarakat Adat Papua or institution for legal aid to Papuan customary community members

Lembaga Ketahanan Kampung
Institution of village tenacity

LMA
Lembaga Musyawarah Adat or institution of adat deliberation

LPDAP
Lembaga Penjaga Dusun Adat Papua or institution of Papuan village preservation

Mahkamah Konstitusi
The Supreme Constitution Court

Makar
Attack on the government

MPR
Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat or people`s consultative council

MRP
Majelis Rakyat Papua or Papuan people`s assembly

NKRI
Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia or the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia

OKB
Orang Kaya Baru or newly-rich people

OPM
Organisasi Papua Merdeka or organization for Papuan independence

Otsus
Otonomi khusus or special autonomy

PDP
Presidium Dewan Papua or Papuan Presiding Council

Pemekaran
Proliferation of administrative regions

Perda
Peraturan Daerah or regional regulation

Perda Provinsi Papua
Peraturan Daerah Provinsi Papua or regulation of the Province of Papua

Perdasi
Peraturan Dearah Istimewa or extraordinary regional regulation

Perdasus
Peraturan Dearah Khusus or regional special regulation

Pilkada
Pemilihan kepala daerah langsung or direct election for head of region

PP
Peraturan Pemerintah or government regulation

PTD
Papua Tanah Damai or Papua Land of Peace

Raperdasus
Rancangan Peraturan Daerah Khusus or special regional draft regulation

Respek
Rencana strategis pembangunan kampung or strategic plan for village development

RT/RW
Rukun Tetangga/Rukun Warga or neighborhood association

RUU
Rancangan Undang-Undang or draft regulation

Satgas Papua
Satuan tugas Papua or Papuans`assignment unit

Satgas merah putih
"Red and white" assignment unit— in favour of Indonesian State integrity)

SKP
Sekretariat Keadilan dan Perdamaian Keuskupan Jayapura – peace and justice department of the Catholic Diocese of Papua

SLT
Subsidi langsung tunai or direct cash subsidy paid to poor people

Social capital
It has an important role as "the glue" that binds society together for ensuring peaceful coexistence. Social capital reflects the essence of cooperation-based norms that govern human interaction, while social deviance ipso facto means a lack thereof.

Tanah adat
Customary land

Tanah ulayat
Collective customary land

TNI
Tentara Nasional Indonesia or National Indonesian Army

Ulayat
Collective customary rights

UNTEA
United Nations Temporary Administration

UU
Undang-Undang or regulation

UU KDRT
Regulation concerning domestic violence

Yadupa
Yayasan Anak Dusun Papua or foundation of Papuan villagers