



# MASYARAKAT INDONESIA

## MAJALAH ILMU-ILMU SOSIAL INDONESIA

VOLUME 44

NOMOR 1, JUNI 2018

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**DDC: 302.3****Ahmad Fuadillah Sam****E-NETWORK SOCIETY: KOMUNALITAS WARGA DALAM KONTEKS SMART CITY****ABSTRAK**

*Smart city merupakan produk dari masyarakat informasional, yakni ketika masyarakat menjadikan informasi sebagai bentuk utama dalam menjalin relasi. Dalam konteks ini, smart city menjadi infrastruktur yang mendukung masyarakat jaringan. Artikel ini bertujuan menggambarkan implikasi smart city terhadap lahirnya komunalitas di kota. Studi ini menggunakan metode kualitatif melalui wawancara mendalam dengan pemangku kepentingan untuk mendapat data terkait komunalisme warga pada lokus Jakarta Smart City. Studi-studi sebelumnya menghadirkan perdebatan teoretis terkait peran dan implikasi smart city dalam kepercayaan warga terhadap pemerintah melalui fasilitas teknologi. Artikel ini menawarkan optimisme smart city sebagai manifestasi bekerjanya masyarakat jaringan dalam bentuk hadirnya komunalitas melalui komunitas virtual. Studi ini menunjukkan bagaimana kebijakan smart city yang difasilitasi negara memberikan ruang bagi informasi yang diproduksi warga sehingga mampu membangun komunalitas di kalangan warga kota. Komunalitas di kota, nyatanya dapat terbangun melalui mekanisme masyarakat jaringan yang disediakan oleh infrastruktur pemerintah dalam bentuk smart city.*

**Kata kunci:** *Network Society, Smart City, Virtual Community, City Communalities, Jakarta Smart City*

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**DDC: 305.8****Ibnu Nadzir****MEREBUT KEMBALI KEINDONESIAAN: AKTIVISME DARING-LURING OLEH EKSIL INDONESIA DI BELANDA****ABSTRAK**

Artikel ini mengeksplorasi keterlibatan daring dan luring dari eksil Indonesia di Belanda. Dengan melihat praktik penggunaan internet mereka, artikel ini menegaskan argumen yang menyatakan pentingnya melihat praktik budaya dan sosial di kedua arena tersebut sebagai satu kesatuan. Untuk menguraikan argumen tersebut, artikel ini menganalisis dua kasus penting yang menunjukkan keterlibatan daring dan luring eksil Indonesia, yaitu berbagai kegiatan IPT 1965 dan diskusi forum. Untuk menangkap praktik sosial dan budaya yang dilakukan di wilayah luring maupun daring, penelitian ini juga dilakukan dalam dua wilayah tersebut secara bersamaan. Penelitian ini sendiri diawali dari dua pertanyaan penting, pertama, bagaimana eksil Indonesia menggunakan keterlibatan daring dan luring untuk memobilisasi perjuangan mereka? Kedua, bagaimana keterlibatan daring dan luring mereka memengaruhi keberadaan mereka sebagai komunitas yang tersingkirkan? Artikel ini berargumen bahwa keterlibatan eksil Indonesia dalam ruang daring dan luring dilakukan dengan sangat cair. Implikasinya, peristiwa dan berbagai praktik yang dilakukan dalam kedua ruang tersebut saling memengaruhi satu sama lain. Lebih lanjut, artikel ini meminjam kerangka analisis Jackson (2013) mengenai kegiatan bercerita untuk melihat bahwa keterlibatan daring dan luring telah memungkinkan eksil Indonesia untuk merebut kembali perasaan menjadi Indonesia.

**Kata Kunci:** *daring, luring, keindonesiaan, eksil, internet*

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**DDC: 302.2**

**Triyono Lukmantoro**

## **HOAKS SERBUAN TKA DARI TIONGKOK: KEPANIKAN MORAL DAN BUDAYA KETAKUTAN**

### **ABSTRAK**

*Pada akhir Desember 2016, muncul hoaks yang menyatakan bahwa ada sekitar sepuluh juta, bahkan dua puluh juta, Tenaga Kerja Asing (TKA) ilegal dari Tiongkok yang menyerbu Indonesia. Meskipun kabar bohong itu telah dibantah keras dan dianggap sebagai fitnah oleh pemerintah, kenyataannya, hoaks itu telanjur merebak. Salah satu situs yang memproduksi hoaks ini adalah Postmetro. Artikel ini merupakan kajian tekstual terhadap berbagai judul hoaks yang ditampilkan oleh Postmetro. Hasil studi ini menunjukkan bahwa berbagai hoaks itu tidak lebih merupakan praktik-praktik “jurnalisme Frankenstein,” yakni sekadar mengambil berita dan memoles bagian judulnya supaya sedemikian provokatif dari sumber-sumber pemberitaan media lain. TKA ilegal dari Tiongkok dideskripsikan sebagai pihak asing yang memperburuk kehidupan buruh nasional. Hal ini menunjukkan bahwa TKA ilegal dari Tiongkok itu diposisikan sebagai sosok yang menimbulkan kepanikan moral. Selain itu, mereka juga digambarkan sebagai setan rakyat yang memang pantas untuk dilaknat dan diusir dari Indonesia karena telah menciptakan ketakutan dan berwatak patologis.*

**Kata kunci:** *hoaks, tenaga kerja asing dari Tiongkok, kepanikan moral, budaya ketakutan*

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**DDC: 302.2**

**Nina Widyawati**

## **KOMODIFIKASI KEHIDUPAN PRIBADI DAN DEMOKRASI SEMU DALAM BUDAYA DIGITAL<sup>1</sup>**

### **ABSTRAK**

*Digital adalah perkembangan teknologi informasi dan komunikasi yang memengaruhi perubahan struktur masyarakat dari mass ke mass-self. Pesan media digital umumnya tersegmentasi dan menunjukkan pergeseran budaya dari budaya massa ke custom. Teknologi digital melahirkan berbagai platform media sosial yang memfasilitasi individu untuk memproduksi konten sehingga lahirnya masyarakat sebagai produsen sekaligus konsumen (prosumer). Perkembangan ini diasumsikan melahirkan masyarakat yang egaliter. Oleh sebab itu, media digital dilihat sebagai ruang publik yang netral. Tujuan penelitian ini adalah menganalisis perilaku prosumsi dalam praktik keseharian generasi internet, yaitu generasi Y dan Z serta implikasinya terhadap interaksi sosial. Subjek penelitian adalah mahasiswa Program Studi Ilmu Komunikasi Universitas Atma Jaya Yogyakarta. Pendekatan yang digunakan adalah kualitatif, dengan teknik pengumpulan data melalui focus group discussion (FGD). Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa semua informan merupakan prosumer. Produksi dilakukan melalui ekspose kehidupan sehari-hari. Informan merupakan audience aktif terkait human interest, tetapi sedikit pasif dalam konsumsi informasi sosial politik karena informasi diperoleh dari portal berita dan komunitas. Melalui teknologi digital, subjek penelitian mampu meningkatkan produktivitas karena dapat mengerjakan lebih dari satu kegiatan secara bersamaan, yaitu kuliah sambil bekerja. Namun, media digital belum sepenuhnya egaliter dan demokratis karena komunitas virtual bisa menghambat kebebasan berekspresi.*

**Kata kunci:** *budaya digital, prosumsi, komodifikasi, demokrasi semu*

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<sup>1</sup> Data penelitian ini diambil dari FGD dalam rangka pengumpulan data penelitian “Media Baru dan Perubahan Masyarakat Pasca Orde Baru, Politik Sirkulasi Budaya Populer dan Media Baru Pasca Orde Baru” yang belum pernah dipublikasikan.

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**DDC: 302.2**

**Dian Tri Hapsari**

## **JURNALISME RADIO PADA ERA DIGITAL: TRANSFORMASI DAN TANTANGAN**

### **ABSTRAK**

*Di Indonesia sepanjang tahun 2015, sejumlah media cetak memutuskan tutup dan beralih ke digital. Di tengah meningkatnya pertumbuhan pengguna Internet, bagaimana masa depan jurnalisme radio yang juga terbilang sebagai media tradisional seperti media cetak? Dalam artikel ini, penulis memfokuskan pada bagaimana radio sebagai media tradisional bertransformasi menjadi media baru di era digital. Garis besar tulisan ini membahas transformasi radio sebagai media baru dari sisi model aksesnya yang menggunakan Internet dan bagaimana perubahan regulasi siaran radio memengaruhi proses demokrasi di Indonesia. Artikel ini berpendapat bahwa dengan adanya perubahan tersebut, radio bukan saja beradaptasi dengan tuntutan teknologi baru, namun juga bertransformasi dalam menghadapi tantangan perubahan teknologi dan akses penggunaannya. Pascareformasi telah memberikan tanda zaman dalam perubahan jurnalisme radio. Kesadaran peran informasi radio diikuti oleh pertumbuhan jumlah informasi radio yang dinilai sebagai perubahan ekspresi masyarakat Indonesia yang lebih demokratis. Namun, perkembangan akses radio juga memunculkan gejala spiral of silence tentang relasi wacana mayoritas yang harus menjadi perhatian radio sebagai media alternatif pada era digital. Perimbangan suara yang terisolir dalam argumen teori spiral of silence menjadi tantangan radio pada era digital ini. Tulisan ini berdasarkan penelitian kualitatif yang mengkaji opini publik pada radio sebagai media digital interaktif dengan menggunakan teori spiral of silence.*

**Kata Kunci:** Radio, teknologi, media baru, jurnalisme, media tradisional, Opini Publik, Spiral of Silence.

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**DDC: 390.9**

**Ahmad Helmy Fuady**

## **TEKNOLOGI DIGITAL DAN KETIMPANGAN EKONOMI DI INDONESIA**

### **ABSTRAK**

*Perkembangan teknologi informasi dan komunikasi (TIK) yang begitu cepat melalui revolusi digital telah menimbulkan optimisme kemajuan ekonomi. Namun, perkembangan teknologi tersebut juga memunculkan kekhawatiran akan semakin tingginya tingkat ketimpangan ekonomi karena sifat teknologi yang bias modal dan keterampilan. Selain itu, otomatisasi yang muncul akibat perkembangan teknologi dianggap akan menggerus permintaan atas tenaga kerja. Tulisan ini bertujuan menganalisis hubungan antara kemajuan TIK dan ketimpangan ekonomi di Indonesia. Data yang ada menunjukkan bahwa pembangunan TIK di Indonesia masih relatif rendah dibanding negara-negara tetangganya. Pembangunan TIK antarwilayah juga masih sangat timpang. Analisis dalam tulisan ini menunjukkan pembangunan TIK lebih menguntungkan tenaga kerja terampil dan kelompok berpendapatan tinggi dibanding tenaga kerja kasar dan kelompok berpendapatan rendah.*

**Kata Kunci:** teknologi digital, ketimpangan, disrupsi, indeks pembangunan TIK

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**DDC: 302.2**

**Maruti Asmaul Husna\*) Subagio dan Budi Irawanto\*\*)**

## **BEYOND PROSUMPTION: PRAKTIK PROSUMSI PENULIS KONTEN DALAM PLATFORM NEWS AGGREGATOR UC NEWS<sup>2</sup>**

### **ABSTRAK**

*Kemunculan teknologi Web 2.0 memungkinkan para pengguna internet tidak lagi terbatas menjadi konsumen yang mampu membaca, menjelajah, dan mengonsumsi konten internet saja. Lebih dari itu, kini pengguna dapat terlibat aktif menjadi konsumen sekaligus produsen (prosumer). Salah satu platform digital yang menjadi tren dalam satu dekade terakhir adalah news aggregator. Penelitian ini membahas aktivitas produksi-konsumsi (prosumsi) tulisan-tulisan sebagai bagian dari digital labor (pekerja digital) oleh para penulis konten di aplikasi UC News,*

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<sup>2</sup> Tulisan ini merupakan bagian dari tesis yang disusun oleh Maruti Asmaul Husna Subagio (2018) dengan judul "Prosumsi Penulis Konten dalam Platform News Aggregator (Fenomena Digital Labor Penulis Konten dalam Aplikasi UC News) pada Program Studi Kajian Budaya dan Media Sekolah Pasca Sarjana Universitas Gadjah Mada.

salah satu news aggregator terbesar di Indonesia. Tujuan penelitian ini ialah menganalisis praktik-praktik prosumsi yang dilakukan oleh penulis konten UC News dikaitkan dengan posisinya sebagai pekerja digital. Metodologi yang digunakan adalah etnografi virtual untuk memperoleh gambaran tentang kebudayaan digital yang termediasi internet. Data didapatkan dari jawaban pertanyaan terbuka kepada enam orang informan yang dipilih berdasarkan variasi tingkat keaktifan dan lama keterlibatan menjadi penulis konten UC News. Selain itu, data sekunder penulis dapatkan dari konten-konten tulisan yang dihasilkan para informan di media UC News. Hasil temuan penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa para penulis konten melakukan praktik prosumsi dengan cara yang beragam, mulai dari mencari sendiri informasi tulisan (*witness journalism*) hingga mengolah informasi yang ada di media maupun literatur untuk dibuat tulisan baru. Peneliti juga menemukan bahwa bentuk kapitalisme era prosumer tidak sebatas memengaruhi penulis konten melakukan aktivitas produksi dan konsumsi saja, namun juga meluas pada distribusi dan marketisasi oleh para user sendiri.

**Kata kunci:** penulis konten, news aggregator, prosumsi, Web 2.0

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**DDC: 305.4**

**Widjajanti M Santoso<sup>3</sup>**

## **KONSTRUKSI FEMININITAS DAN PROBLEMATIKA EKSPRESI RUANG PUBLIK VIRTUAL**

### **ABSTRAK**

Konstruksi femininitas menunjukkan perubahan sosial yang dapat dilihat dari konstruksi perempuan sebagai anak revolusi pada masa Orla dan “ibuisme” pada masa Orba. Namun, pada masa Orde Reformasi, terjadi situasi paradoks, yaitu perempuan kembali perlu berjuang untuk representasinya. Tulisan ini mengangkat masalah konstruksi gender yang ada pada saat ini, dengan tujuan membuka mata masyarakat tentang adanya ragam konstruksi gender dan melihat kelompok sosial yang menggagalkan pemaknaan tersebut. Masyarakat perlu mengetahui adanya upaya-upaya kelompok yang mempertanyakan konstruksi gender yang diwarnai oleh kepentingan dari kelompok tersebut. Ekspresi femininitas di ruang publik merupakan gambaran pandangan yang beredar di masyarakat tentang perempuan, seperti yang muncul dalam ruang publik di media sosial, yakni di aplikasi pesan singkat Whatsapp. Konstruksi sosial tentang perempuan yang awalnya dilakukan oleh negara, sekarang berada di tangan kelompok sosial di masyarakat yang menggunakan dalih keagamaan, misalnya yang dilakukan oleh HTI. Pemaknaan “baru” terhadap partisipasi perempuan terjadi di ruang publik virtual yang memiliki potensi mengganggu pemaknaan yang sudah berjalan di masyarakat. Pemaknaan ini menunjukkan kontestasi antara pemaknaan yang dikembangkan gerakan perempuan dengan pemaknaan yang dilakukan kelompok HTI. Dalam proses ini, konstruksi heteronormativitas menguat sehingga peran perempuan terdorong kembali ke ruang domestik dan menghasilkan gambaran ambigu tentang peran perempuan di ruang publik, termasuk di ruang publik virtual.

**Kata Kunci:** femininitas, ruang publik virtual, masalah perempuan

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**Rosita Dewi**

### **RINGKASAN DISERTASI**

## **ADAT RECOGNITION IN MERAUKE INTEGRATED FOOD AND ENERGY ESTATE IN PAPUA, INDONESIA**

*Summary of Dissertation, Adat Recognition in Merauke Integrated Food and Energy Estate in Papua, Indonesia, Graduate School of Asian and African Areas Studies, Kyoto University, Japan, xx+305pp.*

### **ABSTRAK**

Pemerintah Indonesia memberikan otonomi khusus (otsus) untuk Papua sebagai solusi menang-menang (*win-win solution*) upaya penyelesaian konflik di Papua. Otsus tersebut memberikan jaminan rekognisi bagi Papua secara legal. Meskipun demikian, orang Papua tidak puas dengan rekognisi tersebut karena adanya celah yang sangat luas antara pelaksanaan rekognisi dalam pandangan pemerintah dengan bentuk rekognisi yang diharapkan oleh orang Papua. Penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa pemerintah melakukan “pembajakan” terhadap pelaksanaan rekognisi Papua sehingga terjadi korupsi terhadap rekognisi (*corrupted recognition*) melalui pembentukan Lembaga

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<sup>3</sup> Artikel ini perbaikan dari naskah yang dipresentasikan pada Pre Conference ICWG 2018, kerjasama antara IPSK LIPI dengan AIWA dan KPPPA yang mendukung isu kepemimpinan Perempuan di Asia.

Masyarakat Adat (LMA) dan pemetaan partisipatif. Hal ini terlihat jelas dalam pengembangan proyek Merauke Integrated Food and Energy Estate (MIFEE) di Papua . Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan metode etnografis yang mencakup pengamatan terlibat, wawancara, dan studi pustaka.

**Kata kunci:** rekognisi, adat, MIFEE, otonomi khusus, Papua, lembaga masyarakat adat, pemetaan partisipatif

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**Fachri Aidulsyah**

## **TINJAUAN BUKU**

### **ISLAMISME DAN POLITIK KEWARGAAN DI INDONESIA**

*Judul Buku: Eric Hiariej And Kristian Stokke (Eds.). 2017. Politics Of Citizenship In Indonesia. Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor In Cooperation With Polgov Fisipol Ugm Dan University Of Oslo, Viii + 394 Pages; 16 X 24 Cm, Isbn: 978-602-433-507-6*







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**DDC: 302.3****Ahmad Fuadillah Sam****E-NETWORK SOCIETY: CITIZENS COMMUNALITY IN SMART CITY CONTEXT****ABSTRACT**

Smart city is an informational society's product through which the society considers that information as a main form to build relations. In this context, smart city becomes an infrastructure that supports network society to work. This article aims to describe smart city's implication towards the emergence of communality in the city. This study used a qualitative method, through in-dept interviews with related stakeholders to exploring relevant and important data and information about citizens' communalism produced by Jakarta Smart City Program. Recent studies show theoretical debates about roles and implications of smart city on citizen's trust towards the government mediated by the technology. This article offers an optimism views concerning smart city as the way the network society manifests through a form of communalities within virtual community. This study shows the ways smart city regulation facilitated by state provides a space for information production by citizens hence communalism built in citizens context. City Communalism, in fact could be build within network society mechanism brought by government infrastructure within smart city form.

*Keywords: Network Society, Smart City, Virtual Community, City Communalism, Jakarta Smart City*

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**DDC: 305.8****Ibnu Nadzir****RECLAIMING INDONESIAN-NESS: ONLINE AND OFFLINE ENGAGEMENT OF INDONESIAN EXILES IN NETHERLANDS****ABSTRACT**

*This article explores online-offline engagements of Indonesian exiles in Netherlands. By looking into their internet practices, this article affirms the notion that it is essential for Internet research to comprehend social and cultural practices engaged in both space as an entanglement. To elaborate the argument, this article analyzed two important cases where the online-offline engagements are performed by Indonesian exiles, which are IPT 1965 events and Diskusi Forum (forum discussion). Since the social and cultural practices were performed online and offline, this research is also conducted in both spaces simultaneously. The research itself was initiated from two main questions, first, how do Indonesian exiles employed online-offline engagement to mobilize their cause? Second, how do their online-offline engagement affect their existence as a displaced community? The article then argues that the engagement enacted by Indonesian exiles is performed fluidly in online-offline spaces. In consequence, events and practices in both arenas are influential to one another. Moreover, borrowing the framework of Jackson (2013) on storytelling, this article shows that the online-offline engagements has enabled Indonesian exiles to reclaim the sense of being Indonesian.*

*Keywords: online, offline, Indonesian-ness, exiles, Internet*

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**DDC: 302.2**

**Triyono Lukmantoro**

## **THE HOAXES OF ILLEGAL FOREIGN WORKERS FROM CHINA: MORAL PANICS AND CULTURE OF FEAR**

### **ABSTRACT**

At the end of December 2016, several hoaxes emerged stating that there were about ten million, even twenty million, illegal foreign workers from China who were invading Indonesia. Although the hoaxes have been strongly denied and regarded as slander by the government, in fact, the hoaxes were already spreading. One of the sites that produce these hoaxes is *Postmetro*. This article is a textual review of various hoax titles displayed by *Postmetro*. The results of this study show that the various hoaxes are no more than the practices of “Frankenstein journalism,” which is simply taking news and polishing the title to be so provocative from other media sources. The illegal foreign workers from China are described as the foreigner who exacerbates the life of national laborers. This shows that illegal foreign workers from China were positioned as a figure that caused moral panics. In addition, they are also described as demons of the people (folk devils) who deserve to be cursed and expelled from Indonesia for creating fear and pathological character.

*Keywords: hoax, illegal foreign workers from China, moral panics, culture of fear*

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**DDC: 302.2**

**Nina Widyawati**

## **COMMODIFICATION OF PRIVACY AND PSEUDO-DEMOCRACY IN DIGITAL CULTURE**

### **ABSTRACT**

Digital is the development of information and communications technology, that changes the social structure, from mass to mass-self. Segmented digital media messages have shifted the culture, from mass culture to custom. Digital technology delivers social media platforms that facilitate individuals in producing content. Now individuals are a producers as well as consumers (prosumer), and assumed in contributing toward egalitarian society, as a neutral public space. The aim of this research are analyzes the behavior of prosumption in the daily practice of internet generation that is Y and Z generation and its implication to social interaction. The subject of research is a student of Communication Studies Program, Atma Jaya University Yogyakarta. The approach used is qualitative, and data collection is through focus group discussion (FGD). The results showed that all informants were prosumer. They are producing by everyday life exposition. On the one hand, informants are active audience in consuming the human interest information, on the other hand, they are passive audience in consumption social and political information. Many of them obtain information from the news portal and community. Digital technology increases productivity because individuals are able to do more than one activity simultaneously such as a student and workers. Unfortunately, digital media has not been egalitarian and democratic sphere, as the effect the virtual communities may decrease the freedom of expression.

*Keywords: digital culture, prosumption, commodification, pseudo-democracy*

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**DDC: 302.2**

**Dian Tri Hapsari**

## **RADIO JOURNALISM IN DIGITAL ERA: TRANSFORMATION AND CHALLENGE**

### **ABSTRACT**

During the periode of 2015, in Indonesia, a number of print newspapers decided to stop publishing their printing media and switch to digital. This is also challenging for radio since it could be considered as traditional media such as the printing media. In this article, the authors explain how radio as a traditional mass-media is transformed into a new medium in the digital era. The outline of this paper discusses radio transformation as a new medium in terms of access model that uses the Internet and radio broadcast regulatory changes affect the democratic process in Indonesia. This article argues that throughout those changes, radio has not only adapted to the new technological demands while at the same time transform the media by facing the new technological challenger and access to their audience. However, despite the adaptability of radio towards the digital era, this new media era has brought up the seemingly silencing process of minority voice by the majority. This could be concurred through concept

of spiral of silence. This article is a qualitative research that pays attention to several processes of adaptation and transformation that radio has gone through since the era of Reformasi in Indonesia.

**Key Words:** *Radio, technology, new media, journalism, traditional media, public opinion, spiral of silence*

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**DDC: 390.9**

**Ahmad Helmy Fuady**

## **DIGITAL TECHNOLOGY AND ECONOMIC INEQUALITY IN INDONESIA**

### **ABSTRACT**

The rapid development of information and communication technology (ICT) through the digital revolution has raised optimism for economic development. However, it has also raised concerns about the increasing level of inequality because of capital and skill-biased technology. Automation arising from technological developments is also considered to decrease demand for labor. This paper aims to analyze the relationship between ICT development and economic inequality in Indonesia. It shows that ICT development in Indonesia is relatively poor and behind its neighbouring countries. There is also interregional inequality of ICT development in this country. Analysis of this paper shows that ICT development give more benefit to skilled labor and those in highest income group than to unskilled labor and those in lower income groups.

**Keywords:** *digital technology, inequality, disruption, ICT development index*

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**DDC: 302.2**

**Maruti Asmaul Husna\*) Subagio dan Budi Irawanto\*\*)**

## **BEYOND PROSUMPTION: PROSUMPTION PRACTICE OF CONTENT WRITERS IN NEWS AGGREGATOR PLATFORM UC NEWS**

### **ABSTRACT**

The emergence of Web 2.0 technology has made the internet users not only restricted by reading, browsing, and consuming the internet content. Nowadays the users can contribute actively as both consumer and producer at the same time (prosumer). One of the digital platforms that has become a trend in the present decade is news aggregator. This research will examine how the content writers in UC News, as one of the biggest news aggregator in Indonesia, do their production-consumption (prosumption) writing activity as a part of digital labor. The purpose of this research is to analyze the prosumption practices which are done by the UC News's content writers in relation to their position as digital labor. The methodology that is applied in this research is virtual ethnography to obtain the representation of digital culture mediated by the internet. The data are obtained from the answers of open-ended questions to 6 informants who are selected according to rate of activity in the platform, and the period of involvement as a content writer in UC News. In addition, the secondary data are collected from the writing contents which are produced by the informants. The findings of this research show that the content writers did their prosumption practices in a variety of ways, either through the information of writing (witness journalism), or through process the available information in the media as well as literatures that become the stuff of new writings. The researcher also found that the form of capitalism in prosumer era did not influence the content writers in doing production and consumption activity only but also distribution and marketization by the users.

**Keywords:** *content writers; news aggregator; prosumption; Web 2.0*

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**DDC: 305.4**

**Widjajanti M Santoso<sup>1</sup>**

## **PROBLEMATIC OF FEMININITY CONSTRUCTION IN VIRTUAL PUBLIC SPHERE**

### **ABSTRACT**

Femininity construction is very apparent in Indonesia's women's movement. It can discernible in the definition of women by the state, across in three political orders (Orla, Orba and Orde reformasi). In Orla woman is the daughter of revolution, in Orba is the "Ibuisme" and in Orde Reformasi, there are paradox; women have to fight back for her representation. The article shows the problematic of femininity construction, in order for society to

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<sup>1</sup> Artikel ini perbaikan dari naskah yang dipresentasikan pada Pre Conference ICWG 2018, kerjasama antara IPSK LIPI dengan AIWA dan KPPPA yang mendukung isu kepemimpinan Perempuan di Asia.

understand the meaning making process. The expression of femininity captured in the social media such as the WA Group. Formerly state played a significant role, which eventually decreased according to the position of power in the state, now there are other, such as by the HTI. The growing 'new' definition of women's participation by the HTI, happening in virtual public sphere, contests definition of gender and position of women in society. This situation is in the same condition, where the heteronormativity is stronger. The virtual public sphere shows a new challenging scope of women's movement that need to be reconsidered thoroughly.

**Key words:** *femininity, virtual public sphere, women's problem.*

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**Rosita Dewi**

## **RINGKASAN DISERTASI**

### **REKOGNISI ADAT DALAM PENGEMBANGAN MERAUKE INTEGRATED FOOD AND ENERGY ESTATE DI PAPUA, INDONESIA**

*Summary of Dissertation, Adat Recognition in Merauke Integrated Food and Energy Estate in Papua, Indonesia, Graduate School of Asian and African Areas Studies, Kyoto University, Japan, xx+305pp.*

#### **ABSTRACT**

*The Indonesia government issued the special autonomy law for Papua for granting legal recognition of the Papuan to reduce conflict in Papua. This recognition was not, however, a satisfactory answer for the Papuans; there is a wide gap between the adat (customary) recognition by the Indonesian state and the recognition expected by the Papuans. I argued that the Indonesian government applies the corrupted recognition by hijacking adat recognition in Papua. This is clearly shown in the issue of adat lands in the Merauke district, where the Merauke Integrated Food and Energy Estate (MIFEE) project was developed. This research shows the form of corrupted recognition in Papua by the existence of Customary Community Council (new LMA) and participatory mapping in MIFEE. This research uses qualitative approach with ethnographic method consisted of participant observations, interviews, and literature studies.*

**Keywords:** *recognition, adat, MIFEE, special autonomy law, Papua, customary community council, LMA, participatory mapping*

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**Fachri Aidulsyah**

## **TINJAUAN BUKU**

### **ISLAMISM AND THE POLITICS OF CITIZENSHIP IN INDONESIA**

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# **ADAT RECOGNITION IN MERAUKE INTEGRATED FOOD AND ENERGY ESTATE IN PAPUA, INDONESIA**

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*Summary of Dissertation, Adat Recognition in Merauke Integrated Food and Energy Estate in Papua, Indonesia, Graduate School of Asian and African Areas Studies, Kyoto University, Japan, xx+305pp.*

## **ABSTRAK**

Pemerintah Indonesia memberikan otonomi khusus (otsus) untuk Papua sebagai solusi menang-menang (win-win solution) upaya penyelesaian konflik di Papua. Otsus tersebut memberikan jaminan rekognisi bagi Papua secara legal. Meskipun demikian, orang Papua tidak puas dengan rekognisi tersebut karena adanya celah yang sangat luas antara pelaksanaan rekognisi dalam pandangan pemerintah dengan bentuk rekognisi yang diharapkan oleh orang Papua. Penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa pemerintah melakukan “pembajakan” terhadap pelaksanaan rekognisi Papua sehingga terjadi korupsi terhadap rekognisi (corrupted recognition) melalui pembentukan Lembaga Masyarakat Adat (LMA) dan pemetaan partisipatif. Hal ini terlihat jelas dalam pengembangan proyek Merauke Integrated Food and Energy Estate (MIFEE) di Papua. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan metode etnografis yang mencakup pengamatan terlibat, wawancara, dan studi pustaka.

**Kata kunci:** rekognisi, adat, MIFEE, otonomi khusus, Papua, lembaga masyarakat adat, pemetaan partisipatif

## **ABSTRACT**

*The Indonesia government issued the special autonomy law for Papua for granting legal recognition of the Papuan to reduce conflict in Papua. This recognition was not, however, a satisfactory answer for the Papuans; there is a wide gap between the adat (customary) recognition by the Indonesian state and the recognition expected by the Papuans. I argued that the Indonesian government applies the corrupted recognition by hijacking adat recognition in Papua. This is clearly shown in the issue of adat lands in the Merauke district, where the Merauke Integrated Food and Energy Estate (MIFEE) project was developed. This research shows the form of corrupted recognition in Papua by the existence of Customary Community Council (new LMA) and participatory mapping in MIFEE. This research uses qualitative approach with ethnographic method consisted of participant observations, interviews, and literature studies.*

**Keywords:** recognition, adat, MIFEE, special autonomy law, Papua, customary community council, LMA, participatory mapping

## **INTRODUCTION**

Land rights, land use, and resource management remain critical issues for indigenous peoples. But, development projects, mining, forestry activities, and agricultural programs continue to displace indigenous peoples. Land always becomes the central issues in the struggle for indigenous peoples' rights. It has an important role in the continuation of indigenous peoples' livelihood. It is not only land per se, but also the

natural resource contained on that land and their livelihood. Therefore, the legal recognition of land ownership becomes the goal for indigenous peoples' struggle (Xanthaki, 2003, 467–496). However, policy implementation is not always in line with regulation. Therefore, we still can find many land grab cases in these countries.

The food and energy crises in 2008 created the opportunity for developing countries, including Southeast Asia countries, to provide land for

large scale agricultural use. It caused a land grab boom in Southeast Asia. It became the national setting of several countries in Southeast Asia, such as Indonesia, Vietnam, Laos, the Philippines, and Cambodia where large areas of land have been converted into large-scale plantation (Hall, Hirsch, & Li, 2011, 843). This is worrisome since the parcels of lands that were diverted into large-scale plantation were those under the category of non-private lands. For example, in Indonesia, these are considered as state lands, which are usually cultivated by indigenous people (Borras & Franco, 2011, 27).

Papuan *adat* communities gained legal recognition through the special autonomy law for Papua (Law No. 21/2001). It seems, however, that legal recognition through this law has failed to protect the customary rights of *adat* communities, particularly with regards to their *adat* land. Although legal recognition is believed to be the best method to guarantee these rights, it has clearly proved insufficient in the case of Papua. This is most clearly shown in the Merauke district, where the Merauke Integrated Food and Energy Estate or MIFEE project was developed. MIFEE is the first national project in Papua developed by the Indonesian government after Papua was granted special autonomy comprises over one million hectares of land. For this project, the Merauke local government granted location permits for concessions to companies without any prior and informed consent from the Marind Anim as the *adat* landowners, and thus land grabbing has been a major issue in the area. The establishment of the MIFEE project can be seen as the corruption of the recognition policy toward Papuan's as an *adat* community that has gained the legal recognition of their *adat* lands.

The central government launched the MIFEE project in August 2010. The project aimed to strengthen the national food and energy stock and, at the same time, accelerate economic development in Merauke district (GoI, 2010). MIFEE is an extended version of the Merauke District Program which the Merauke district government launched on the 105<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Merauke district in 2007. A year later, in 2008, the local government and investors agreed to cre-

ate a special project called Merauke Integrated Rice Estate (MIRE) (Awat MIFEE, n.d.a). The establishment of MIRE was in line with President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's speech on the Great Rice Harvest Event in 2006 in Merauke. He said, "First, let's develop Merauke as a rice granary; second, develop plantations in Merauke, such as sugarcane and palm oil plantation to address food security problems" (Yudhoyono, 2006).

Merauke District has vast arable land and, therefore, has attracted investors to invest in agriculture sectors since the Dutch colonial period. From 1939 to 1958, Merauke was designated as a rice granary for the South Pacific (interview with John Gluba Gebze, 29 August 2014). The Dutch colonial government made the Kumb sub-district in Merauke district into an agricultural project site with the name Rijkproject Koembe. This project changed the swamp area in the downstream of Kumb River into farmland. An irrigation canal was built from the Bian River to water the rice fields in the Kumb sub-district. This project was quite successful and the Kumb sub-district became the center of rice production in Merauke district (Koentjaraningrat & Bachtiar, 1963).

A consortium of fifteen Saudi Arabian investors and Indonesian corporations was established to finance the project in 2008 (Rulistia, 2014). The Bin Laden Group, an investor from Saudi Arabia, committed to invest USD 4 billion to develop 500,000 ha of land in Merauke (Awat MIFEE, n.d.a). The investment did not come, however, because of the global financial crisis that swept the whole world in 2008.

Facing this sudden cancellation of large investment, the local government decided to start a more investment-friendly scheme that is MIFEE. MIFEE was expanded to invite the investors not only in the rice cultivation sector but also in the plantation and forestry sectors. It was in line with President SBY's ambition to "feed Indonesia, feed the world" after the global food and energy crisis in 2008 (Awat MIFEE, n.d.a). A statement from Arifin Panigoro, CEO of the Medco Group, showed his strong support of the government plan to establish MIFEE (Tabloid Jubi, 27 August 2009). He stated that Indonesian government has to expand the agricultural lands

to achieve food and energy security. According to him, Merauke district provides large idle lands for agricultural expansion, therefore establishing estate project would be suitable (Panigoro, 2009).

This project is expected to attract investment in Merauke not only in rice cultivation sector, but also the plantation and forestry sectors. According to the grand design of MIFEE, the area of 1.2 million hectares should be divided, as follows 50% for food crop, 30% for sugarcane, and 20% for oil palm (GoI, 2010). The MIFEE project is expected to produce 1.95 million tons of rice, 2.02 million tons of corn, 167,000 tons of soybeans, 2.5 million tons of sugar, 937,000 tons of crude palm oil (CPO), and 64,000 tons of beef by 2030 (Zakaria, Kleden, & Frangky, 2011, 17).

At the national level, the central government released the Master Plan for Acceleration and Expansion of Indonesia's Economic Development (*Master Plan Percepatan dan Pengembangan Pembangunan Ekonomi Indonesia*, MP3EI) in 2011 to reinforce the development project, including the implementation of MIFEE. MP3EI determined the six economic corridors for the acceleration of Indonesian economic development. MIFEE was included in the Moluccas–Papua corridor of the MP3EI policy as a center of agricultural production. MP3EI aimed to accelerate the implementation of the MIFEE project to boost agricultural production. The success of MIFEE is heavily dependent on investment. Creating a good investment climate and loosening regulations that hindered the investment became the duty of the central government in MP3EI. Several policies were implemented to attract investments, such as tax holidays, simplification of permission and license for investment and plantation. MP3EI documents mentioned the necessity to revise the agrarian law in order to include the *adat* land as a part of investment location. The agrarian law revision was put first on the law revision list (Kementerian Koordinator Perekonomian Indonesia, 2011, 179–181).

This kind of policy needs to be implemented to attract massive investments, considering the number of investment in Merauke district is important to support the development of agricultural sector. This district has a significant contribution

toward the gross domestic product (GDP) of Papua Province, especially from agricultural sectors. Rice becomes comparative advantage product from Merauke district. In average, Merauke has produced more than 50% of all the rice in Papua Province. Merauke became one of the main pillars to Papua succeeding as a national rice granary (*lumbung padi*). Merauke district has to boost the rice production as well as other agricultural production to fulfill the national rice necessity and achieve food security. Together with central government, local government invited the investments through MIFEE to boost agricultural production through land expansion, modernization and mechanization of agricultural management as mentioned in the Grand Design of MIFEE. Land expansion through MIFEE project is expected to fulfill this target by 2019 (Bappenas, 2015).

The establishment of MIFEE has attracted more investments in Merauke. The number of domestic investments in Merauke district was the biggest in Papua Province. The number of domestic investment projects in Merauke is 45 projects, with a total of IDR 91.808 billion (USD 6,842 million), or around 25% of the total investment in Papua. For foreign investment, there are 19 companies with IDR 3.531 billion (USD 263 million) in investments. The number of foreign investments in Merauke is 12% of the total investment in Papua. Foreign investment in the Mimika district is the biggest in Papua due to the existence of Freeport and mining resources (Papua Statistic, 2015).

## AIMS AND ARGUMENTS

This study aims, first, to describe the enactment of the Papua special autonomy law. It provides an understanding of the reasons that Papua received special autonomy from central government and the contestation between central government and Papua local government during the process of passing the special autonomy law.

Second, it aims to explain the legal recognition that has been gained by Papuan as *adat* community in Papua in the terms of the implementation of the special autonomy law. The special autonomy law for Papua was mandated to



recognize and protect Papuan rights, which had been disrespected and marginalized. This study discusses the blossoming of *adat* organization as a response of enactment of this law. This study also analyzes the community participatory mapping conducted by *adat* community in order to gain the legal recognition over their *adat* lands as mentioned in the law. Furthermore, it also examines the corruption of this recognition as a form of paradox after the implementation of special autonomy. In this section, I highlight in particular the establishment of the MIFEE project that leads to *adat* land grabbing, contrary to the Special Autonomy Law, which stipulated *adat* land protection.

Third, it aims to analyze the pitfalls of *adat* recognition in the implementation of the MIFEE project. It provides an explanation of government efforts to utilize Papuan recognition by co-opting the *adat* institution in the Merauke district to smooth the implementation of the MIFEE project. It also examines the pitfalls of the participatory mapping that was conducted by the *adat* community in the Merauke district.

With these aims, this research explores a number of questions, e.g. why did the Papuans receive special autonomy from the central government? What forms of recognition are regulated in Papua Special Autonomy Law? How was the recognition policy implemented under the Special Autonomy Law? Why did the central government launch the MIFEE project—which may lead to the land grab of *adat* land—after the Papuan indigenous people gained legal recognition? And how has the Papuan recognition been utilized in the implementation of the MIFEE project?

To address those questions, I argue that the government applies a corrupted form of recognition. Central government tries to implement recognition based on the government's perception of recognition. The institutionalization of recognition that formed to fulfill the obligations of special autonomy, unfortunately, is still based on Jakarta's perspective. Central government has given legal recognition and formed the *adat* institution for Papuans. By using this form of policy, it cannot be said that central government does not recognize the Papuan. Ironically, it is not

for Papuan protection, but becomes an instrument for smoothing government policy by hijacking the *adat* recognition.

There are some forms of *adat* recognition hijacking in the implementation of the MIFEE project. First, the hijacking of *adat* recognition is shown through the existence of the Customary Community Council as a government broker that utilizes *adat*. This institution acts as an *adat* representative and serves government interest. Second, the hijacking of *adat* recognition can also be seen in the government's intention to allow participatory mapping. The result of the *adat* mapping makes clear who the owners of *adat* lands are. Even though the local government is unwilling to legalize this map, government utilizes this map to help finding the exact *adat* land-owners. It is thus easier for the company and the government to negotiate with the right *adat* land-owner. This accelerates the land grab of *adat* land.

## **ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK**

The MIFEE project comprises over a million hectares of land, and is the first national project in Papua developed by the Indonesian government after Papua was granted autonomy. Based on the previous research I mentioned above, land grabbing has been a major issue in this project. This is the paradoxical situation that has emerged after the implementation of the MIFEE project. The Papuan has gained legal recognition through the implementation of Papua special autonomy. Legal recognition is believed to be the best method to guarantee the *adat* land rights; however, this has clearly proved to be insufficient in the case of Papua. One pitfall of Papuan recognition is that it can smooth the way for land grabs in the MIFEE project. To analyze this pitfall, I utilize the politics of recognition and the land grabbing concept. The politics of recognition framework can be used to explain the post recognition struggle for the Papuan after receiving legal recognition, especially in the case of the MIFEE project. Meanwhile, the land grab concept can help to understand the context of the land grabbing that took place in the MIFEE project.

## Politics of Recognition

The struggle for recognition has been widespread since the enactment of the ILO Convention 169. This became the first instrument that rejected the assimilation policy for indigenous people and called for the full realization of the social, economic, and cultural rights of these peoples, and respect for their customs, traditions, and institutions (Article 2/2 of ILO Convention 1969). This struggle focused on the insufficient attention that was being paid to the processes of political identity formation and the framing of claim. In this context, identity becomes the core of recognition. The politics of recognition is concerned with the question of how identity politics can repair internal self-dislocation by contesting a dominant culture's demeaning representation of one's group (Fraser, 2003).

Taylor (1994) divided the politics of recognition into two classifications. First is the politics of equality—influenced by the democratic system—whereby everyone has equal rights and is worthy of respect. This recognition aims to diminish ideas of class and the difference between first and second classes. All groups can get the same access to political and economic spheres.

Second is the politics of differences. This politics of difference tries to recognize a certain group is based on distinctions or uniqueness. This uniqueness needs different policies to reflect this. In short, certain groups have exclusive rights that are not enjoyed by other groups. According to Taylor, these two kinds of recognition can be used to address the misrecognition problem of indigenous people and minority groups. An indigenous people will receive affirmation from the state government in order to gain equality with the majority groups (Taylor, 1994). Supported by Honneth (2003), recognition is a struggle to use identity politics to repair internal self-dislocation; and legal recognition is the key aspect of self-respect. Legal recognition is expected to guarantee that a person appears as a full member of society. Through legal recognition, they will be able to enjoy the same rights as all other member of society. Taylor and Honneth argue that the recognition of rights and cultural appreciation can subsume the problematic of redistribution.

Fraser stated that cultural injustice is often linked with economic injustice, which is created by the economic structure and causes economic misdistribution. Misrecognition will create a status problem for certain groups, which will cause subordination. Furthermore, subordination will cause misdistribution. In here, Fraser divides the concept of misrecognition into two forms of injustice. "First, people can be impeded from full participation by economic structures that deny them the resources they need in order to interact with others as peers; in that case they suffer from distributive injustice or misdistribution. Second, people can also be prevented from interacting on terms of parity by institutionalized hierarchies of cultural value that deny them the requisite standing; in that case they suffer from status inequality or misrecognition" (2007, 20). Therefore, Fraser (2003) tries to integrate distribution and recognition. Integrating distribution and recognition can grasp the imbrication of class inequality and status hierarchy in contemporary society.

I tend to agree that the problem of recognition is not only one of cultural injustice, but also one that cross-cuts with the economic injustice. The problem in Papua is not only one of economic misdistribution, but also of misrecognition (Widjojo, 2009). The tendency of central government policy is to posit Java Island as a center of development and governance—Javacentric—that makes Java domination in politics, economics, and culture. Javacentric policy not only gives an abundance of benefit to the Javanese, but also creates socio-economic and cultural domination over the Papuan. This policy imposed a uniformity of development and state apparatus to help with the integration of Indonesia. This condition was exacerbated by military repression during Soeharto's regime in Papua.

In terms of economic structure and access, the Papuan has been marginalized. Similarly, the Papuan was also culturally undermined; Javacentrism created the stereotype that the Papuan is stupid, primitive, and so on. Sometimes, even the Papuan has stated that "*lahir sebagai Papua saja sudah salah*" (it was wrong to be born as a Papuan). This kind of injustice has to be addressed through recognition; it cannot be

solved only through economic redistribution. Recognition policies that address misrecognition must be implemented, together with economic redistribution to address the economic problems.

Furthermore, Frazer (2003) argued that this is an institutional problem that must be remedied by the state system. It cannot only be solved by affirmative remedies; it also needs transformative remedies. Affirmative remedies aim to correct inequitable outcomes without addressing the underlying structure. Transformative remedies aim to correct inequitable outcomes by addressing the underlying generative framework that produces the inequalities in the first place.

The enactment of the Papua Special Autonomy Law is a form of remedy for the misrecognition and misdistribution problem of Papuan. This law stipulated that the special autonomy gives the provincial government the power to regulate community interests autonomously, based on Papuan aspirations and rights. This law recognizes the *adat* community in Papua, specifically stating that the *adat* community is the Papuan (*Orang Asli Papua*) from the Melanesian race, and consists of native tribes and/or people who are accepted by the Papuan. The Papua Special Autonomy Law mandated the formation of the Papuan People Assembly (*Majelis Rakyat Papua*, MRP) as cultural representatives and the Papuan People Representative Council (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Papua*, DPRP) as Papuan representatives, and stated that all members of these bodies must be Papuan. The formation of these formal bodies aims to recognize and protect the Papuan rights based on the Papuan *adat* and culture. It is expected to be a structural change in Papua, which used to be dominated by the Javanese. The special autonomy law for Papua can be seen as a form of transformative remedy for Papuan misrecognition.

The tendency to use a top-down approach to solve the problem became characteristic of state policy; from a state perspective, its implementation will be more effective. Often, in practice, it did not address the problem of structures that needed restructuring. I see this kind of approach as being similar to that which Fraser refers to as

affirmative remedies. It will cause the emergence of other misrecognition and/or misdistribution problems. Therefore, what Fraser is proposing is transformative remedies, which restructures the institutions and structures of the dominant culture. It needs both the dominant and subordinate culture to be willing to change. Usually, it can come from bottom-up initiatives, which are well accommodated by the state. The slow process of MRP's formation as a formal body to protect the Papuan can be seen as an example of the central government's anxiety to accommodate the bottom-up initiative. The formation of the customary community council (LMA) is another example of a policy that comes from government initiative. It can be used as a tool of recognition from the government's perspective, but on the other side it cannot solve the problem of misrecognition and the economic disadvantages of the Papuan. Another example is participatory mapping. This mapping initiative came from Papuan in villages. However, the government utilizes this mapping in order to pave the way for land grabbing through the implementation of the MIFEE project, whilst presenting it as recognition and respect for the *adat*.

According to Hegelian thought on recognition, there are four principals of recognition that can lead to corrupted recognition. First, a party needs a recognizer and a recognizee. There is always one group who is recognizing another group and another group who is recognized. Second, parties are in positions of superiority and inferiority. The recognizer will become the superior party, creating an asymmetric relation. Third, a party that resists and is forced to give recognition will become inferior. Fourth, there is a domination and subordination party. These lead to corrupted recognition because the dominant party is not willing to recognize the party that is marginalized or discriminated against; this is not the pure recognition that is expected from Hegelian thought. The requirement for building pure recognition is that both parties, recognizer and recognizee, are willing to recognize each other; this cannot be achieved through coercion (Monahan, 2006, 391).

Corrupted recognition happens because the dominant party, which is usually represented by state government, is forced to recognize the marginalized party. Corrupted recognition is still recognition; however, the impact of the recognition will differ from that of pure recognition. In the implementation of corrupted recognition, a party that is discriminated against or marginalized, such as indigenous people or minority groups, will still have to struggle for recognition (Monahan, 2006, 393). It can be seen as beyond of recognition. State recognition is not the end of their struggle when the form of recognition policy is based upon corrupted recognition. The recognizee group must still struggle to gain the full protection of their rights after receiving legal recognition (Li, 2001). The recognition given by state governments under the influence of international movements does not mean the end of struggles to gain full recognition. The dominant parties still has the will and desire to maintain their dominance. This can be seen from government policy. For example, there is an intention of national elites to make customary law compatible with ordinary law; make subordination of customary law compatible with ordinary law. The subordinated party must adjust to this situation. Then, the subordinated party responds with the formation of institutions that can promote and struggle for their rights in order to fulfill the legal recognition that they have already achieved (Sieder, 2012).

This can help to analyze the misrecognition in Papua that that took place after Papuan received legal recognition. It can be used to analyze the formation of the *adat* institution called the LMA in order to implement legal recognition. The LMA is expected to protect and struggle for recognition. In the case of the MIFEE project, the LMA is supposed to represent the *adat* community in the process of negotiation and to protect the *adat* community's interests. However, where there is corrupted recognition, this can present a pitfall.

To help measure the implementation of recognition in Papua, I use the indicators of recognition from the United Nations. There are several aspects that can measure recognition,

whether this is pure or corrupted; these also apply to the recognition of *adat* lands. By using these indicators, it can be seen how far these aspects have been accommodated into national law and other laws that regulate the existence of the *adat* community.

Corrupted recognition can be measured from the recognition policy initiative and/or the deviation of its implementation. From the initiative, the central government half-heartedly gave special autonomy for Papua, which can be seen as an indication that corrupted recognition will happen, and that central government will also find the way to hinder implementation. For example, free, prior, and informed consent (FPIC) is one indicator that is mentioned by the UN, which must be present in order to demonstrate that the state recognizes and respects the existence of the indigenous people. However, FPIC was not fully implemented; the central government tried to hinder this through top-down institutions. The legal and formal structure to protect the Papuan has been created, but central government will try to hamper the implementation of recognition, which has been mandated by Special Autonomy Laws, without the stigmatization, neglect, or repression of the Papuan.

## Land Grabbing

The term land grabbing refers to the purchase or leasing of vast tracts of land by wealthier parties to create agricultural operations producing food or biofuels, the aim being to secure long term supplies. This is based on the standard definition of land grabs by the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO). According to the FAO, there are three characteristics of land grabbing. First, it always includes large tracts of land. Second, it also involves direct foreign investment. Third, the new land investments have a negative impact on the recipient countries (Borras, Kay, Gomez, & Wilkinson, 2012, 403).

However, this definition is countered by research conducted by Borras. He took the case of Latin America, and argued that land grabbing is not determined by the scale of land leasing or the purchase area. It can be done by national or international corporations. Therefore, it does not

always directly involve foreign investment. According to this research, the state is the key actor in facilitating capital accumulation (Borras, Kay, Gomez, & Wilkinson, 2012, 405). Land grabbing becomes a contested interaction between parties such as the state and civil society. The state engages in re-ordering or restructuring the country's land tenure system through policies that justify the use of idle, under-utilized, or sparsely populated territorial spaces (Daniel & Mittal, 2009). Land grabbing denies land for local communities, destroys livelihoods, reduces the political space for peasant oriented agricultural policies, and distorts markets towards increasingly concentrated agribusiness interests and global trade (Stephen, 2011, 6). Unfair procedures for the compulsory acquisition of land and inequitable compensation for its loss can increase tensions and conflicts between the government and citizen (FAO, 2008, 2).

For the purpose to analyzing the MIFEE project, land grabbing is defined as controlling or taking possession of large areas of land in order to transform them into agricultural estates by domestic and/or transnational companies with the engagement of local and central governments through unfair procedures that harm local livelihoods.

## METHODOLOGY

In this dissertation, I examine four cases in four villages—Duku, Sulu, Alu, and Muli<sup>1</sup>—that serve as examples of the land grab process. Sulu represents a village that accepted company cultivation of their *adat* land in the early stages of the MIFEE implementation, when John Gluba Gebze still served as the head of Merauke district (2001–2010). Duku represents a village that accepted company cultivation of their *adat* land after Romanus Mbaraka became the new head of Merauke district in 2011. Alu and Muli are villages that rejected company cultivation of their *adat* land. All four villages initiated and conducted participatory mapping.

The research scope is limited to the period between the implementation of the MIFEE project (2010) and the end of Susilo Bambang Yudhono's

<sup>1</sup> Due to the sensitivity of the issue, the names of the villages have been changed.

(SBY) presidential term (2014). Data collection was carried out in the Merauke district in January, August, and September of 2014, and October and November of 2015. Data was collected through interviews with leaders in each of the four villages, *adat* community members in each village, the former governor who initiated the MIFEE project, local government representatives, the company that holds concessions in that area, and NGOs which act as advocates on behalf of the *adat* communities in these villages. Data was also collected in Jakarta, where the decision about Papua was made.

## DISSERTATION STRUCTURE

The dissertation with the title “*Adat* Recognition in Merauke Integrated Food and Energy Estate in Papua, Indonesia” is set out into seven chapters including introduction and conclusion. The first chapter is the introduction, which explains the background, aims, and arguments of this study, and provides the analytical framework used.

The second chapter analyzes the policy after Papua integration with Republic of Indonesia that did not recognize the Papuan, and which caused their marginalization during Soekarno (1945–1967) and Soeharto (1967–1998) presidential term. The central government policy was emphasizing on the Indonesianization policy, which limited the role of *adat*.

The third chapter explains the enactment of special autonomy for Papua as a legal recognition of the Papuan as *adat* communities (indigenous people) in Papua. This chapter attempts to explain the background and the process of the birth of the special autonomy law. The next section deals with the establishment of the Papuan Customary Council (*Dewan Adat Papua*, DAP) and shows that the DAP is one of the results of the space opened for the Papuans by the special autonomy law. The final discussion in this chapter is about the central government's half-hearted implementation of the special autonomy law, which caused the corrupted recognition.

The fourth chapter starts from the analysis on the background and development of MIFEE. It is followed by the analysis on the spatial planning

policies as the main instrument to determine the investments' locations in the MIFEE project. Finally this chapter discusses the pros and cons on the implementation of MIFEE.

The fifth chapter attempts to explain the pitfalls of *adat* recognition of the formation of the Customary Community Council or called new LMA in Merauke District. It analyzes the new LMA position in the Marind Anim community after the establishment of the new LMA of Merauke district and the formation of LMAs in the sub-districts and villages. This section explains the relationship of the existence of the new LMA and the process of land grabbing in the MIFEE project.

The sixth chapter discusses the limit of participatory mapping in four villages in the MIFEE project areas. At the beginning, this chapter explains about the legal recognition of *adat* lands (customary land) rights. It continues with an explanation of conducting participatory mapping to gain recognition of *adat* land in Papua. This chapter will close with a discussion of the negative impacts, which are unintended consequences of participatory mapping, can accelerate land grab.

The final chapter is the conclusion and reviews the current situation under the new president of Indonesia. This dissertation will fill the study on *adat* communities in Papua, which has been less researched than in other regions of Indonesia; one reason for this is the limitation for foreign researcher to visit Papua regarding security issue. Finally, through this finding, it is hoped that it can provide possible resolution for conflict in Papua through respecting and recognizing the rights of Papuan with noble ways.

## DISCUSSION

The enactment of the Special Autonomy Law in Papua aimed to redress the problem of marginalization of Papuan and, by so doing, to suppress the enduring separatism movement. The misdistribution and misrecognition were the causes of marginalization. Therefore, the remedy for marginalization in the law was the redistribution and recognition for Papuan. The problem of recognition entwines with the economic injustice.

The form of recognition in the law accommodates what Taylor called as politics of equality and politics of difference (Taylor, 1994). This law gives the Papuan the acknowledgement of their distinctive Melanesian culture, which is different from the cultures of other parts of Indonesia. The law stipulates several affirmative and positive discrimination policies by the central government. This affirmative policy became a vehicle for Papuan to get the equal rights. The affirmative policy was applied so that the Papuan could be put as the central actors and they could catch other Indonesian ethnic groups up in the field of development. The policy also aimed to mend the previous policy that neglected the Papuan existence. Papuan have long felt that they have been dominated and threatened by the increasing number of transmigrants, especially from Java and Mollucas, and also by their increasing political and economic influence. The Papuan has had the psychological sense of inferiority towards them and also faced the economic and political marginalization in the Papua province. In order to address these problems, the law opened wider opportunity for Papuan in the economic and political participation. For example, the law regulated more engagement of Papuan in the natural resource management in Papua, which was dominated by the non-Papuan.

Actually, the Special Autonomy Law has fulfilled many indicators of recognitions if we compare the law with the UN measurement of recognitions (See table 2). Or we could say that the central government tried to adopt the ideal recognition of UN version by making the special autonomy law.

The enactment of the law doesn't mean the Papuan struggle for recognition has come to an end, however. The government recognition is just a half-hearted or partial one. Or it is a corrupted recognition if we borrow the term from Hegel (Monahan, 2006, 393). It turned out that the central government has no intention and will to implement the law. The government has always been suspicious of the Papuan and it has intended to implement the policies based on its own version of recognition, which is far from the recognition requested by the Papuan.

This government's suspicion against the Papuan is not new and it has haunted the central government policy to Papua since Soekarno period. The government policy is not the Papuanization as done by the Dutch colonial regime, but the Indonesianization. The Indonesianization policy is to disregard the uniqueness of Papuan culture and society and to Indonesianize the Papuan people and space with the combined and intertwined approaches of security and development.

The first president of Indonesia, Soekarno started the Indonesianization policy after Papua was integrated with Indonesia. On one hand, the Soekarno regime orchestrated a series of military operations to suppress the separatism movement. On the other hand, the regime intervened in various sectors. One of the typical Indonesianization policies was the replacement of Papua administration officers from Papuan with non-Papuan. The policy was not only implemented in

**Table 2.** Comparison of UN and Special Autonomy Version of Recognition

Indicators	UN	Special Autonomy
Non-discrimination	Indigenous peoples are equal to all other peoples in the exercise of their right, in particular that based on their indigenous identity	State will recognize the <i>adat</i> law community based on Indonesian Republic of Unitary State (NKRI) principles based on law
Self-Determination	To collective rights of indigenous peoples to freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social, and cultural development is recognized in the constitution or other forms of superior law	(Not mentioned about self-determination in this law)
Self-Government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Recognition of indigenous people's right to self-government in national legislation</li> <li>• Recognition of indigenous peoples' self-governing institutions and territories in the political administrative structure of the state</li> </ul>	Special Autonomy
Identity	Recognition of indigenous peoples' distinct identity in the constitution or national legislation	Papuan identity: Melanesian race, which has its own culture, history, and languages
Customary Law	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Customary law institutions with jurisdiction over internal and local affairs</li> <li>• Customary law practiced in accordance with internationally recognized human rights standards, including provision for gender equality and the rights of the child.</li> </ul>	<i>Adat</i> law as long as it does not contradict with Indonesian legal law
Military Activities	Military activities on indigenous peoples' lands and territories only based on peoples' agreement	Military for keeping the integrity of NKRI is the central government authority
Economic development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Food accessibility, nutrition and food safety</li> <li>• Security in the enjoyment of means of subsistence and development, and freedom to engage in traditional and other economic activities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It is related with the recognition on customary rights (<i>hak ulayat</i>).</li> <li>• Papuan can utilize the lands, forests, water, and all inside their customary rights</li> </ul>
Autonomous Institution	Just and fair redress for deprivation of means of subsistence and development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Formation a Papuan People Assembly (MRP) as a formal institution that represented Papuan</li> <li>• Customary Law</li> </ul>
FPIC	Self-determination with regards to development strategies and priorities	State consultation with <i>adat</i> representative after process of internal discussion of <i>adat</i> community

<p>Lands, territories and resources</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Possibility to maintain, strengthen and transmit the future generations indigenous peoples' distinct spiritual relationship with lands, territories and resources</li> <li>• State legal recognition and protection of indigenous peoples' lands, territories, and resources based in traditional ownership, occupation and use or acquisition</li> <li>• Effective control over lands, territories and resources</li> <li>• State implementation of a fair independent, impartial, open, and transparent process, with participation of indigenous peoples, to recognize and adjudicate their rights to lands, territories, and resources in accordance with their customs and procedures</li> <li>• No displacement without FPIC</li> <li>• Redress, restitution, and compensation for dispossession, or use or exploitation of lands, territories and resources without FPIC</li> <li>• No hazardous disposal on indigenous people lands/territories without FPIC</li> <li>• Access to state assistance programs for conservation and protection without discrimination</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Papua local government has to recognize, respect, protect and develop the rights of Papuan. The meaning of Papuan rights is the customary rights (<i>hak ulayat</i>).</li> <li>• <i>Adat</i> community controls <i>hak ulayat</i></li> <li>• State legal recognition and protection of indigenous peoples' lands, territories, and resources based in traditional ownership, occupation, and use or acquisition</li> <li>• The investors have to recognize and respect the Papuan <i>adat</i> rights.</li> <li>• The <i>adat</i> land transfers have to do through discussion (<i>musyawarah</i>) with the <i>adat</i> community to agreement on land leasing or transferring, including the compensation.</li> </ul>
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the government sector, but also in the economic sector. The currency of Papua was changed from Dutch currency (NNGf) into Irian Barat Rupiah in 1963, and it was changed again into Indonesia Rupiah in 1965.

The Indonesianization was also implemented in the education sector. The school had to use Indonesia language, teach the Indonesia national anthem and also indoctrinated the student that Papua people were Malay Mongoloid race. This Indonesianization remarked the oppression of Papuan identity.

This policy continued under the Soeharto regime or it became intensified under the Soeharto regime. The Indonesianization was implemented through the development policy with the strong military involvement. The Soeharto regime started the transmigration program and sent mainly the Javanese to the Papua Province for the sake of development equitability and also for the Indonesianization of the space in Papua. The implementation of this program caused the marginalization of Papuan. The central government took the *adat* land of Papuan for the transmigrant settlement areas without the consent

from the Papuan. It was expected to help the cultural assimilation of Papuan into Indonesia (Indonesianization), or actually Java culture as major ethnic group in Indonesia. Other than the government transmigration program, there was also the military transmigration program to stabilize Papua. The usage of Bahasa Indonesia into education system and *Operasi Koteka* became the instrument for unification. These different types of Indonesianization policies caused the marginalization of Papuan.

This marginalization was seen more clearly in the investment policy through exploitation of natural resources in Papua. The *adat* land appropriation took place during this policy implementation. The Law No. 5/1979 on village government facilitated the exploitation of natural resources in Papua, together with other laws governing agrarian, investment, and forest policies. This village law reduced the role of *adat* leader by replacing the *adat* government system with a Java-originated village government system. The newly created village head became an instrument to facilitate the transfer of natural resources to non-Papuans. This also resulted in



the marginalization of Papuan not only in the economic sector but also in the political sector.

One rare exception from the government's Indonesianization policy was the recognition of Papuan Customary Deliberative Assembly (*Lembaga Musyawarah Adat*, LMA) as an *adat* institution. It was created by the Papuan elite such as Theys Hiyo Eluay and it was believed to represent the Papuan. The central government was co-opted LMA to control the traditional/*adat* leaders and minimize conflict in Papua. This council served as an agent for implementing government developmental policies until it changed to oppose the government in 1993 because of the dissatisfaction of Theys with the Soeharto regime.

Under the special autonomy law regime, the central government took a similar strategy by creating a new Customary Community Council (*Lembaga Masyarakat adat*) also called LMA in 2010. First of all, this council aimed to counter the power of the Papuan Customary Council (DAP), the successor of old LMA under Theys Hiyo Eluay. Mostly, the new LMA functioned as a security guardian on behalf of the Indonesian government in order to control the *adat* authority in the government's hands. Secondly, this council has been successfully used as a tool to achieve the exploitation of land and natural resources in Papua, thus positioning the LMA as the development broker of Papua.

The creation of the new LMA is a relatively peaceful mechanism of securing control of Papua by the central government. Unlike previous approaches that utilized repression and violence under the Soeharto regime, the central government has made the new LMA a purported *adat* organization to smooth and achieve the policies without violating human rights. Furthermore, this serves to justify the implementation of policies, which have supposedly been subjected to a process of community consent, through the representatives of the new LMA of Papua. Central government has tried to transform vertical conflicts between the central government and the Papuan indigenous society into horizontal conflicts between different *adat* bodies. The birth of new LMA is causing the tension and conflict between the members and supporters of

DAP—which opposes the central government policy—and the pro-Indonesia members and supporters of LMA which supported the central government policy without using the government attribute. Thus, threats to Indonesian sovereignty are to be successfully reduced. By changing the conflict from vertical to horizontal, the central government has more chances of intervention in Papua. For example, a conflict that was used to be solved through *adat* mechanism can now be a conflict involving the local government and/or security forces because the new LMA is semi-government organization.

Although it may be argued that the establishment of new LMA is a form of government recognition of Papuan communities, this recognition is not based on the Papuan's idea of *adat* as contained in the Indicators of Papua as Land of Peace (Jaringan Damai Papua 2014). In the end, this institutional recognition of *adat* is only artificial and has paved the way for the entrance of the government's policies in Papua in collaboration with a small segment of opportunistic Papuan elite. This government version of recognition made the aim of recognition to fulfill the *adat* community's right more difficult to achieve. The process of *adat* recognition has been corrupted by the government. The government has performed what Hegel called corrupted recognition.

If we look at the MIFEE program in Merauke district, the central government has utilized the new LMA, too by establishing a Merauke district LMA. Merauke LMA was already established in 2003, but the leader of new LMA of Papua, Lenis Kogoya, together with the central government representatives from Ministry of Home Affairs and Ministry of Political, Legal, and Security Affairs officially inducted this council as a part of new LMA in 2012. The district government also supported the new LMA-Merauke by the local regulation No. 4/2013 that is seemingly giving the LMA the authority to represent the Marind people in Merauke. This council helped to smooth the MIFEE project by accelerating the process of land leasing that in the end is causing the grabbing. However, the local government or company cannot be accused of grabbing *adat* lands because the land leasing has been through free, prior, informed, consent (FPIC) from the

Marind people represented by the *adat* institution, new LMA.

The corrupted recognition helps the government free from any severe accusation that the government is neglecting or repressing the Papuan rights. This policy might also help to wipe out the previously tarnished international image of Indonesian government as the serious human right violator by showing the refurbished image of defender of Papuan *adat*. Moreover, the policy could defy the criticism of international NGOs against the current governance of Papua, too.

Different from institutional recognition, spatial recognition is a new issue in Indonesia. Participatory mapping is one way to gain this spatial recognition. The plan to use community participation in national spatial planning formation was started in 1996. In this year, central government enacted the government regulation No. 6/1996 on public participation in spatial planning. After this enactment, several participatory mapping was conducted in several provinces, including Papua. In Papua, participatory mapping was conducted in 1997 for the first time. This mapping was aimed to map the village border. It was difficult, however, for these maps to be adopted into government policies on spatial planning. The government policies on spatial planning were still top-down policies to design the lands and forest for commercial activities. Adopting the map from participatory mapping would be an obstacle for government to appropriate resources.

The participatory mapping has gained importance since the enactment of the Special Autonomy Law No. 21/2001 in Papua. This law has opened up wider opportunities for participation, which has been used by NGOs to carry out participatory mapping in several villages in Papua in order to ensure land formalization and titling. Unlike the participatory mapping in 1997, recent participatory mapping is aimed to map the *adat* territories in the village. Maps produced from participatory mapping are expected to support legal recognition through land formalization or titling. Therefore, participatory mapping has been considered as an important mechanism for *adat* communities in their struggle to claim rights to customary land.

This perception is boosted by NGOs in Indonesia who also advocate on behalf of the Marind Anim indigenous people in Merauke. They believe that participatory mapping can stop the land grabbing under the MIFEE project in Merauke district, Papua, and protect the *adat* land of the Marind Anim. The analysis of the processes of land grabbing as well as subsequent participatory mapping in four villages in the MIFEE area has shown the results contrary to the intended purpose. The participatory mapping has initiated problems. Firstly, it has caused fragmentation and conflict among *adat* communities.

Secondly, the legal recognition of *adat* land through land formalization has led to the co-optation of *adat* land by companies and/or the state. Usually, the key problem for a company is the vagueness that surrounds *adat* land ownership. Participatory mapping renders visible the clear ownership of *adat* land, making it easier for a company to identify the target of negotiation for land. In addition, once a parcel of *adat* land is fixed as land owned by *one* person, *adat* land can be easily transferred into private land and can then be more easily leased by legal means. It is often forgotten that not only the *adat* communities themselves and NGOs, but also investors want legal recognition for *adat* communities. Traditional communities are always seen as obstacles to development and are difficult to target for investors. The map as a result of participatory mapping brings advantage for government, even though local government has not legitimized this map yet. It makes easier for them to find the target person with whom the company representative has to speak and negotiate. Thus, it can be said that participatory mapping is creating a new space for legal land grabbing. By using this map, government can argue that the government recognize and respect the existence of *adat* land, even though this map is only utilized for the sake of investment. This policy also can eradicate the negative image that the government is neglecting the *adat* lands right in the implementation of MIFEE. The corrupted recognition also applies in the participatory mapping.

Based on the description above, institutional recognition has left some serious problematics.

With quite complicated *adat* structures of Papuan, the government has had difficulties in taking the so-called representative demand of the Papuan to be accommodated. Hence it is necessary for the government to have a “representative” agency and the creation of “representative” body causes politics of brokerage among the *adat* elites. By bringing a new representative in the name of *adat* called LMA, the central government has wrenched invisible *adat* structures open and extended the access to the resources within.

Furthermore, spatial recognition has been seen by government as the way to escape from the Papuan’s lingering distrust against the government and from *adat* elites’ competition on development program. Spatial recognition provides basic safety for Papuan livelihood. This is because Papuan has the ability to describe their resource and capital in legal basis. This legal narrative description is important for the Papuan to have equal position against the government and company encroachment on their livelihood. However, this legal basis has sharp blade on the other edge. It expands the opportunity for brokers to pave their way for appropriating resources by encompassing the authority of *adat*. It gives alternative legal routes for personal resource transaction. Both institutional and spatial recognitions leave the scar open for Papuan.

## CONCLUSION

The new government under President Joko Widodo (2014–2019) intends to continue the agricultural expansion in Merauke. After President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) visited Merauke district on 10 May 2015, the central government planned to open another 1.2 million ha for rice cultivation (Presentasi Bupati Merauke, n.d.). The Research Center for Economics and Business of Universitas Gadjah Mada (P2EB-UGM) conducted a research on the availability of potential areas for rice field in Merauke. This research concluded that Merauke District has a vast tract of potential lands for rice fields. The research found out that Merauke district has more than two million hectares of land as available and suitable for rice fields (P2EB UGM, n.d.). Besides that, the central government designated Merauke as

a special economy region (*Kawasan Ekonomi Khusus*, KEK).

This project is also to accelerate the development of regional economy. In Papua, the central government designated four districts, including Merauke district as special economic region, KEK. Based on this plan, Merauke district will develop the agricultural and forestry sectors. This new project is also well equipped with the establishment of new map of spatial planning. Merauke district has launched the new spatial planning which includes the area for 1.2 million hectare of rice field. This new spatial planning has not accommodated the map as a result of participatory mapping yet. This project will be developed and managed by the cooperation between Indonesian state owned company (70% of the total investment) and private companies (30% of the total investment). This one million hectares project is targeted for rice cultivation in three years from 2015 to 2017.<sup>2</sup> The ministry of agriculture has already sent a request to the ministry of environment and forestry to lease the forest status to start this project (Awat MIFEE, 2016). The question raised is where the position of *adat* community will be?

Moreover, to make the land status clear, Jokowi launched the one map policy. The policy aims to create one map as a basis for spatial planning and for the release of all further investment permits. We are not sure if this policy is an opportunity for indigenous peoples to incorporate their traditional territories based on *adat* maps resulting from participatory mapping to strengthen their rights for their own land. In the worst case, the participatory mapping might further facilitate the investment in *adat* land in a greater scale and with greater speed, which has been seen in the implementation of MIFEE. This has to be considered by NGOs in their support of participatory mapping.

<sup>2</sup> It needs to lease the forest status for the lands on the forest areas to open the plantation. It was regulated in article 19 of Forest Law No. 41/1999 and Government Regulation No. 104/2015.

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