



# MASYARAKAT INDONESIA

## MAJALAH ILMU-ILMU SOSIAL INDONESIA

VOLUME 45

NOMOR 2, DESEMBER 2019

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**DDC: 330.9****Marlon Arthur Huwae dan Jaap Timmer*****PUSH AND PULL DRIVEN DEVELOPMENT: SUATU USULAN PARADIGMA PEMBANGUNAN BAGI PAPUA BARAT, INDONESIA*****ABSTRAK**

Papua Barat adalah bagian timur Indonesia dengan sejarah panjang tata kelola dan skema pembangunan di bawah Belanda dan pemerintah Indonesia. Gagasan tentang keterbelahan dan keterlambatan jelas dalam pengembangan dan kebijakan yang diberikan oleh Belanda dan pemerintah Indonesia. Keadaan keterbelahan adalah preferensi orang Papua Barat untuk menjadi Papua Barat yang merdeka, dan atau orang Melanesia yang memuncak pada era Belanda atau menjadi bagian integral Indonesia dalam kerangka Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia. Gagasan keterlambatan negara terkait dengan penerapan model dan kebijakan pembangunan dengan kesan tergesa-gesa yaitu otonomi khusus dan pemekaran di bawah Indonesia dan percepatan model dekolonisasi pembangunan di bawah Belanda. Maka penting untuk merumuskan model alternatif pembangunan dan paradigma yang disebut Push and Pull Driven Development untuk mengembangkan Papua Barat dengan lebih baik.

*Kata kunci: paradigma push and pull driven development, Papua Barat*

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**DDC: 307.7****Irin Oktafiani, I Wayan Suyadnya, dan Triyono****PEMBANGUNAN DAN STRATEGI BERTAHAN HIDUP MASYARAKAT KEPULAUAN KECIL TERLUAR DI PAPUA, INDONESIA****ABSTRAK**

Selama empat dekade terakhir, pengembangan pulau-pulau terluar sejak Orde Baru mengalami kegagalan. Tulisan ini membahas kondisi pembangunan di beberapa pulau kecil terluar di Indonesia Timur saat ini. Tulisan ini memperlihatkan kondisi terbatasnya akses terhadap pembangunan, yang kemudian membentuk strategi bertahan hidup bagi penduduk yang berada di beberapa pulau kecil terluar di Indonesia, yaitu Pulau Liki, Pulau Befondi, Pulau Fani, dan Pulau Brass-fanildo, yang semuanya masuk wilayah Papua. Dengan mempertimbangkan konsep yang diusulkan oleh Harry Jones, pembangunan seharusnya dapat mempertimbangkan tiga unsur dalam kesetaraan yaitu (1) peluang yang sama untuk hidup, (2) perhatian yang sama pada kebutuhan masyarakat, dan (3) meritokrasi. Data penelitian dikumpulkan melalui observasi lapangan dan wawancara mendalam pada Ekspedisi Nusa Manggala 2018. Dengan menggunakan analisis deskriptif terhadap indikator Indeks Desa Membangun, hasil analisis ini menunjukkan bahwa tiga unsur kesetaraan pembangunan belum terasa di wilayah Indonesia Timur dan pembangunan masih menjadi pekerjaan rumah bagi pemerintah dan para pemangku kebijakan.

*Kata kunci: indeks desa membangun, pembangunan dan strategi bertahan hidup, masyarakat pulau kecil terluar, kesetaraan dalam pembangunan, Indonesia Timur*

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**DDC: 307.2**

**Inayah Hidayati, Ade Latifa, Bayu Setiawan, dan Meirina Ayumi Malamassam**

## **KEPUTUSAN MIGRASI PEKERJA MUDA KE KOTA SORONG, PAPUA BARAT**

### **ABSTRAK**

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menjelaskan proses pengambilan keputusan migrasi pekerja muda ke Kota Sorong. Secara umum, penelitian ini akan membahas proses pengambilan keputusan untuk memahami berbagai faktor yang memengaruhi migran, khususnya yang berpendidikan tinggi, bermigrasi ke Kota Sorong, Provinsi Papua Barat. Para migran berpendidikan tinggi tersebut kemungkinan memiliki berbagai pertimbangan ketika memilih Kota Sorong sebagai daerah tujuan migrasi mereka. Data yang dikumpulkan merupakan data kualitatif dari wawancara dan didukung oleh kajian pustaka. Panduan disusun untuk memfasilitasi wawancara dan menghasilkan pemahaman yang lebih baik tentang perilaku migrasi. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa pentingnya memahami migrasi tidak sekedar sebagai suatu proses linear hanya untuk kepentingan ekonomi, namun faktor-faktor non-ekonomi juga berpengaruh dalam pembuatan keputusan migrasi.

*Kata kunci: migrasi internal, tenaga kerja migran, proses pengambilan keputusan*

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**DDC: 307.2**

**Hatib Abdul Kadir**

## **MIGRAN SEBAGAI ASPEK PENTING YANG MENGANCAM ORANG LOKAL PAPUA**

### **ABSTRAK**

Riset ini mengeksplor migrasi internal orang Indonesia ke Papua. Migrasi internal tersebut dalam dua bentuk. Pertama migrasi yang diinisiasi oleh pemerintah melalui transmigrasi, dan kedua migrasi sukarela dengan keinginan dari migran itu sendiri. Implikasi dari migrasi secara massif dan berkelanjutan ini adalah perubahan demografi secara signifikan di Papua. Orang lokal Papua menjadi minoritas baik secara jumlah dan akses mereka di ekonomi. Riset ini dilakukan di Sorong Raya, meliputi Kota Sorong dan Kabupaten Sorong. Dua wilayah ini secara signifikan menunjukkan dominasi migrasi di bidang ekonomi dan meminggirkan orang lokal Papua. Riset ini juga melihat response orang Papua terhadap dominasi migran tersebut.

*Kata kunci: migrasi, dominasi, ancaman, orang lokal Papua*

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**DDC: 323.1**

**Ode Jamal dan Yan Dirk Wabiser**

## **KONTROVERSI REALISASI KURSI AFIRMASI ANGGOTA LEGISLATIF DALAM OTONOMI KHUSUS PAPUA**

### **ABSTRAK**

Munculnya muatan afirmasi dalam UU Otsus Papua merupakan suatu perjuangan panjang yang salah satunya dilatar-belakangi oleh rendahnya perwakilan politik dalam rangka kepentingan Orang Asli Papua (OAP). Kondisi ini pun, mendapat perhatian tim asistensi perancang UU Otsus Papua, yang kemudian munculnya pokok pikiran kuota afirmasi  $\frac{1}{4}$  (satu perempat) anggota Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Papua (DPRP) bagi orang asli Papua. Dalam realisasinya, kuota tambahan anggota DPRP tersebut menemui jalan panjang dan kontroversi antara pihak pemerintah, kelompok masyarakat, dan elite politik. Tujuan dari tulisan ini adalah 1) untuk mengetahui latar belakang munculnya kuota tambahan afirmasi  $\frac{1}{4}$  (satu perempat) anggota DPRP bagi orang asli Papua; dan -2) untuk mengetahui dinamika kontroversi isu kuota tambahan afirmasi  $\frac{1}{4}$  (satu perempat) anggota DPRP bagi orang asli Papua pada Pemilihan Umum 2009 dan 2014. Metode penelitian terdiri dari: pendekatan kualitatif, dan studi kasus. Data primer yang digunakan diperoleh dari wawancara mendalam (in-depth interview) kepada sejumlah narasumber. Sedangkan data sekunder diperoleh dari kajian pustaka dan dokumen. Hasil penelitian menyimpulkan, bahwa: 1) latar belakang munculnya kuota tambahan anggota DPRP, merupakan suatu kebijakan afirmasi dalam meningkatkan partisipasi politik orang asli Papua. Harapan dari kebijakan afirmasi ini sebagai suatu bagian penyelesaian kesenjangan dalam rekrutmen politik orang asli Papua, terutama yang terjadi di bawah rezim Orde Baru; dan -2) Penafsiran berbeda tentang muatan UU Otsus Papua, khususnya kuota kursi afirmasi baik pemerintah pusat-daerah, elite politik, dan kelompok masyarakat adalah faktor sulitnya kuota kursi afirmasi ini direalisasikan.

*Kata Kunci: otonomi khusus, afirmasi, legislatif*



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**DDC: 302.2**

**Fitria Widiyani Roosinda dan Ariyan Alfraita**

**KRISIS PAPUA DALAM PERNYATAAN PEJABAT NEGARA DI MEDIA DARING: ANALISIS TEKSTUAL KONSTRUKSI WACANA KRITIS**

**ABSTRAK**

Beberapa waktu ini, Indonesia sedang mengalami ancaman disintegrasi bangsa di Papua yang diawali insiden di asrama mahasiswa Papua di Surabaya, dan bentrok mahasiswa Papua dengan warga di Malang, merembet menjadi kerusuhan yang terjadi di kota-kota besar Papua. Sudah barang tentu gejolak nasional semacam ini akan menimbulkan berbagai tanggapan dari banyak pihak, khususnya pemerintah. Penelitian ini menganalisis pernyataan-pernyataan pejabat negara di Indonesia yang berkaitan dengan krisis di Papua yang diberitakan media online. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan analisis wacana kritis van Dijk yang membagi analisis wacana menjadi 3 dimensi, yang pertama dimensi teks, kedua dimensi kognisi sosial dan yang ketiga dimensi konteks/praktik sosial, hasilnya media online Indonesia hanya memiliki perbedaan di level skematik yaitu penekanan poin penting dalam isi berita.

*Kata kunci: krisis Papua, media online, pejabat negara*

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**DDC: 398.2**

**Adolof Ronsumbre dan Marlon Arthur Huwae**

**MEMITOSKAN MITOS: KONSEP LEGALITAS KEPEMILIKAN TANAH ADAT DI KABUPATEN MANOKWARI PROVINSI PAPUA BARAT**

**ABSTRAK**

Saling klaim kepemilikan atas tanah oleh sejumlah suku menjadi fenomena yang terus terjadi di Kabupaten Manokwari Provinsi Papua Barat. Tahun 2013 hingga tahun 2019 misalnya, terjadi 32 aksi pemalangan fasilitas publik milik pemerintah daerah dan swasta yang dibangun diatas tanah yang diklaim oleh sejumlah marga dan suku sebagai pemilik tanah yang sah. Masing-masing klen/marga dan suku mengklaim sebagai pemilik yang sah. Legalitas kepemilikan tanah oleh sejumlah suku dan klen/marga, dilakukan dengan mengkonstruksi mitos. Tulisan ini berbasis data fenomena saling klaim tiga suku tentang hak atas tanah di kawasan Bandara Udara Rendani Manokwari. Ketiga suku tersebut adalah suku Arfak, Doreri dan Mansim Mansim Borai. Untuk menguatkan klaim kepemilikan tanah, masing-masing memunculkan mitosnya sendiri. Namun, karena tidak ada kata sepakat, untuk mendapatkan pembayaran ganti rugi atas penggunaan tanah, mitos baru dimunculkan, yakni hak atas tanah adat yang digunakan untuk Bandara Udara Rendani Manokwari bukan milik salah satu suku, melainkan milik ketiga suku: Arfak, Doreri, dan Mansim Borai. Hal itu berarti mitos yang pernah ada dimitoskan lagi sehingga menghasilkan mitos baru. Mitos di produksi untuk menambah fakta tentang legalitas kepemilikan hak atas tanah yang sah oleh sejumlah klen/marga dan suku.

*Kata kunci: klaim kepemilikan tanah, memitoskan mitos, legalitas kepemilikan tanah, tanah adat Manokwari*

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**Bondan Widyatmoko**

**RINGKASAN DISERTASI**

**IMPLEMENTASI SERTIFIKASI MINYAK SAWIT BERKELANJUTAN INDONESIA (ISPO): PELUANG INKLUSI BAGI PETANI SAWIT SWADAYA DI PROVINSI RIAU**

**ABSTRAK**

Disertasi ini meneliti mengenai kesempatan petani kelapa sawit untuk terinklusi ke dalam rantai produksi kelapa sawit yang tercipta melalui pelaksanaan sertifikasi *Indonesian Sustainable Palm Oil* (ISPO). Penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa pelaksanaan sertifikasi ISPO dapat mendorong formalisasi lahan sawit petani swadaya melalui proses *enclave*. Selain itu, ISPO juga mendorong upaya pencegahan konflik melalui penataan dan penggunaan lahan dengan penataan penggunaan dan pemanfaatan lahan berdasarkan bukti legal kepemilikan (SHM) dan bukti pengelolaan kebun (STDB). Hal ini mendorong proses inklusi petani sawit swadaya dengan semakin terbukanya akses permodalan, informasi serta terbangunnya sistem keterlacakan produksi sawit di Indonesia. Penelitian disertasi ini merupakan penelitian kualitatif yang menggunakan survey rumah tangga petani, wawancara, pengamatan terlibat serta studi pustaka sebagai metode pengumpulan data.

*Kata Kunci: implementasi, minyak sawit, berkelanjutan, petani sawit swadaya*

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Ayu Nova Lissandhi

TINJAUAN BUKU

**MEMAHAMI ETNOGRAFI RUANG DAN TEMPAT**

Judul Buku: *Spatializing Culture Studies: The Ethnography of Space and Place*.

Penulis: Setha Low (2017). Penerbit: Routledge, New York, USA, Hlm. xviii +263.

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Eristya P. Irwanto

TINJAUAN BUKU

**DINAMIKA EKONOMI POLITIK DALAM KEBIJAKAN PERTANIAN  
DAN PANGAN**

Judul Buku: *The Political Economy of Agricultural and Food Policies*.

Penulis: Johan Swinnen (2018). Penerbit: Palgrave Macmillan, New York, USA, 264 hlm.



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**DDC: 330.9****Marlon Arthur Huwae dan Jaap Timmer****PUSH AND PULL DRIVEN DEVELOPMENT: A PROPOSED DEVELOPMENT PARADIGM FOR WEST PAPUA, INDONESIA***ABSTRACT*

*West Papua is located in the eastern part of Indonesia with a long story of governance and development schemes under the Dutch and Indonesian governments. The notions of state segregation and tardiness were stated obviously in the development and regulations given by the Dutch and Indonesian government. The segregated circumstance was the Papuans' preferences in order to be an independent West Papua and or the high number of Melanesians in the Dutch era or becomes an integral part of the Republic of Indonesia. Furthermore, the notions of state tardiness in regard to the implementation of development model and policy are related to special autonomy and the creation of new regions under the Indonesian government and the acceleration of the decolonized development model under the Dutch government. It is, therefore, important to formulate an alternative development model and paradigm which is called Push and Pull Driven Development to develop a better West Papua.*

**Keywords:** *paradigm, push and pull driven development, West Papua*

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**DDC: 307.7****Irin Oktafiani, I Wayan Suyadnya, dan Triyono****DEVELOPMENT AND ADAPTATION STRATEGY FOR OUTERMOST SMALL ISLAND COMMUNITY IN PAPUA, INDONESIA***ABSTRACT*

*Over the last four decades, the development of outer islands since New Order has grown failure. This paper explains the actual condition of some outer islands in East Indonesia which made an adaptation strategy for the peoples regardless of some limited access towards development. By considering the concept proposed by Harry Jones, the development itself should consider three elements of equity to achieve which are, (1) equal life chances, (2) equal concern for people's needs, and (3) meritocracy. Data were collected by observation and in-depth interviews during Ekspedisi Nusa Manggala 2018. The study was conducted in Liki, Befondo, Fani and Brass-Fanildo Islands, in North Papua, Indonesia. We started the study by using the descriptive analysis towards Village Building Index indicators and drew on varied data sources. The result of analysis denotes that the outer islands is of great concern to be managed and the marginalized development there leads to the emergence of ideological, structural, organizational inequality driven by poor infrastructure and geographical conditions. We conclude that development equity has not happened yet in East Indonesia and still becomes a continuous work for the Indonesian government and stakeholders.*

**Keywords:** *Village Building Index, development and adaptation strategy, outermost small island community, development equity, East Indonesia*

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**DDC: 307.2**

**Inayah Hidayati, Ade Latifa, Bayu Setiawan, dan Meirina Ayumi Malamassam**

## **DECISION OF MIGRATION OF YOUNG WORKFORCE TO SORONG CITY, WEST PAPUA**

### **ABSTRACT**

*This study aims to explain the decision-making process of migration of young workforce to Sorong City. This research will discuss the decision-making process to understand various factors that influence migrants, especially those who are highly educated, migrate to Sorong city, West Papua Province. These highly educated migrants might have various considerations when choosing Sorong City as their migration destination. The data collected is qualitative data from interviews and is supported by a literature review. Guidelines are prepared to facilitate interviews and produce a better understanding of migration behaviour. The results show that the importance of understanding migration is not just a linear process for the sake of the economy, but non-economic factors also influence migration decision making.*

*Keywords: internal migration, young workforce migrant, decision-making process*

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**DDC: 307.2**

**Hatib Abdul Kadir**

## **MIGRANTS AS A PROMINENT ASPECT THREATENING LOCAL PAPUANS**

### **ABSTRACT**

*This research explores the internal migration of Indonesian people to Papua. Internal migration is considered in two types. First, migration which is initiated by the government through transmigration. Second, voluntary migration in which migrants have their own desire to migrate. The implication of massive and continued migration is a significant demographic change in Papua. Local people in Papua become minorities in terms of numbers and economic accesses. This research was conducted in Sorong Raya encompassing Sorong City and Sorong District. These two regions significantly denotes the dominance of economic migration which marginalizes local Papuans. This research also observed local people in Papua's responses towards migrants domination.*

*Keyword: migration, domination, threat, local Papuans*

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**DDC: 323.1**

**Ode Jamal dan Yan Dirk Wabiser**

## **CONTROVERSY ON REALIZATION OF LEGISLATIVE MEMBER AFFIRMATION SEATS IN SPECIAL AUTONOMY FOR PAPUA IN 2009 AND 2014 ELECTIONS**

### **ABSTRACT**

*The enactment of an affirmation article in the Papuan Special Autonomy Law (UU Otsus Papua) is a long struggle that is motivated by the lack of political representation for the interest of indigenous Papuans or so-called Orang Asli Papua (OAP). This situation also received attention from the Drafting Assistance Team of UU Otsus Papua. They raised an idea to reserve the affirmative quota in which  $\frac{1}{4}$  (one fourth) of the members of the Papuan People's Representative Council (DPRP) is for indigenous Papuans. During implementation, the additional quota of DPRP members becomes a controversy for the government, communities, and political elites. This article aims 1) to understand the backgrounds of  $\frac{1}{4}$  (one fourth) additional affirmative quota of DPRP members for indigenous Papuans, and; 2) to find out the dynamics of the controversy over the issue of  $\frac{1}{4}$  (one fourth) additional affirmative quota of DPRP members for indigenous Papuans in the 2009 and 2014 General Elections. The research methods consist of a qualitative approach and a case study. Primary data used in this research were derived from in-depth interviews. On the other hand, secondary data was obtained from a review of literature and documents. The results are: 1) the underlying reason for this additional quota for DPRP members is a part of an affirmative policy to increase the indigenous Papuans' political participation. This affirmative policy is expected to resolve the gaps in the political recruitment of indigenous Papuans, particularly under the New Order regime dan; 2) the different interpretations of the Papua Special Autonomy Law's contents, especially regarding the affirmative seat quota for central and local government, political elites, and community, are the main factor that leads this affirmative seat quota difficult to be implemented.*

*Keywords: special autonomy, affirmation, legislative*

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**DDC: 302.2**

**Fitria Widiyani Roosinda dan Ariyan Alfraita**

**STATE OFFICIALS' STATEMENTS N ONLINE MEDIA REGARDING  
THE CRISIS OF PAPUA: CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS**

**ABSTRACT**

*Recently, Indonesia has been threatened by the disintegration issue in Papua which initially began because of the incident happened in the Papuan students' dormitory in Surabaya and the clash between Papuan students and citizens in Malang. This situation led to the high-tense chaos that occurred in big cities in Papua and gained multifaceted perspectives and responses from many actors, particularly the government. This research analyzes the statements delivered by the state officials on online media in terms of the crisis in Papua. Utilizing critical discourse analysis, Van Dijk divides discourse analysis into 3 dimensions. First, textual dimension; second, social cognitive dimension, and; third, contextual or social practice dimension. The result is that the online media in Indonesia merely have differences in the schematic level which is the emphasis of important points in news' contents.*

*Keywords: crisis of Papua, online media, state officials*

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**DDC: 398.2**

**Adolof Ronsumbre dan Marlon Arthur Huwae**

**MYTHING THE MYTHS: LEGALITY OF CUSTOMARY LAND OWNERSHIP  
CONCEPT IN MANOKWARI DISTRICT, WEST PAPUA PROVINCE**

**ABSTRACT**

*Mutual claims in land ownership by several tribes are a continuing phenomenon happening in Manokwari Regency, West Papua Province. From 2013 to 2019, for instance, there were 32 actions undertaken to block public facilities owned by local government and private companies which have been built on the land belong to certain tribes or clans. Each tribe or clan claims as to the legal owners of the land. The legality of land ownership done by several clans or tribes is undergone by constructing a myth. This paper is based on the data that shows the mutual claim phenomena of three tribes on land rights in the area of Rendani Manokwari Airport. These three tribes are Arfak, Doreri, and Mansim Mansim Borai. Each tribe generates its own myth to reinforce land ownership claims. However, when there is no agreement, a new myth is raised to obtain compensation for land use. The myth is that the rights of customary land used for the operation of the Rendani Manokwari Airport does not belong to one tribe, but those of Arfak, Doreri, and Mansim Borai. It means that the myths that have existed are resurrected to produce new myths. The myths are produced to add facts regarding the legality of land ownership for some clans and tribes.*

*Keywords: land ownership claims, myths, the legality of land ownership, Manokwari's customary land*

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**Bondan Widyatmoko**

**DISSERTATION SUMMARY**

**THE IMPLEMENTATION OF INDONESIAN SUSTAINABLE PALM OIL  
CERTIFICATION (ISPO): OPPORTUNITY FOR INCLUSION OF PALM OIL  
SMALLHOLDER IN RIAU PROVINCE**

**ABSTRACT**

*This dissertation examines the opportunities for oil palm farmers to be included in the palm oil production chain which is created through the implementation of the Indonesian Sustainable Palm Oil Certification (ISPO). This research shows that the implementation of ISPO certification can encourage the formalization of palm oil smallholders through the enclave process. In addition, ISPO also encourages efforts to prevent conflicts through arrangement and land use based on the legal evidence of ownership or land certificate (SHM) and Cultivation Registration Receipt (STDB). This encourages the inclusion of palm oil smallholders with the increasing open access to capital and information and the establishment of a traceability system for palm oil production in Indonesia. This dissertation research is a qualitative study using farmer household surveys, interviews, participant observations, and literature studies as data collection methods.*

*Keyword: implementation, palm oil, sustainable, palm oil smallholder*

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Ayu Nova Lissandhi

TINJAUAN BUKU

**MEMAHAMI ETNOGRAFI RUANG DAN TEMPAT**

Judul Buku: *Spatializing Culture Studies: The Ethnography of Space and Place*.

Penulis: Setha Low (2017). Penerbit: Routledge, New York, USA, Hlm. xviii +263.

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TINJAUAN BUKU

**DINAMIKA EKONOMI POLITIK DALAM KEBIJAKAN PERTANIAN  
DAN PANGAN**

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# PUSH AND PULL DRIVEN DEVELOPMENT: A PROPOSED DEVELOPMENT PARADIGM FOR WEST PAPUA, INDONESIA

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## ABSTRAK

Papua Barat adalah bagian timur Indonesia dengan sejarah panjang tata kelola dan skema pembangunan di bawah Belanda dan pemerintah Indonesia. Gagasan tentang keterbelahan dan keterlambatan jelas dalam pengembangan dan kebijakan yang diberikan oleh Belanda dan pemerintah Indonesia. Keadaan keterbelahan adalah preferensi orang Papua Barat untuk menjadi Papua Barat yang merdeka, dan atau orang Melanesia yang memuncak pada era Belanda atau menjadi bagian integral Indonesia dalam kerangka Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia. Gagasan keterlambatan negara terkait dengan penerapan model dan kebijakan pembangunan dengan kesan tergesa-gesa yaitu otonomi khusus dan pemekaran di bawah Indonesia dan percepatan model dekolonisasi pembangunan di bawah Belanda. Maka penting untuk merumuskan model alternatif pembangunan dan paradigma yang disebut Push and Pull Driven Development untuk mengembangkan Papua Barat dengan lebih baik.

**Kata kunci:** *paradigma push and pull driven development, Papua Barat*

## ABSTRACT

*West Papua is located in the eastern part of Indonesia with a long story of governance and development schemes under the Dutch and Indonesian governments. The notions of state segregation and tardiness were stated obviously in the development and regulations given by the Dutch and Indonesian government. The segregated circumstance was the Papuans' preferences in order to be an independent West Papua and or the high number of Melanesians in the Dutch era or becomes an integral part of the Republic of Indonesia. Furthermore, the notions of state tardiness in regard to the implementation of development model and policy are related to special autonomy and the creation of new regions under the Indonesian government and the acceleration of the decolonized development model under the Dutch government. It is, therefore, important to formulate an alternative development model and paradigm which is called Push and Pull Driven Development to develop a better West Papua.*

**Keywords:** *push and pull driven development, West Papua*

## INTRODUCTION

### Background

The development of West Papua has been done into two different eras: the Dutch Era and the Indonesian era. The mode of the development is, in fact, different as these two eras embrace a different approach to develop West Papua, Indonesia. The Dutch for example shifts its development model from colonisation into decolonisation through education, economic development, political institution and investment on building

awareness of the elites as West Papuan and not to be framed on their ethnocentrism. In contrast, the development platform implemented by the Indonesia government is more onto recolonisation, and later it is shifted into decentralisation through special autonomy law in 2001 and division of Papua (Partition) into provinces, regencies and districts. The goal of Special autonomy is to give more power and participation to West Papuans to govern and to run a development program with massive funding from central government.

Special Autonomy, however, fails to give meaningful development that leads to resistance. In 2019, for example, Papua and Papua Barat province are crowned as the most impoverished province in Indonesia. This number is hand in hand with the figure of the health status of Papua Barat province such as poor quality of health infrastructure and lack of professional medic (Huwae, 2019). In terms of economic, the flypaper effect occurs, which is translated as the spending of the Papuan government does not give a positive impact on the economy at the local level. With these setbacks, there is growing resentment and sense of disintegration claiming that Special Autonomy is a failure and self-determination will be the remedy. In January 2019, it is claimed by the United Liberation Movement for West Papua (ULMWP) Leader, Beny Wenda, that 1.8 million West Papuans sign the petition for a referendum. The petition is supported by Vanuatu that becomes the broker for the meeting between the ULMWP leader with the UN human right commission.

The submission of the petition shows the fragility of Indonesia and the importance of alternative development paradigm to develop Papua. The fragility state index of Indonesia in 2019 is quite alarming, even though it shows significant improvement. Messner et al., 2019 state that categorises Indonesia state fragility index as an elevated warning, but it shows positive long-term progress from 2009 to 2019. Apart from the positive progress, the journey of West Papua as the nation is still bleak and hope is probably found in referendum and independence. Unfortunately, the independence of West Papua has the potential to further ignite the fire of “Balkanization of Indonesia” (Singh, 2008). Accordingly, it is essential to liberate West Papua under the new lenses of the development paradigm.

### **Problem Identification**

The problem related to West Papuan development is considered as a wicked problem. The problem is not only related to the socio-cultural aspect but also economic, political, ideological, governance, and humanitarian aspects. The problem can be classified based on times and the cause

of conflict. Based on time, there are four main windows of time: pre-state and nation-building before the act of free choice, integration, the state and nation-building under Indonesia, the crisis due to the fall of strong state New Order and the post-crisis by the implementation of special autonomy and partition. Another issue that is essential is conflict. Based on conflict, it is essential to capture the cause/ the roots of the conflict.

The absence of West Papua voice in determining their future is the central problem in pre-state and nation-building (1950-1969). Long before, the implementation of the act of free choice, the West Papuans have embraced their dignity as a free nation. It is a sacred, yet holly promise from their father, The Dutch. Even though there is antagonism and the small number of the pro-Indonesian group, the majority of West Papuans nurture the idea of sovereignty to voice their choice and decision. In contrast, the discussion about the West Papuan future between the Dutch, the government of Indonesia and the United Nations is failed to involve West Papuans. There is a minimum (absence) of West Papuan representatives in the agreement regarding the future of West Papua before the act of free choice and transfer of power from the Dutch to the UNTEA and from UNTEA to Indonesia (Elmslie, 2002). West Papuans are like a betrothed maiden who is betrayed by the Dutch, the U.S.A and Australia. West Papuans are practically sold to Indonesia with the dowry of “annihilation of communism”.

Secondly, the integration of West Papuans into Indonesia (1969) is a darker story in which the skeleton of it haunts the present progress of integration. The West Papuans are not the active supporter of Sukarno’s nation-building effort to integrate West Papuan into Indonesia (Timmer, 2006). The integration is also carried out with a hard approach and with the use of coercive power/ military oppression. There is a number of military oppressions to crush the West Papuan resistance prior to the act of free choice (Pigay, 2000). The act of free choice in 1969 is also considered as a sham because it is orchestrated by the military in which the participants are handpicked and threatened by the military to crown Indonesia as the

mother of West Papua (Aspinal, 2006). The flaws in the integration process between Indonesia and West Papua and the implementation of the act of free choice lead to conflict, violence, human right abuse, resentment, resistance, and further split of identity (Budiardjo & Liong, 1988; Elmslie, 2002; Penders, 2002; Saltford, 2003).

Thirdly, the state and nation-building after integration with Indonesia (1969-1998) is painted with the monstrous face of the state under New Order with strong military power. The military forces are directed to crush the remnant of West Papuan resistance. The military oppressions are carried out to repress and to terminate the anti-Indonesian resistance (Budiardjo & Liong, 1984), which then results in a human right violation, torture, and human casualty (Kingsbury, 1998, pp.185-186; Fernida et.al, 2015, pp.3-4; Amnesty International Indonesia, 2018, p.28) and the transformation of passive and active resistance movement to anti-colonialism resistance (Budiardjo and Liong, 1988, p.64). The military operation and conflict further created a deep sense of identity split regarding West Papuans-Melanesian identity or West Indonesian Papuan. West Papuans consider themselves as Melanesian (frizzy hair and black skin), and they are not Indonesian and Asian, while Indonesia government consider West Papua as an integral part of Indonesia, and the disintegration of West Papua can further fuel disintegration of other regions in Indonesia (Singh, 2008).

Under the state and nation-building after integration with Indonesia, the development dehumanise West Papuan in their own land. They are dwarfed by the development. They are the object of the development, the alienated strangers in their own land due to industrialisation and exploitation. The problem of West Papua is not limited to the flaw in the integration process but also extend to forced resettlement due to mineral extraction owned by foreign investors (Budiardjo and Liong, 1988, p.viii). The development is carried out in the form of natural extraction, infrastructure development and migration, while military oppression still exists. Accordingly, the residue of the flaw of integration spirals into memory, attitude, the behaviour of resistance and conflict. The conflict and West Papuan resistance

are related to oppression against culture and lifestyles, racial discrimination, the influx of migration, marginalisation of West Papuans as squatters in their own land and a massive number of casualties related to the military operation which ranges from 100,000 to 150,000 (Budiardjo and Liong, 1988, p.viii). The military also has a close relationship with the multinational company in West Papua by providing security of the daily operation of the multinational company. The political economy of security service gives the incentive to destabilise the zone, and at the same time, the security forces have little interest with the solution of the conflict (Chauvel and Bakti, 2004, p.ix). Therefore, the problematic development leads to the marginalisation of West Papuans and destruction of ecology (Elmslie, 2002), strong resentment against Indonesia (Timmer, 2008, p.36), genocide (Ondowame, 2006, p.133), land grabbing for commercial interest sponsored by government, and demographic imbalance due to immigrants that makes West Papuans to be minority in their own land (Elmslie, 2017, p.10).

At the time of crisis related to the financial crisis and the fall of New Order (1998-2001), West Papuan can voice demand of independence which is then solved with a sealed compromise. It is in the first time of history; the West Papuan delegation can meet the president of Indonesia to submit their petition for independence. The independence, however, is not granted. Instead, the special autonomy which is later accompanied with partition is given to West Papua as a sealed compromise. Instead of promoting humanistic development to embrace all West Papuans, the special autonomy seems to be a sealed compromise and the only solution between elites in Jakarta and elites in West Papua which in return creates dependence. The hopeless West Papuan have limited choice but only to accept the special autonomy. Special autonomy is deeply rooted in the feeling of marginalisation, colonisation and threat towards genocide (Chauvel, 2005, p.54). (Kirskey, 2012) also states that "people who are stuck in subordinate position often have few options other than engaging with dominant institutions and building coalitions with agents of power". Chauvel (2003, p. 127) highlights that despite the rejection and distrust over



special autonomy related to alienation and cycle of repression, special autonomy law resembles a compromise between the broad section of Papuan elites and the national civilian elites at the national parliament. The compromise in the form of Special Autonomy also provides no room for West Papuans to withdraw even though the change might take place. The compromise can change the dominant system of power and bring change where withdrawal is difficult or even impossible (Kirskey, 2012, p.6). As the withdrawal is difficult or impossible, the dependence is formed. The dependence is negative since it is opportunistically engineered by the elite. The political elite who support dialogue with the Jakarta carefully establish and maintain the dependence by convincing the importance of accommodating the grievance of West Papuans and by capitalising the profit from the relationship (Timmer, 2008).

In the post-crisis (2001 to present day), the development is carried out under the banner of decentralisation called special autonomy and partition, yet it is “toothless” in implementation and impact to indonesianize and humanises West Papuans. In the report of Kemitraan regarding the evaluation of special autonomy in 2012, 2013 and 2014, the West Papua and Papua province still experience the serious problem in terms of policymaking, education, health, workforce, social sectors, infrastructure, environmental sectors even in policy implementation (Kemitraan, 2012, 2013). For instance, the local government is ineffective in development planning, balancing the need for development acceleration and West Papuan affirmation due to lack of standardisation, and operational procedure (Kemitraan, 2014, p. 43). The implementation of special autonomy is also crippled by weak governance and corruption at the local level (McGibbon, 2004, p.34; Nolan et al. 2014, p.430), regional tension (Timmer, 2007, p. 624), conflict (Nolan et al. 2014, p.430), fragmentation and jurisdictional authority confusion due to partition (McWilliam, 2011, p.150). In fact, under special autonomy and partition, the governance and the political issues are included as the contributing factors in exacerbating rural poverty in West Papua (Resosudarmo et al. 2014, p.457).

Special autonomy and partition are also less effective in humanising and indonesianising West Papuans. The Special Autonomy and partition are a crisis-driven policy (a quick fix solution with money and power). It is implemented with no inclusive dialogue, discussion, and negotiation about the root of the problem in West Papua (Pekey, 2018, p.169). Special autonomy and partition are the tool to maintain integrity of West Papua (Sullivan, 2003). Accordingly, despite the huge amount of money given to West Papua through special autonomy, the human development index is still low, and the partition is viewed as useful divide and rule tactic since it gives incentive to create more villages, and district by inflating population statistic (Nolan et al, 2014, p.410). West Papuans are also failed to seize the opportunity provided by the special autonomy due to the division among themselves (Bertrads, 2015, p. 174). The failure to optimise the benefits of special autonomy is likely to be related to the poor capacity of West Papuans. In this case, the capacity of West Papuans to adapt to open governance and democracy is inadequate (Timmer, 2007, p. 618). In addition, special autonomy emphasises on empowering the elites in Papua instead of bringing West Papua closer to national fold (Chauvel and Bhakti, 2004, p.ix). Accordingly, the special autonomy and partition fail on providing the social and unity basis. The failure on social and unity basis is related to the negative image of special autonomy fund which is considered as a step toward the independence of Papua (Chauvel and Bhakti, 2004, p. ix). Special autonomy is also associated with “blood money” as the compensation of human casualty and it leads to conflict and segregation among West Papuans and between West Papuans and non-West Papuans (Huwae, 2016, p.100).

Special autonomy and partition cannot function well as it is open only to the elite and group who can capitalise their relationship and power. The benefits of special autonomy are centred on elites while the grassroots are left from participation and meaningful positive impacts (Giay et al. 2010). The opportunistic elites try to secure the benefits for themselves due to the uncertainty of the future policy outcome with Indonesia (Timmer, 2007, p.625). The capability

of the elites to monopoly the benefits is also related to their relation and manoeuvre in the theatre of power. There is a group of indigenous activists who successfully finds “cracks in the architecture of power” to benefit themselves financially from the multinational companies, foreign governments, and Indonesian occupiers (Kirskey, 2012, p.xiii).

Finally, the problem of West Papua is also related to the unresolved conflict and major causes of conflict between West Papuans and the government of Indonesia so that the resistance still exists at the present day with growing support from the international actors. The unresolved conflict is related to the problem summed up by the statement of Budiarti (2017,p.23). Both the West Papua youth and the West Papuan diaspora perceive colonialism, imperialism and militarism as the root of the problem in West Papua as the root of conflict (Budiatri, 2017, p. 23). The idea that West Papua is already independence, military oppression, human right abuse, historical grievance and accepted historical narratives are the unresolved problem to present day. The major causes of conflicts are also multi-dimensional and complex. The causes of conflict are related to complex inter-related factors. They include oppression against culture and lifestyles, racial discrimination, the influx of migration, marginalisation of West Papuans, industrialisation and exploitation (Budiardjo and Liong, 1988, pp.vii-viii), frustration over limited development success, ongoing repression, sentiment of being different and suffering (Timmer, 2008, p.36). The causes are also extended into alternative history of West Papuan narratives (cycle of man civilisation, genealogical connection between Papua and Java, and Papuan constitution) that is considered subversive by Jakarta (Timmer, 2015, p.97). The cause of conflict is related to the past and present times: historical grievances, human right violence due to state sanctions, economic injustice and institutional racism (McLeod et al.2016, pp.11-12), history and political status, oppression and human rights abuse (Budiatri, 2017, p.17), and unequal distribution of wealth and development as well as lack of respect of fundamental human rights of its people from militarism, immigration and cultural domination (Ondowame, 2000, p.327-335).

The recent racism against West Papuan students, in fact, has ignited an enormous mass of demonstration in entire West Papua in August 2019. The racist labelling of West Papuans students who are studying in Java as the ape has spawned into a strong collective movement or probably a second wave of West Papuan spring to pursue the idea of freedom and independence of West Papua. The racism over West Papuan students is, in fact, a long on going labelling towards West Papuans students. The West Papuan students who are undertaking education in Java experience the racist labelling such as the ape, Papuan pig and filthy black (Timmer, 2015 p.102). With the advancement of technology and connectivity, the

Moreover, there is growing support from international players regarding the independence of West Papuans especially from Nauru, Vanuatu, and the Pacific Island Forum (Chauvel, 2005, p.62; Budiarti, 2017, p.23). It is related to technology advancement and reliable connection between West Papuan diaspora and West Papuan youth group in Indonesia as well as the active campaign over West Papua issue in the international sphere. As an illustration, United Liberation Movement for West Papua (ULMWP) can directly publish issue related to violence and repression to international readers because it is closely related and connected online with the West Papuan youth organisation that is pro-independence and pro-democracy (Budiarti, 2017, p.26). ULMWP is an organisation established by West Papuan diaspora.

### **The Scope of The Problem**

While there is much research on flaw on the integration process, the act of free choice, the logic behind the growing resistance of West Papuans towards Indonesia, and failure of special autonomy, regrettably, the researchers know less about an operational model that can give meaningful development to West Papua. In terms of solving the conflict, Ondowme (2000, p.328-336) mentions the five key stages of conflict resolution: ceasefire, third party intervention, military withdrawal and end of immigration and three governmental forms autonomy, federation and independence. Kirskey (2012, p. 15) mentions

that it is important to West Papuans to deal with the complex interdependence rather than absolute independence. For this reason, both the strategy of collaboration and expansive imagination should be implemented to bring opportunity in the field of historical possibility (Kirskey, 2012, p.xiii). Anderson (2015, p.52) also mentions that it is crucial to recentralize the government services under the ministry for West Papua since the local government is not able to set up a detailed administrative framework for special autonomy. Anderson (2015, p.52) also highlights the importance of security reformation, dialogue, reconciliation and action to end impunity. Similarly, Widjojo et al. (2008, p.16) mention that it is essential to implement a new paradigm of development that enhances public services and welfare of West Papuans. Widjojo et al (2008,p.16) further elaborate that it is also substantial to have a dialogue between Jakarta and West Papua, a reconciliation towards human rights abuse, a historical truth and the willingness of Indonesia to admit them as the state failure in the past, and recognition of marginalisation and discrimination to empower West Papuans. Furthermore, Elisabeth (2017, p.254) mentions that to develop West Papua, it is important to have an inclusive dialogue between Jakarta and all elements of West Papua (government, community, diaspora, resistant and armed group). Elisabeth (2017, p.254) also further highlights the importance of solving the past problem related to military oppression and human right abuse, and it is essential to accelerate the empowerment and development of West Papua that is free of separatist stigma, manipulation and repression.

By considering the previous studies above, the research tries to fill the gap by elaborating a functioning model and development paradigm that consider the historical development in West Papua, Indonesia. The functional model and its development paradigm are absent from previous studies. The proposed functional model is called push and pull driven development. With the proposed functional model and its development called push and pull driven development, the “gems” in the history of development from the Dutch to Indonesia can be analysed and might be

valuable to upgrade the broken vessel of special autonomy.

## METHOD

The research method is the “knife” used to dissect the phenomenon in the world. As a “knife”, it is important to carefully select the research design, data collection and data analysis. As the theme of the research is centralised on the formulation of the development paradigm and model called push and pull driven development, the research design chosen is qualitative research. The data collection is carried out in the framework of secondary research, while the analysis of data is done with the lenses of qualitative analysis.

Desk Research was employed for the purpose of analysing the data. In terms of its nature and style, desk research accommodates review of information (Smith et al, 2012, p. 920), gathering, using, validating and mining published accessible data from government, public, private and corporate (McNeil, 2005, pp.55-65). The process of desk research consists of several main stages: formulating clear scope of research, starting with general overview, listing the available sources from internet and library, writing and sorting out the found data logically, reviewing the data, evaluating the sufficient depth of the data, and comparing the data (McNeil, 2005, pp. 70-71).

The data collection is carried out in the light of secondary data analysis. There are three main stages of secondary data analysis namely developing research questions, identifying the data set and thoroughly evaluation of the data set (Johston, 2014, pp.620-621). The development of research question is carried out by scrutinising the previous research about development in West Papua, Indonesia. Based on the readings, the gap is identified, and the research questions are formulated. The research question is centred on the meaningful alternative development paradigm and model for West Papua, Indonesia.

To analyse the data, the qualitative analysis is conducted. O’leary (2017) mentions that there are six major stages to do the qualitative analysis: identifying the bias, reducing and coding into themes, searching for pattern and inter-connection,

**Table 1** Strategy to minimise Bias (Morse et al. 2002)

<b>Elements</b>	<b>Strategies</b>
Investigator Responsiveness	Researcher should be creative, sensitive, flexible and skilful in determining the reliability and validity of the study through verification.
Methodological Coherence	There is a congruence between research questions and the method.
Appropriate Sample	Sample is chosen by considering the representation and knowledge of the research topic to ensure effective and efficient data saturation, maximum quality of data and minimum dross.
Concurrently Data Collection and Analysis	It is important to enable mutual interaction between “what is known and what one needs to know” and to have data to analysis integration to maintain validity and reliability.
Theoretical Thinking	Theoretical thinking is the process of macro-micro perspective. To avoid cognitive leaps, constant check and recheck are essential to build a strong foundation. Ideas obtained from the data are reconfirmed in new data, which constitutes a new idea. The new ideas are verified in data collected.
Theory Development	Theory development is a thoroughly journey from micro perspective of data to a macro understanding of the theory or concept. The theory is developed in two mechanism. Firstly, theory is the output of the research and not the process of accommodation and adoption to move the analysis along. Finally, theory is a “template for comparison and further development of the theory”.

developing the themes, building and verifying the theories and drawing conclusion. The bias identification is done by the classification of source and the verification strategy to minimize bias in qualitative research. The table below explains the verification strategy to minimise bias by Morse et al. (2002, pp. 17-18).

After the bias is identified, the data are reduced and coded into themes namely the development paradigm, and the selected theory to construct push and pull driven development paradigm and model. Based on this elaborated theme, the theories, paradigm and concept about development are verified. The verification of theory and the emerging new ideas are then translated into push and pull driven development paradigm and model.

## **DISCUSSION**

### **Push and Pull Driven Development**

Push and pull driven development is the proposed concept to analyse the development carried out under the Dutch, The UNTEA, the Indonesian administration of West Papua and Indonesian government regime from the New Order to the transformation era. The push and pull driven development is established by considering the gap on the development research in West Papua discussed in chapter 1, the theory of development attached in the appendixes and the theory that becomes the foundation of push and pulls driven development, and the paradigm used.



### ***The Foundation of Push and Pulls Driven Development***

Push and pull driven development paradigm are laid upon the theory of management, politics, conflict and identity. Under the management theory, push corporate policy is defined as a process that is initiated from the company, and it is directed towards the market so that the company is the main actors that maintain the supply of goods (Corniani, 2008, p.45). The pull policy is a process that begins from the market and proceeds towards the company so that the demand for goods dictates the supply of goods produced by the company (Corniani, 2008, p.45). As illustration, technology push strategy is the process in which the new invention is directed to research and development, production and sales without prior information of user satisfaction and needs, while technology pull strategy is a process in which the creation of new technology is based on the needs of the customers (Martin, 1994, p.43).

With the same spirit of push and pull strategy, the political violence, according to Anh (1981) is dissected into push and pull elements. Political violence is in the negative function of political performance that relies upon the socio-economic development and external constraints of system performance such as human resources, and material resources (Anh 1981, p.157). The socio-economic development and external constraint of the system are influenced and inter-related to the major factors: effort of government for institutionalisation, capacity and responsiveness to meet welfare demands, non-elite participation in decision making, the effectiveness of the participation to improve political efficacy, and the equality of resource distribution to the community (Anh 1981, p.157). Based on the concept of Anh (1981), push elements identified are a government effort to institutionalisation and material resources, while the pull elements are capacity and responsiveness to meet welfare demands, non-elite participation in decision making, equality in resource distribution to the community, and participation effectiveness.

Another cornerstone of the push and pull driven development paradigm is derived from the

theory of politics and conflict. Bell (1973) postulates a theory about the political system called “Revolutionary Politics” and “Normal Politics” model. The “Normal Politics” model elaborates the political system in which the political institution (black box) converts the inputs (demand and supports) to the extraction of resources to satisfy people demand by regulation to cultivate support from community respectively (Bell, 1973, p.131). Also, the “Revolutionary Politics” model explores the dualism of a competing system, namely the state system referred to as regime black box and the enemy of state system referred to as insurgent black box that conflicts with state. Under the regime, the outputs of support generating and demand satisfying are used as feedback (external inputs of demand and support) to the regime to produce more support, and the damaging regime outputs produced by insurgent are used as input (internal inputs of demand and support) for the regime to produce counter-revolutionary outputs (Bell, 1973, p.132).

In similar way, the support generating and demand satisfying outputs are used as inputs (external inputs of demand and support) by the insurgent to produce more support and the counter-revolutionary outputs produced by the regime are used as inputs (internal inputs of demand and support) for the insurgent to produce damaging regime outputs (Bell, 1973, p.132). Based on the “Normal Politics” model of Bell (1973), the identified pull elements are support (input) which is scrutinized from the output (regulation of sources to cultivate support from the community), while the identified push elements are demand (inputs) and extraction of sources to satisfy demand as outputs. With the same lenses, the “Revolutionary Politics model of Bell (1973) reveals both pull and push factors. For the regime, the pull factors are the external inputs of demand and support for the state that is based on support generating and demand satisfying outputs, while the push factors are the internal input of demand and support synthesised from the regime damaging outputs. For the insurgents, the push factors are internal inputs of demand and support synthesised from the counter-revolutionary outputs, while the pull factors are the external inputs of demand



and support that are scrutinised from the support generating and demand satisfying outputs.

In conflict perspectives, it is important to understand the root causes of the conflict in West Papua. In the light of resistance of West Papuans towards Indonesia, the root cause of the conflict in West Papua is the Papuan grievances due to the historical denial of self-determination, state violence, economic exploitation, migration and changing demographics, and racism (McLeod, 2015, p.56)(McLeod, 2015). In terms of the local context, special autonomy and partition bring conflict among West Papuans and between West Papuan and non-West Papuans. The special autonomy and partition fail on providing the social and unity basis. The failure on social and unity basis is related to the negative image of special autonomy fund which is considered as “blood money”, conflict and segregation among West Papuans and between West Papuans and non-West Papuans (Huwae, 2016, p.100).

In identity perspectives, the identity of individuals is shaped by the core identity, social identity and collective identity. The core identity deals with the notion of “Who I am in my inner self, while the social identity is related to the notion of “Who I am in relation to my groups” and the collective identity is related to the notion of “what is my group identity in the eyes of the world” (Kraft, 2012, p. 21). The core identity and social identity are inter-related with the internalisation and externalisation. The internalisation is a process in which an individual internalised the role, values, and identity from the external environment and the social sphere, while externalisation is the process in which the individuals externalise the values processed in reflection into attitude, behaviour, and active role.

### ***The Push and Pull Driven Development Paradigm***

By considering the theory from management, politics, identity and conflicts, the push and pull driven development paradigm are constructed. The paradigm of push and pull driven development is different from economic growth, basic needs, and people centre. It uses lifetime interdependence

and adaptive mutual collaboration as a paradigm. Interdependence signifies the independence and the survival of each system (state, state agent of development and the people) rely on the capability to depend on each other potential and capacity to solve the problem and to achieve common goals of development. The state depends on the people and the state agent of development to cultivate support and legitimacy. In contrast, the people and the state agent of development depend on the state for the meaningful political goods, empowerment, welfare improvement and need satisfaction. In addition, the adaptive mutual collaboration stresses the importance of agility of each system (state, state agent of development and the people) to identify mutual needs and together work toward the fulfilment of the mutual needs and goals.

The interdependence is related to the theory of management about the market push and the market pull. The market push and market pull elaborate on the notion of the interdependence of innovation on the needs of the market as well as the initiative of the producer to push the products onto the market. Interdependence is also relevant to the theory of politics (Revolutionary Politics model of Bell (1973) and Political Violence (Anh, 1981) in which the government system and the anti-government system exist hands in hand with the community system. Both the government and the anti-government system relies on the community for support. The capacity of government to raise support and to reduce political violence is related to the capacity of governance in delivering socio-economic development and in providing effective responsiveness to fulfil people needs. Here the inter-dependence between the government and the people is important to minimise resistance, violence and to fight against the anti-government movement or sentiments. The interdependence is also reflected in the theory of identity and conflict. In the theory of identity, the internationalisation and externalisation process is the interdependent process as it requires both the individuals and the external actors (family, non-state actors and state actors represented by the state agent of development) to internalise the values, roles and to externalise the behaviours and roles to participate actively in the environment.

The higher degree of inter-dependence might also signify a minimum level of conflict. The root of the conflict in West Papua is majorly contributed by the state since the interdependence only occurs at the tangible assets with economic values (land, forest, minerals, geographic advantages, fishery products), while the state-West Papuans interdependence is limited.

The adaptive mutual collaboration, on the other hand, is implicitly related to the theory of management, and politics. In the light of management theory, the push market theory can only happen if there is a collaboration between the producer and other related actors such as the supplier, the marketers, and the government to deliver the products to the market. It is also applied to the pull market process in which the collaboration directly takes place between the producer and the markets/ the people to define the needs and to then produce goods and service that the market needs. The mutual needs are identified: the producers need profit by delivering service and goods that the markets need, and the markets satisfy with the products as they fulfil their needs.

In addition, the adaptive mutual collaboration might implicitly become the spirit of the political theory (Normal Politic Model and Revolutionary Model of Bell, 1973, and political violence of Anh, 1983). The politic model of Bell (1973), points out the importance of satisfying the demand of the people. Satisfying the demand of the people is crucial to obtain support from the people. In the same tone, Anh (1983) theory of political violence emphasises the importance of government capacity to give socio-economic development, equality distribution of resource, institutionalisation, and effective response to fulfil welfare of the people in order to minimise political violence.

With the manner of the change and the problem that is evolved in a fast degree, the collaboration of the system (state, state agent of development and the people) is needed to include the people as the subject of development and to position the state and the state agent of development as facilitator, enablers and partners of the people. The collaboration also can give incentive

to each system to identify mutual needs and to rely on each strength, opportunity and potential in order to minimise threat and weaknesses. The collaboration might provide the platform to transform the people into the state people. It might be related to the time frame which is a lifetime and the nature of the collaboration cycle that promotes both state and the people to continuously evolve and identify their needs and fulfil them. The collaboration cycle consists of identifying mutual needs, evaluating types of engagement, developing the structure for collaboration, negotiating terms and condition, executing the agreement, executing the collaboration based on the agreements, managing post collaboration, and growing and leveraging relationship (University Southern California Stevens Centerfor Innovation, 2016, p. 25). Another perspective of the collaboration cycle is outlined in the work of Tellioglu (2008). Tellioglu (2008, p.359) mentions that collaboration lifecycle consists of initiation, formation, operation and decomposition. The initiation consists of two stages: determining the mutual needs and building a workgroup. The formation comprises of three stages: defining common goals, defining roles and setting up a coordinated work environment/CWE. The operation deals with working within CWE, preserving result and managing chance. The last stage, decomposition covers four stages: decomposing of workgroup and CWE, publishing the result to identify further new collaboration and maintaining contact to build new workgroup.

Finally, thinking in time becomes the critical paradigm that unites both the lifetime interdependence and collaboration. Thinking in time emphasises the importance to develop the people by considering the past and how it is manifested in the present day so that the state can initiate meaningful policymaking process and development. The effort to include historical perspectives into governance, decision-making and development is pioneered by the work of Neustadt and May (1988). Neustadt and May (1988) emphasise the importance of the history to make better decision making for the USA by identifying what is known, unclear and presumed. The history provides a tool to identify patterns, likenesses, differences and issue history in order

to provide right story, to be relevant with government concern and to give objectives (Neustadt and May, 1986, pp.235-236).

Accordingly, it is vital to have a historical sensibility (historical mind) to understand better the problem of development. Cohen (2005, p.575) defines historical mind as “the way of thinking

shaped by one’s reading of history and by using history as a mode of inquiry and a framework for thinking about problems”. Similarly, Gavin (2016) defines historical sensibility as “familiarity with the past and its powerful and often unpredictable rhythms”. The importance of historical sensibility is clearly illustrated in the work of Brand and

**Table 2.** Push and Pull Driven Development Paradigm

<b>Characteristics</b>	<b>Paradigm</b>			
	The Existing Development Paradigm (Kartono and Nurcholis, 2016)			Alternative Proposed Development Paradigm
	Economic Growth	Basic Needs	people-centred	Push and Pull Driven Development Paradigm =Thinking in Time + A lifetime interdependence  + adaptive-mutual collaboration
<b>Focus</b>	Industry	Public Service and Utilities	Human empowerment	Mutual learning, mutual needs, people, agents and state collaboration
<b>Value</b>	Centred on industry	Centred on humans	Centred on humans	Centred on the state (facilitating, directing), state agent (enabling + motivating) and state people’s (self-esteem, self-respect, self-worth, sustenance, freedom), and historical sensibility (initiating)
<b>Indicators</b>	Macroeconomy	Social Indicators	Relationship and access of people to sources	Meaningful political goods, support for authority, positive and negative legitimacy
<b>Government Role</b>	Entrepreneur	Service Provider	Enabler and Facilitator	Enabler, Facilitator, Partner
<b>Main Sources</b>	Capital and saving	Administrative capacity and budgeting	Creativity and commitment	Administrative capacity, budgeting, people capacity, and local potential
<b>Challenges</b>	Concentration, marginalisation, dehumanisation,	Limited source and incompetency	Ineffective Structure and procedure	Incompetency, distrust, ineffective structure for collaboration,
<b>Measurement</b>	Gross Domestic Product, Gross National Product, income per capita, Gini Ratio, Inclusive Wealth Index, Net Economic Welfare	Physical Quality of Life Index (Life expectancy, number of deaths per 1000 birth, literacy rate), multidimensional poverty index	Human Development Index, Poverty line, Purchasing power parity, social indicators (education, health, and economy).	Rate of positive interdependence, the success rate of state people collaboration, the capability to grow and leverage relationships, satisfaction on delivery and access to political goods

Suri (2016). Reflecting on the successful selected experience of the USA that use history to deal with the problem especially post WWII, Brands and Suri (2016, p.16) argue that historical sensibility can enable the policymaker to make a better decision by carefully dealing with challenges and great uncertainty.

The push and pull driven development paradigm is different from other existing development paradigm. Belu (2011, pp. 35-37) identifies 15 development paradigms; they are: 1) free market trickle down growth led development, 2) pro-poor growth led development, 3) low wage industry led development, 4) low wage labour intensive export led development, 5) agriculture based development, 6) endogenous growth based development, 7) rural development paradigm, 8) Washington consensus based development, 9) strategic openness based development, 10) exhaustible resource export led development, 11) agriculture commodity export led development, 12) emigration based development, 13) immigration based development, 14) Foreign Direct Investment based development and 15) Foreign Aid based development. In fact, the previous 15-development paradigms can be sum up into three major development paradigms. Kartono and Nurcholis (2016) mention that the three major development paradigms consist of economic growth paradigm, basic need focus paradigm, and the people-centred paradigm.

Unlike the previous development paradigms, the push and pull driven development expounds the principles on thinking in time, interdependence, and adaptive mutual collaboration. The table below explains the principle characteristics of the push and pull driven development paradigm that differentiate it from other development paradigms.

### ***Operationalising Push and Pull Driven Development***

It is essential to give definition and to elaborate the elements constituting the push and pull driven development so that it can be operationalised.

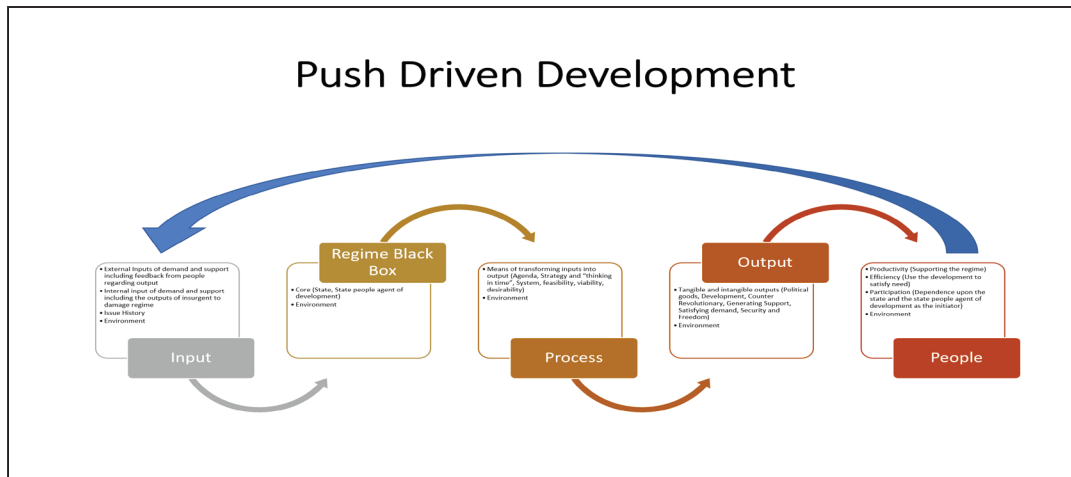
Push and pull driven development are a cycle of development that embraces thinking in time,

a lifetime inter-dependence between state, state agent of development and the people as well as the adaptive mutual collaboration. Push driven development focuses on the creation of welfare, policy and program that is pushed into the people. Pull driven development focuses on the creation of welfare, policy, program that is based on the people needs. The input from the pull driven development is crucial to improve the impact of push driven development.

In this study, push driven development is defined as a regime-oriented development to govern, manage, develop, control the people and territory, and to counter-revolutionary movement or resistance. It is driven by the regime imaginary construction of the community (nation), interest to be on better position, and meaningful internalisation. In the push driven development, the welfare, empowerment and political goods are produced and, they are then pushed to the people. The feedback obtained from the people is captured from the state agent of development in the legal institution or any enabling platform, including technology innovation mechanism that promotes two way communication between the state and the people. The push driven development has a strong authoritative feature in order to maintain legitimacy. Under the push driven development, the legitimacy is more on to the negative legitimacy. It deals with security and liberty that construct “what is legitimate” (Abulof, 2017, p. 55). Accordingly, direct interdependence and collaboration take place between the state and the state agent of development as well as between the state agent of development and the people.

The operationalisation of the push and pull driven development is explained through the following figures and description. The push and pull driven development model below is extended from Bell (1974) model by considering the theory of political violence, conflict, and management explained in part a. The following figure explains the core elements of the push driven development.

Figure 1 above explains the main five elements: the input, the black box, process, output and the people that are nested on their environment. The main actors are the state, the state agent of development and the people. The



**Figure 1.** Push Driven Development (Adapted from Bell, 1974)

inputs are internal demand and support and external demand and support. The internal demand and support are not limited to the action that deteriorates the regime, the internal dynamics, and the resources that the state has. The external demand and support are not limited to feedback from the people, the external dynamics, and the issue history. Both the inputs are situated in the environment at the international, national, sub-national and niche landscape.

The regime black box that consists of the core (the state, and the state people agent of development) and the environment play a key role in processing the inputs. In order to achieve the goals/ outputs, the state requires a means (to transform the input) such as system, strategy, agenda, and thinking in time by considering the feasibility, viability, desirability and time of producing, and delivering the output to the people. The development (output) that is desirable and feasible will be usable for the regime. The development that is feasible and viable will be possible to be done by the regime. The development that is viable and desirable by the government will be valuable. The state and the state people agent of development are the providers and the producer of the change through development to the people.

In the push driven development, the state people agents of development play a crucial role. They support the state and at the same time, empower the people by delivering political goods and development (outputs) to the people

and maintaining the authoritative power. The authoritative power in the push driven development is forced from the state (national level) to the state people agent of development (sub-national) and the people (niche). The feedback, input and demand of the people can be captured directly by the state people agent of development or by the state.

The outputs include tangible and intangible products. They include the political goods, development, counter-revolutionary, support generating, demand satisfying, security and freedom to the people through the state people agent of development. As the environment that affects the output is dynamic, it is essential to have a guideline to evaluate the quality of the output. In ideal conditions, the output is crafted efficiently to ignite participation and productivity of the people. The participation can be in the form of dependence upon the state and the state people agent of development. The productivity can be in the form of the desired outcome to support the regime. The feedback regarding the efficiency of development output is captured by the state and the state people agent of development to improve the effectiveness of the development in the next term.

In contrast to the push driven development explained above, the pull-driven development is defined as meaningful empowerment-oriented development to fulfil measured or projected demand and needs of people, to cultivate support



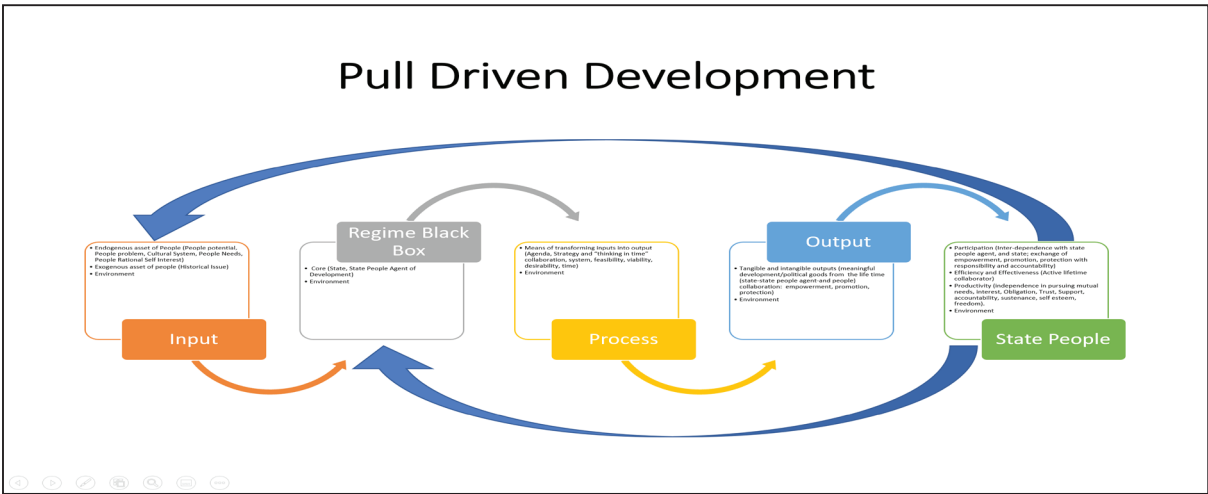
and participation from the people in development by unearthing the reality of truth. It is driven by the structural realities of the community (nation), community interest to be on better position, and successful community internalisation and externalisation to be either state people or state people agent of development. Under the pull driven development, the development is also carried out to maintain positive legitimacy. It deals with the question about who is the legitimators, and the true bearer of legitimacy can be either from the people/ popular sovereignty or divine/hereditary rights (Abulof, 2017, p.55). Accordingly, the interdependence and collaboration directly take place between the people and the state as well as between the state agent of development and the people. The interdependence and collaboration between the state, the state people agent of development and the people from the initial stage to the output are likely to nurture mutual trust and produce more meaningful output. The following figure explains the pull driven element.

The pull driven development also has five major elements (input, black box, process, output and state people with their environment) that play differently from the push driven development. The inputs are the indigenous and exogenous assets of the people which are inter-related with the environment (the niche, the sub-national, national and the international landscape). The indigenous asset of the people are not limited to people potential, problem, culture, needs and rational self-interest), while the exogenous asset

of the people might involve elements such as the historical issue, threats, the social capital, and the influence from external parties.

The main actors are the people as the centre of development, while the state, the state agent of development and state people play a crucial role as the facilitator, partner and enabler in the process. As the pull driven development emphasises on a lifetime collaboration, the process stage is done by considering the indigenous and exogenous asset of the people as well as the environment. The feasibility, the viability and the desirability are also considered. The development that is desirable, viable and feasible by both the state and the people will be usable, valuable and possible for the people and the regime. The state and the state people agent of development proactively empower the people by translating the needs, potential, system, historical issue, people rational interest and the problem of the people (the inputs) into meaningful political goods and development (output).

The outputs of the pull driven development are tangible and intangible outputs that are produced under lifetime collaboration between the people and the state, the state people agent of development and the state people. The meaningful political goods and development are obtained through a lifetime collaboration between the state, the state people agent of development and the people. In doing that, the state and the state people agent of development should have the historical sensibility and partnership mindset.



**Figure 2.** Pull Driven Development (Adapted from Bell, 1974)

As a result the meaningful promotion, protection and empowerment are delivered to the people.

The people as the user of the development is also transformed as the state people. The state people are people who are inter-dependence with the political goods provided with the state and the agent, while at the same time collaborate with the state and the agent to process the input such as mutual problem and mutual needs into the meaningful output. The transformation of people to state people is possible due to collaboration that enhances participation, efficiency and effectiveness and productivity. The participation is more meaningful as it is in the forms of inter-dependence with the state and the state people agent of development. The inter-dependence enables the exchange of output such promotion, protection and empowerment from the state with the responsibility, support, trust, accountability and willingness to be the informal state people agent of development. The meaningful productivity is also channelled in independence to pursue freedom, sustenance that promotes self-esteem, self-worth and self-respect and commitment for the responsibility, support and trust for regime, and accountability. Collaboration and interdependence also promote efficiency and effectiveness as the mutualism enables the development that is desired by the state and the people. Due to the nature of collaboration cycle and interdependence, the state people can, in fact, be transformed into an informal state people agent of development. They might become the bridge and the supporters of the state. However, the state people might also be downgraded into the people if the collaboration is deteriorated.

## CONCLUSION

In short, the push and pull driven development is likely to be a meaningful for Indonesia especially for West Papua. The proposed model and paradigm are able to not only centralize the development on the thinking in time but also the lifetime inter-dependence between the people (West Papuans) and the state (Indonesia) and adaptive mutual collaboration between the father (Indonesia) and the children (West Papuans). Thinking in time will be valuable to meaningfully

drive development from the historical perspective, while the collaboration and inter-dependence will drive a more mutual understanding and trust in executing the development program in West Papua. The status quo and stigma to West Papuans: backward, marginalized, separatist, and excluded are likely to be upgraded to developed, inclusive, and Indonesian. The upgrade of status and identity is possible as the push and pull driven development model also emphasizes the transformation of people into state-people and state-people agent of development.

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