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## Social Engineering in Building an Integrated Solution Center in Papua to Support the Integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia

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### ABSTRACT

The problem of the High Social Gap in Papua which is the cause of marginalization and discrimination against the Papuan people, as well as the different perceptions of some Indonesians at home and abroad towards armed separatist conflicts are push factors to corner the Indonesian government. In addition, the issue of internationalization of the 1969 referendum mechanism, violations of Human Rights (HAM), and the management of Natural Resources (SDA) by multinational companies that do not have an impact on improving the welfare of the Papuan people also complement the government's opinion of failure. Against the background of these problems, this study uses a quasi-qualitative research method and an exploratory approach with soft systems methodology (SSM) as a data analysis technique to answer the formulation of the problem and research questions. Research data were collected through Focus Group Discussions (FGD), in-depth interviews, and direct discussions with various informants (academics, practitioners, bureaucracy, and community leaders), plus a literature review as secondary data. The results of this study recommend the development of an Integrated Food Estate (IFE) in stages according to customary areas in Papua, which will indirectly support the realization of Territorial Resilience and the Universal Defense System (Sishta). Furthermore, to ensure that all these processes are carried out properly and continuously, this study recommends the establishment of an Integrated Solution Center (ISC). With the implementation of these recommendations, it is hoped that the peaceful and prosperous Papuan people will soon be realized.

### 1. Introduction

Historically, the existence of the Papua region has indeed become a Dutch colonial colony as written in Article 1 of the Constitution of the Netherland in 1938, which states that Netherland New Guinea (West Papua) is part of the Dutch East Indies. The claim of the Indonesian government regarding the independence of the entire Indonesian sovereign territory on August 17, 1945, did not necessarily make the Dutch surrender the territory of Papua. The

struggle of the Indonesian government to liberate the entire territory from the shackles of colonialism was not only carried out with a hard power approach but also a soft power approach with the involvement of the United Nations as a mediator and it was recorded that there were several meetings between the Indonesian and Dutch governments including the Malino Conference on July 18, 1946, Commission Three-State which was held on August 25, 1947, the Round Table



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Conference (KMB) which was held from August 23 to November 2, 1949. From the various meetings and negotiations above, it did not dampen the attitude of the Dutch government to immediately surrender the entire territory of Indonesia even though on 17 August 1956 the Indonesian government established the province of Papua and made Soasiu in Tidore the capital which was more a form of protest against the Dutch.

Conflicts that occur in Papua are not only horizontal but also vertical, as is the case with the presence of PT Freeport Indonesia (FI) since 1969 which took a mining location on Mount Ensberg, indirectly eliminating forest land which is a source of livelihood for the Papuan people, especially The Amungme and Comoros.

The Indonesian government continues to strive to uphold the sovereignty of the state in this motherland, even though disturbances to security stability still occur. The various factors causing each separatist movement are analyzed by the government for decision-making and policy determination to handle it.

Efforts to resolve the conflict in Papua by the Indonesian government have always been in the spotlight of the international community, and sometimes they even give support to separatist groups who want complete independence in Papua. The support of the international community mostly comes from the presence of a number of students from Papua who are studying abroad or groups of Non-Government Organizations (NGOs). One example of dissatisfaction with the treatment of the Indonesian government towards the Papuan people is reflected in the statement conveyed by Karma (2014:8) when he was studying in Manila, that according to him there is no discrimination both in association and social life with local residents in Manila against Papuans.

The influence and intervention of some of the international community, both individuals and NGOs against the separatist movement in Papua, is still quite strong, especially with the presence of a group of

Papuans who have received protection from several countries and still continue to voice Papuan freedom and independence from the Unitary Republic of Indonesia. The existence of social inequality that occurs in Papua causes the Indonesian government to pay more attention to the Papua Province, this is done so that social inequality can be minimized by the government. The existence of social inequality that occurs in Papua causes researchers to be interested in conducting research with the title Social Engineering in Building an Integrated Solution Center in Papua to support the integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia”.

## **2. Literature Review**

To complete the analysis and discussion, this research uses a number of theories that are relevant to the substance or subject matter, including the concept of Territorial Development, considering that the Papua region has a lot of potentials, both natural resources and human resources. The use of theories and concepts is also intended to obtain the recommendations as a novelty (novelty) and advises the Secretary of Defense (Defense Minister) RI and stakeholders involved in building sustainable prosperity in Papua.

### **Conflict theory**

To get clarity about conflict, within the framework of this theory, conflict theory is described as one of its foundations. Byrne and Senehi (2009:3) cite the opinion of several experts that conflicts arise in different contexts and occur at the intrapersonal, interpersonal, intergroup, organizational, and international levels. Conflict occurs when there are incompatible and widespread goals among individuals, groups, or countries.

### **Social engineering theory**

Social engineering (social engineering) is a systematic series of actions for social change in the



lives of people. This activity begins with paying attention and understanding the reality of social life, then making efforts for social change in order to obtain an increase in prosperity and welfare in people's lives<sup>1</sup>. Defines that society is a social creature that experiences social dynamics, so it is not always in a static condition. Various social problems can occur in the community and efforts are needed to solve these problems so as to improve the social system that leads to a better life.

### **Social resilience theory**

This theory is used in research to encourage people to have social resilience or social resilience after social engineering is carried out in the form of social arrangements. These efforts are expected to make the social structure of the community always reliable and always ready to face every crisis period.

#### **Cultural theory**

Besides approaching the theories that have been described previously, this study also uses a cultural approach (culture). Culture is everything earned by individuals from the community including the beliefs, customs, artistic norms, and the prevailing custom of hereditary or acquired skills instead of their own creativity rather it is a legacy of the past acquired through formal or informal education.

#### **Community empowerment theory**

Jim and Tesoriero (2008:130) said, "Empowerment is an activity that cannot be separated from the power of individuals or groups who "have" to those who "do not have". In the context of empowerment, there are interests and obligations, namely the interests of the community and the obligations of the government, the interest in question is the existence of a desire that is expected by the community to get a better life or increase their welfare and standard of living.

#### **Territorial building concept**

Territorial Development (Binter) is essentially the preparation of defense areas and their supporting forces in accordance with the universal defense system

as well as efforts to build, maintain, improve, and strengthen the unity of the TNI with the people. Through Binter activities, it is hoped that the region will be able to ensure regional readiness to ward off any emerging threats and to support the implementation of national defense.

### **3. Methods**

This type of research uses a quasi-qualitative method. The quasi-qualitative method is considered suitable to be applied in this research because it allows the researcher to focus on the process of collecting and analyzing data that is oriented towards obtaining systemic understanding to answer complex research problems regarding social engineering in dealing with conflicts and issues of internationalization of Papua to support the integrity of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia. This research was conducted at the Indonesian Defense University Sentul Campus.

### **4. Results**

Papua is the province with the largest area in Indonesia. Area reached 315,091.62 km<sup>2</sup> and is divided into 28 districts, 1 city, 576 districts, 159 villages, and 5549 villages. The handling of separatism in Papua post-Pepera in 1969 has not yet been completely resolved, either through a hard power approach in the form of military operations or soft power in the form of an approach and dialogue between the government and the leaders.

Papua's abundant natural resources have indeed been the target of foreign parties since the Dutch colonial period, the limited educational background of most Papuans at that time gave the Dutch a great opportunity to control and take over the management and utilization of natural resources.

The problem of separatism is not only experienced by Indonesia, but also occurs in many other countries such as England, Spain, and Canada. Efforts to deal with separatist groups are carried out by these



countries through various methods and efforts, both legally, politically, and historically.

The signing of the New York Agreement between the government of the Kingdom of the Netherlands and the government of Indonesia which was mediated and carried out at the UN headquarters on August 15, 1962, it has legally ended the dispute over the ownership of the Papua region. The New York Agreement, United Nations Resolutions Number 2504 (XXIV), and Number 2625 (XXV) are the basis of international law for the Indonesian government to permanently resolve separatism in Papua.

The development in Papua, which has been carried out by the Indonesian government, aims to improve the welfare of all Papuan people after the Dutch colonial occupation. In addition, the development carried out is also to eliminate perceptions of injustice, inequality, poverty, and ignorance.

Wirayuda added that there are two dimensions that still characterize the problem in Papua, namely the political and military dimensions. These two dimensions became the issue of internationalization of Papua which was conveyed by a group of people to break the success of development that had been implemented by the Indonesian government. to reduce the ambition of separatist groups who use various Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) to manipulate the success of development in Papua can be prevented. The problem in Papua is actually a problem in the national development process and state-building.

The delegation of authority from the central government to regional governments in the two provinces in Papua through the distribution of special autonomy funds since 2002 proves that the principle of decentralization in the context of sustainable welfare development in Papua has been implemented. According to the results of the LIPI research (2019), it was stated that the issue of violence in Papua cannot be separated from political problems and separatist ideology, either through lobbying and international campaigns on issues of human rights violations, and

self-determination, or carried out by armed forces. Papuan ideological groups have carried out a process of consolidating political movements since 2010, in which political factions unite themselves in the ULMWP forum with an independent Papua agenda, although each faction has a strategy that is not always the same as they come from different institutions and movement bases.

From the literature study conducted, the Indonesian government has made efforts to divest the shares of the Freeport Indonesia Limited Liability Company (PT FI) from 9.36% to 51%. This divestment discourse is not new, because PT FI's obligation to divest is contained in the Contract of Work (COW) signed in 1991 and reaffirmed through Law Number 4 of 2009 concerning Minerals and Coal.

The description above illustrates that the Indonesian government is serious, especially in the era of President Joko Widodo, to advance the welfare of the Papuan people. According to Gobai (2020), PT FI's divestment efforts are indeed expected to eliminate social inequality in Papua, as long as the management of all of Papua's natural and human resource potential is carried out properly and transparently and with due regard to customary norms prevailing in the community. This is where the need to build strong coordination among all ministries and institutions related to the development of community welfare in Papua.

Regarding Papua's natural resources which have always been contested by various parties and enjoyed by people outside the MAP, according to some MAP, the availability of Papua's natural resources is actually a disaster for MAP itself, as stated by the State Intelligence Agency (BIN) in LIPI (2019) that conflicts continue to occur between the interests of maintaining the Papuan locality aspect with the interests of development as well as investment or commercial business. This then raises the notion that Papua's wealth has become problematic because it is more like a resource curse than a blessing for OAP. The



existence of multinational companies in Papua is really needed by the Indonesian government, especially during the New Order (Orba) era. With the limited facilities and infrastructure to carry out exploration, it is necessary to bring in various equipment, including experts from abroad.

From the various literature used to complement the results of this study, it is found that the profit-sharing obtained by PT-FI with the Indonesian government is very small, ranging from 1% to 3.5%.

After presenting the results of the research as described above, this research then applies the SSM analysis technique to define the problematic situation to formulate suggestions for action to improve the problematic situation of the research, namely conflict and the issue of internationalization of Papua. The first stage of SSM analysis is to define the problematic situation through intervention analysis (analysis one), social analysis (analysis two), and political analysis (analysis three).

Efforts to permanently resolve separatism in Papua will never be completed if there is no participation from the people themselves to assist the government, considering that every government regime in Indonesia has taken various ways to find the best solution while prioritizing the interests of the Papuan people. One of the efforts made by the Indonesian government is to improve the welfare and standard of living of the community, through the establishment of various policies both at the Central and Regional levels. The government has also carried out various military operations to eliminate the separatist movement and provide humanitarian assistance to the Papuan people, considering that these separatist groups have disrupted public security and order.

The efforts of the Indonesian government to uphold sovereignty in the Papua region as an inseparable part of the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia are in line with the statement conveyed by Kukathas (2014:361) in the theory about the state in the previous chapter that the existence of a state

can be identified by the enforcement of sovereignty in the entire territory. its territory. To uphold this sovereignty, one of the efforts made by the government is to implement development programs in order to improve the welfare of the community or its citizens.

The area in Papua cannot be fully equated with other regions in Indonesia, natural conditions and the natural environment in almost all regions have an impact on the lack of achievement of development outcomes by the Indonesian government in various sectors, especially infrastructure supporting connectivity. In addition to the existing natural conditions, the Papuan people also still adhere to customs, culture, society and religion which are upheld as noble values (local wisdom). These things must always be a concern for the government, both at the central and regional levels, in moving the wheels of development and prosperity in Papua. According to records from the LIPI Team (2020), with the progress of massive connectivity infrastructure from 2015 until now, Papua has developed into an area that has a better attractiveness value than other regions in Indonesia, especially for migrants and economic actors (entrepreneurs). and investors). This is where the need for government efforts to improve the welfare of the Papuan people through processes of recovery, sustainability, and growth as stated by Keck and Sakdaporak (2013: 8), and these processes must always be maintained and even improved in accordance with the development of the strategic environment both in global, regional and national order.

The government continues to pursue the development of various infrastructures in Papua to support the activities of economic sectors, and the infrastructure referred to here is a series of infrastructure facilities in the form of drainage, transportation, buildings, and other public facilities needed to meet various basic needs human.



## 5. Discussion

Development in Papua to achieve justice and peace according to Elisabeth, et.al. (2020) needs to be designed based on "Contemporary Ethnography" according to the customary system, culture, and economic resources owned by Papua. As the subject of development Papua should have the capacity with measurable indicators and parameters which include fairness (equity), equality (equality), and peace (negative peace).

Data from the Ministry of Public Works and Public Housing (PUPR) in 2019 noted that the number of tribes who inhabited the region of Papua with an area of 421,981 km<sup>2</sup>, namely the provinces of Papua and 193 tribes in West Papua province were 67 tribes. The diversity of the tribes in Papua, indicates the various traditions, customs, and social behavior that apply in each of these tribes. Conflicts that occur between ethnic groups in Papua are mostly caused by problems that intersect with dignity, family sentiment, and morals. Tom Beanal (2000) in Aituru (2019:108) said that inter-tribal conflict can be said to be a habit of war between communities in certain areas in Papua. The conflict will stop if there are victims, if that is the case then the tribes involved will hold a peace ceremony by carrying out the tradition of burning stones or the Papuan language or the Timika language called Barapen.

Conflicts that occur in Papua in its development can also be caused by social jealousy, especially among the people around the exploration areas of multinational companies. Conflicts between separatist groups and law enforcement officers have been going on for years, especially after the 1969 referendum (Pepera) was held, and the impact of the conflict has caused casualties not only from the two warring parties but also the Papuan people.

To maintain the security and sustainability of Papuan people's lives, so far the government has routinely assigned both the TNI and Polri to Papua, including safeguarding infrastructure development

and economic connectivity, but the problem is that there are still disturbances from separatist groups who do not want the presence of the TNI and Polri. Conflicts that often occur between the TNI/Polri and separatist groups in Papua that occur for years and pass between generations, have caused prolonged trauma in some circles of Papuan society which Rumkabu (2020) calls *memoria passionis*.

Efforts to incite separatist groups to some Papuans to separate themselves from the Republic of Indonesia using various issues including injustice, social inequality, poverty, and ignorance are indeed a necessity.

According to Alimah (2019:65), the solution that can be done to eliminate problems as conveyed by Menufandu must be done with the principles of the approach, namely understanding the aspirations of the community, always prioritizing the interests of the community, considering the community's capabilities, and building cooperation with the community continuously. The existence of law enforcement officers is still needed as the key to creating public security, although until now according to Noor (2016: 29) this has become a trigger for the phenomenon of action-reaction.

In the context of the theory of community empowerment as stated by Sadan (2004:147) that the government at both the Central and Regional levels is an agent of change that must be able to prepare a number of programs or policies that have been planned and reviewed previously and have legal legitimacy. It is hoped that at the implementation stage, there will be no resistance which will eventually be used by separatist groups to incite and invite the public to oppose each of these programs or policies.

Various products of international law that were set to end the conflict between the Indonesian government and the Dutch colonial side, have indeed gone through the ups and downs of negotiations, conferences, and agreements between the two parties even though they received mediation from a neutral party or country





appointed by the United Nations.

On the other hand, with the potential of natural resources in Papua, since around the 1970s, the Indonesian government has invited multinational companies to invest and assist in its management. The presence of these companies is expected to help also improve the welfare of the Papuan people, especially those whose settlement areas are in exploration locations, but the reality is that the presence of multinational companies actually creates a high social gap which is the source.

The development of various infrastructures carried out by the Indonesian government after the implementation of the Act of Free Choice in 1969 is clear evidence of the desire to improve the welfare of the Papuan people so that they can be aligned with people in other regions within the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. However, the facts also prove that until now the security disturbances from separatist groups in Papua have not been eliminated. The protracted conflict between law enforcement officers and separatist groups has made people living in parts of Papua filled with anxiety and fear.

The development of various infrastructures that have been carried out by the government for Papua indeed need to be socialized through international forums as a form of diplomacy, this is in accordance with what was conveyed by Berridge (2010: 3) about the importance of a country to carry out diplomacy including what was also conveyed by Holmes and Bull in Aksoy (2018:910) that it is indeed required expertise from diplomats to publicize the success of welfare development programs in Papua.

The development of an integrated food estate (integrated logistics barn) in Papua, as previously explained, still has to pay attention to local wisdom that is deeply rooted in people's lives in all indigenous territories. In addition, the diversity of ethnic groups that exist and indicates the existence of a social community that requires both primary and secondary

needs, in addition to the factors of natural and environmental conditions that support their lives must be the attention of the Central and Regional governments. The need for an integrated food estate in an indigenous territory is expected to be able to answer problems related to education, health, economy, and no less important is the creation of conditions of security and political stability.

The outcome of the need to build an integrated food estate will also strengthen the people's economy, because the cycle of the logistics supply chain must lead to an increase in the welfare of the Papuan people, both as landowners and business actors. This economic strengthening can also reduce or even eliminate the high social gap that occurs in some communities in the customs territory of Papua.

The availability of an integrated food estate according to customary territory in Papua, will directly create a stable political and security condition, this is because the incitement efforts of separatist groups to the community will slowly not get a public response. People become smarter and wiser in viewing every government policy that aims to build their welfare and peace.

If a customary territory in Papua is well organized with an integrated food estate system, it is certain that the condition of territorial resilience will increase. It can not be denied that the coaching aspect of territorial also become a necessity, as the target is achieved from the convening of territorial development, namely the realization of space *Juang tough*, realization tool *Juang tough*, creation of conditions *Juang tough* and *t erwujudnya Oneness Army and the People tough* both physically or non-physical.

As a guarantee for the implementation of all the activities described above, and to support the sustainability of the program and to eliminate security disturbances from separatist groups, this study recommends the establishment of a forum in the form of an " Integrated Solution Center " containing



representatives from the local government. in each customary area, traditional leaders, religious leaders, women's leaders, the younger generation, and academics. This agency will play a role in coordinating, mentoring, advocating, and socializing every policy from the Central and Regional governments, as well as reporting on the results that have been achieved from the integrated food estate program.

As the leading sector as well as the coordinator is the Indonesian Minister of Defense, and because there is involvement from the ranks of the TNI in each customary area, the TNI Commander is appointed as the executor of the implementation of the programs that have been planned. This agency must be located in Papua (can be in Papua or West Papua Provinces), as long as the reporting system on the sustainability of the integrated food estate program is routinely sent to the Indonesian Minister of Defense and the TNI Commander, and then after various analyzes and studies and evaluations have been carried out, the report is sent to President of the Republic of Indonesia so that he will be able to monitor the development of welfare development in Papua and which is no less important is the establishment of new policies and programs tailored to the needs of the Papuan people.

## 6. Conclusion

The resolution of Papuan separatism by the Indonesian government based on historical experience in dealing with armed rebellions is carried out by prioritizing human rights and legal approaches. The military operations carried out during the New Order era in principle avoided casualties among civilians, although in reality there were still many unwanted excesses. The resolution of separatism in Papua is currently being sought to prioritize the welfare approach by paying attention to local wisdom to calm the hearts and minds of MAP (to win the heart and minds of Papuans) by not ignoring the hard power approach through a legal approach, especially the crime of treason and treason. rebellion, because based

on the historical experience of suppressing armed rebellions that have occurred in Indonesia, the use of military force is an option for resolving conflicts against separatist groups who do not heed the soft power approach.

To ensure that all processes that have been planned must be supported by people in the Papua region, namely representatives from the regional government in each customary area, traditional leaders, religious leaders, women leaders, the younger generation, and academics. This agency will play a role in coordinating, mentoring, advocating, and socializing every policy from the Central and Regional governments, as well as reporting on the results that have been achieved from the integrated food estate program.

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