

## RESPEK and PROSPEK: Welfare Approach by the Government to Overcome Vertical Conflict in Papua

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### Abstrak

The dynamics of separatism in the land of Papua and its threats to Indonesia are important issues that have created complex conflicts. One of the efforts to reduce the escalation of the Papua conflict is through empowerment efforts. Empowerment is one part of the implementation of RESPEK and PROSPEK by the Papua regional government. RESPEK and PROSPEK are efforts to increase public awareness of the threat of separatism and increase their participation in the development process. RESPEK is run by soft power created to balance military power (hard power) in the long term to improve welfare. This study uses a qualitative approach in the type of literature with data processing originating from document sources and library materials. The results of the study show that the welfare approach is directly related to the human dimension. Programs implemented on the basis of RESPEK and PROSPEK directly benefit local communities (OAP) so that there is an equal distribution of human needs. These programs have a budget allocation for special autonomy funds transferred by the central government to the Papua provincial government every year. In addition, they are implemented by prioritizing the involvement of village heads to increase participation and consensus between parties. This strengthens the government's image of OAP perceptions so as to diminish the influence of the roots of separatism in Papua.

**Keywords:** Conflict, Papua, RESPEK, Welfare, Peace



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### INTRODUCTION

From a historical perspective, Papuan separatism has occurred since the merger of the Papua region into Indonesia, which has caused controversy among the Papuan people (OAP). OAP is divided into two groups: groups that support the Indonesian government's policy to include the Papua region in Indonesian sovereignty, and other groups that oppose this action. During the integration process, some of the counter-group left Papua for the Netherlands, some crossed the border to Papua New Guinea (PNG) and the rest stayed in Papua and exiled themselves to the forests. The latter group then stated they wanted to stand as the state of West Papua. They gathered strength, joined forces and formed the Free Papua Movement (OPM) based in Biak Numfor. (Harris & Brown, 1985; Malawat, 2020)

Separatist activity is quite significant in fighting for the demands of the independence of the Papuan people until now OPM is better known in Indonesia as the Papuan Separatist Terrorism Group (KSTP). KSTP consistently fights for its aspirations, as well as a collective identity and a symbol of the resistance of the Papuan people towards independence. This is one of the important issues that can trigger a crisis directly or indirectly on the development of Papua in Indonesia. (CNN, 2021; Yahya, 2021)

Separatism is a threat that results in a condition that creates conflict. Conflict in the context of national security resulting from the threat of separatism is a manifestation of the existence of group identity factors, social and economic inequality, politics, as well as prejudice

and grudges (Wahyudi, 2018, pp. 19–20). The threat of separatism against the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia can endanger various aspects of social, national and state life which include the economic, political, social and cultural fields as well as the basic fields in maintaining the integrity of the state, namely ideology. Separatism is an actual threat that comes from within the country and is accelerated by intervention from foreign interests.

The direct impact of the threat of separatism in Papua is the uneven development in Papua due to an anomie (chaos) situation; Poverty or economic difficulties in vulnerable and poor groups, especially OAP; slow recovery in the economy; social crisis; political crisis; and the gap is getting bigger. Since its appearance in 1961, Papuan separatism has continued to this day. Barry Buzan stated that countries that are still struggling with internal state conflicts can uphold their sovereignty if they guarantee physical security (physically based on the states) such as territory, population, and resources, but also maintain the upholding of political institutions and rules that reflect state authority (institutions based) and even, under certain conditions, the maintenance of shared insights and ideals (ideational based). (Buzan & Hansen, 2009)

Seeing that the Papuan separatist movement has a negative impact and threatens the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia, the government's strategy in dealing with this vertical conflict is to take a military and non-military approach (Anakotta & Disemadi, 2020). The military approach is taken when separatism enters into armed contact, while the non-military approach can be interpreted as a welfare approach. The welfare approach is carried out through infrastructure development, health services, opening jobs, improving education, and supporting other welfare improvements. The legal umbrella for the welfare approach includes Papua Governor Regulation Number 38 of 2011 concerning Village Development Strategic Planning Funds (RESPEK); Governor of Papua Regulation Number 33 of 2018 Concerning Guidelines for Management of Village Economic and Institutional Strategic Program Funds (PROSPEK) for the 2018 Fiscal Year; to West Papua Governor Regulation Number 3 of 2020 concerning Technical Guidelines for the Implementation, Receipt and Distribution of Special Autonomy Funds for West Papua Province.

Special Autonomy (Otsus) granted by the Central Government to the Provincial Government of Papua gives the authority to regulate and manage their households to achieve sustainable prosperity towards community self-reliance which goes hand in hand with empowering community institutions in the District, Kelurahan and Kampung. The special autonomy manifested in RESPEK and PROSPEK are social development program instruments which include planning, types of activities, management and revolving of funds, mentoring, and monitoring of reporting and evaluation of the Respect program. The implementation of RESPEK inclusively applies communication, and resources, to the bureaucratic structure with a consensus approach so that OAP can participate in the development process (Kum & Sasmito, 2018).

RESPECT and PROSPECT are efforts to overcome vertical conflicts by using soft power which also has non-violent elements. This is realized to balance military power (hard power). Soft power is carried out to break the gap that exists in Papuan society so that support from the separatist movement is biased and broken. This approach seeks to create stability and security which is directly related to the human security approach which is holistic and comprehensive because it involves all dimensions of humanity. This approach can resolve conflicts based on the root of the problem originating from political, economic, cultural, religious, environmental, needs, and social inequalities (Malik, 2017).

The process of social intervention and organization carried out through RESPEK to date has had a real impact on the development of villages in Papua, especially in terms of

infrastructure (education, health services), electricity, roads, MK, and improving food and nutrition. RESPEK's success is inextricably linked to the development strategies used, which include non-directive (participatory) and direct approaches, the use of social capital (local culture and wisdom), and the partnership strategy approach. Villages' active involvement has had a real impact on the development of Papua, and this component is very involved in breaking up support for separatism that occurs in Papua. RESPEK can be an interesting study because it has links with activities in Papua that are rife with the threat of separatism and aims to prevent the escalation of vertical conflicts that result in distrust of the government. RESPECT is a real form of overcoming actual threats as a complement to a military approach that is in line with the meaning of social justice, which is manifested in equity and just resources. As the conflict that arises from the distortion of attitudes and behavior can be prevented by fulfilling human needs (Burton, 1990).

Based on the background of the problem, this article has a problem formulation: "How are the government's efforts to overcome vertical conflicts in Papua through a welfare approach?". The formulation of this problem serves to provide boundaries for the research so that the research results can be systematized. In addition, it is known that the implementation of RESPEK in the framework of achieving peace in the land of Papua accelerates the realization of national stability and security by meeting the needs of the Papuan people, especially OAP.

## **RESEARCH METHODS**

This article employs a qualitative research design based on a review of the literature. This design is carried out through library activities, such as collecting data from various literature, reading books or magazines, and other data sources in libraries and other places. The source data obtained was not obtained through field observations but rather with data from libraries or other documents in written form, such as journals, books, or other literature (Mahmud, 2011, p. 31).

In addition, data can be obtained by discussing with experts or competent groups who have a focus on solving certain problems related to the process of writing this article (Zed, 2014). The literature study in this research was carried out by searching for and studying various literature related to the Indonesian government's efforts, which were manifested in the Papua regional government's efforts to create peace from a welfare perspective. It is hoped that this article will provide a new understanding of creating peaceful conditions through humans as the subject of development in conflict resolution efforts.

## **RESULTS OF RESEARCH AND DISCUSSION**

### **Research Results**

The issue of Papuan separatism has existed since the Netherlands handed over the sovereignty of West Irian to Indonesia through a United Nations (UN) agency, the United Nations Temporary Executive Authority (UNTEA), on May 1<sup>st</sup>, 1963 (Djopari, 1993, p. 1). In clause III of the New York Agreement, the status of West Irian is clearly stated as being under UN supervision at the end of 1969. Through UN Resolution 2504, which was ratified by the UN, West Irian officially became part of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia and was designated as Irian Jaya Province, and until now, Irian Jaya nomenclature was changed to Papua. Separatism then confronted the Indonesian government, beginning with an attack by the Arfak tribe led by Sergeant Major Parmenes Ferry Awom, who was a former member of the Papua Volunteer Battalion (PVK or Papoea Vrijwilligers Korp) formed by the Dutch against Battalion 751 (Brawijaya) in Manokwari on July 26<sup>th</sup>, 1965.

This rebellion was triggered by the refusal of members of the PVK Battalion Papua from the Arfak and Biak tribes to be demobilized. This resulted in the detention of groups that were dissatisfied with the government because of the high unemployment and food shortages among the tribe. With the emergence of sporadic rebellions from the OPM (now known as the KSTP), who wanted to separate from Indonesia, this took root in groups that lacked trust in the government. This rebellion then spread throughout Papua, beginning in Biak-Numfor, Sorong, Paniai, Fakfak, Japen-Waropen, Merauke Jayawijaya, and Jayapura and ending in Jayapura (Hadi et al., 2007, p. 102).

Separatist military activities are conducted under the command of the Papua National Army (TPN). The TPN movement was assisted by secret activities from the Papua Intelligence Service (PIS), which developed from Papuan nationalism, which had been previously formed by the Dutch Colonial with the establishment of political parties, Civil Service schools, the formation of the Nieuw Guinea Road on April 1<sup>st</sup>, 1961, and the raising of the Morning Star flag on December 1<sup>st</sup>, 1961 (Sihbudi, 2001, p. 122). These activities then gradually build a sense of Papuan nationalism, which is then continuously cultivated so that the ideology of Papuan independence develops in the hearts of the Papuan people. The issue of separatism during the New Order Era was suppressed repressively by the government through a military approach and a military operation emergency status. However, during the Reformation era, the freedom to fly the Morning Star flag and the holding of the 2000 Papuan Congress by President Abdurrahman Wahid did not reduce the intensity of Papuan rebellion and separatism efforts (Erdianto, 2019). In general, supporters of the separatist movement can be categorized into three groups, namely: (a) lower-class people who come from ethnic groups and live in strategic locations; (b) middle-class society consisting of students, lecturers, and civil servants who deserted; and (c) the military who deserted. Separatist activities involve elements of physical violence such as killings, torture, and attacks as well as non-violence with the raising of the Morning Star flag and anti-government protests. Directly, Papuan separatism is categorized as terrorism and armed crime.

The KSTP has two power bases, namely a power base that is outside the Papua region whose activities are centered on political issues and propaganda (the external base) and a base that is inside the Papua region, especially on the PNG-Indonesia border (the internal base). The external basis is supported by groups that are sympathetic to movements that aim at self-determination. Systematically, this external base received moral and financial support to ensure the continuation of its struggle. This anti-integration group has a set of values that bind them psychologically and are used as a unifying tool so as to strengthen their separatist nature, such as the text of the proclamation, the national anthem, the state flag, independence day, and the name of the country. This can directly threaten the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia and national security. The separatist movement has entered the realm of global intervention, thereby hampering efforts to integrate the nation. The separatist group felt that they had not been involved in the decision-making process on the development plans drawn up by the Indonesian government (Suharyo, 2008). This affected the escalation of the Papua conflict because its dynamics experienced escalation and de-escalation.

## **Discussion**

The root of the conflict with the emergence of separatism is caused by physiological differences in the OAP community, which feels different from most Indonesians in general. OAP are more familiar with the concept of the "Melanesian Brotherhood" which is a strong foundation for their cultural alienation amidst the strong Malay culture. This alienation syndrome is increasingly felt with the implementation of government programs such as



transmigration and family planning (KB). Tanah Papua is one of the destination areas for the transmigration program, which relocates people from densely populated islands, especially Java and Bali. The main target of transmigration is an even distribution of the population so that it is not concentrated on crowded islands. Another goal is for assimilation to occur among fellow Indonesians. In addition, transmigration can provide stability in realizing national security based on the concepts of the archipelagic outlook and the Universal People's Security Defense System (SISHANKAMRATA).

In addition, some native Papuans view the transmigration program as an effort to Indonesianize. Ondawame (2000) states that there is a fundamental discrepancy between the 1945 Constitution and Papuan customary law in terms of land ownership. The perception of the two legal instruments lies in the inclusive nature of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia and the exclusivity of Papuan law. While the government believes that all parts of Indonesia's land can be used to benefit all of its people, the Papuans believe that Papua's land is solely the collective property of the Papuans, who do not recognize it as part of Indonesia. Papua has finally received the attention of the international community, which demands self-determination. Self-determination has an international impact with increasing attention from countries and the international community. This made it easy for the Irian separatists to gain international support (Agusman, 2021).

Papuan separatist efforts are a by-product of Papua's history of joining the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. The roots of the emergence of this vertical conflict are the gaps and dissatisfaction of some OAP communities with the process of implementing the Act in 1969. Aside from that, the difficult accessibility of needs and limitations in political participation eventually accumulated and developed in Papua (Kaisupy & Maing, 2021).

Then, to cut off support for separatism caused by economic-social-political disparities, the Papuan government implemented the Independent Rural Community Empowerment National Program (PNPM) in tandem with RESPEK. The two programs were implemented starting in 2008 under the same name, namely PNPM-RESPEK. Then, in 2010, the Governor of West Papua decided to separate the implementation of RESPEK from PNPM Mandiri in rural areas so that RESPEK funding could be channelled appropriately to the village heads (in Tanah Papua, villages are known as kampung), who is also responsible for implementing the program.

RESPEK or PROSPEK is carried out with funds sourced from the Special Autonomy Fund for the Papua Province, as regulated in the Minister of Finance Regulation (PMK). The amount of Special Autonomy Funds that have been handed over to the Provinces of Papua and West Papua in 2002-2020 is 92.685.467.979.550 rupiahs, with the details as shown in the table below. From year to year, the special autonomy funds that have been disbursed are adjusted according to certain criteria or categories to achieve certain performance in the fields of public government services, public basic services, and community welfare. The budget allocation for special autonomy funds is transferred by the central government to the Papua provincial government every year so that the regions have the authority to manage and regulate these funds. The autonomous government then prioritized sectors for basic needs such as education, health, the people's economy, infrastructure development, and other developments that could reach the community (Humas, 2018). It is hoped that the Special Autonomy Fund and the Additional Infrastructure Fund in the Context of Special Autonomy can reduce poverty, which is one of the main problems that must be overcome. Poverty is a priority issue considering the huge negative impact it has on the implementation of development; for example, it can reduce productivity, increase multidimensional conflict, increase excessive resource exploitation, and so on.

**Table 1. Details of Special Autonomy Funds and Additional Infrastructure Funds in the Context of Special Autonomy for Papua**

Year	Special Autonomy Funds in Papua (Rp)	Infrastructure Additional Funds in the Context of Special Autonomy for Papua (Rp)	Total Transfers of Special Autonomy Funds in Papua (Rp)
TOTAL	70.816.137.035.550	21.869.330.944.000	92.685.467.979.550
2002	1.382.300.000.000	-	1.382.300.000.000
2003	1.539.560.000.000	-	1.539.560.000.000
2004	1.642.617.943.000	-	1.642.617.943.000
2005	1.775.312.000.000	-	1.775.312.000.000
2006	2.913.284.000.000	-	2.913.284.000.000
2007	3.295.748.000.000	1.000.000.000.000	4.295.748.000.000
2008	3.590.142.897.000	330.000.000.000	3.920.142.897.000
2009	2.609.796.098.000	880.000.000.000	3.489.796.098.000
2010	2.694.864.788.000	800.000.000.000	3.494.864.788.000
2011	3.157.459.547.550	800.000.000.000	3.957.459.547.550
2012	3.833.402.135.000	571.428.572.000	4.404.830.707.000
2013	4.355.950.048.000	571.428.572.000	4.927.378.620.000
2014	4.777.070.560.000	2.000.000.000.000	6.777.070.560.000
2015	4.940.429.880.000	2.250.000.000.000	7.190.429.880.000
2016	5.395.051.859.000	1.987.500.000.000	7.382.551.859.000
2017	5.580.152.407.000	2.625.000.000.000	8.205.152.407.000
2018	5.620.854.115.000	2.400.000.000.000	8.020.854.115.000
2019	5.850.230.158.000	2.800.000.000.000	8.650.230.158.000
2020	5.861.910.600.000	2.853.973.800.000	8.715.884.400.000

Source: Papua Regional Government (2023)

Therefore, no matter how big the number is, as long as there are people who are categorized as poor, the provincial government is committed to alleviating it. This is a big challenge for the government of Papua when faced with the condition that most of the poor population lives in mountainous and inland areas that are very difficult to reach from the center of the capital and make the population isolated from market reach. Equity is expected to create an inclusive Papua, namely from the implementation process up to the utilization of the results prioritized for improving the quality of life of indigenous Papuans, where there is healthy competition to avoid attempts by individuals and groups to dominate and increase the protection of basic rights to sources of income for indigenous Papuans.

In addition, the presence of RESPEK and PROSPEK is a manifestation of Papua's territorial development, which is holistic, integrative, thematic, and spatial. It is intended that development in the Papua region be integrated with the RPJMN, RTRWP, and KLHS, especially in determining the location and function of space, to create a balance between regional development and environmental sustainability. The direction of environmental sustainability development rests on the general policy of "green growth based on customary territories" which is needed as part of the focus on regional development in Papua. This is especially necessary for strengthening growth centers as well as achieving fair and sustainable linkages between economic sectors. This policy leads to three priority clusters, which include: (1) economic clusters, which include fisheries and tourism; (2) a cluster of increasing access and quality of education, which includes the development of fisheries vocational high schools, tourism, vocational training centers, the development of research and quality standardization institutions, and the development of technoparks as "centers of excellence" for leading sectors; (3) increasing access and quality of health, which includes the development of type B hospitals, primary hospitals, and floating health facilities; and (4) increased connectivity.

In AKATIGA's 2013 research, for five years after the implementation of PNPM/RESPEK, beneficiaries, especially local communities, viewed this effort favorably because they saw that this program was real and felt the benefits right away. The majority of people from 20 villages in Papua, namely Yahukimo Regency, Dogiyai Regency, Merauke Regency, and West Papua, namely Kaimana Regency and Teluk Bintuni Regency, agree that they have benefited from the program's sub-projects, especially infrastructure projects. Most villages in Papua have even experienced four to five cycles of implementing the PNPM/RESPEK program, while villages in West Papua have experienced three to four program cycles (especially for PNPM Mandiri) since 2009 (WBG, 2015).

However, this program needs special attention from the government because, in 2015, through an AKATIGA survey, it was found that infrastructure projects from PNPM-RESPEK had varying qualities, ranging from very good to poor or insufficient quality. One reason is the inaccuracy of the results of the assessment in the empowerment process, which is influenced by several factors such as areas affected by violent conflict, a lack of competent technicians, or community poverty. The dynamics of the implementation of RESPEK are also influenced by the rise of local conflicts, which require periodic monitoring and long-term facilitation (Pithaloka et al., 2015).

Knowledge and information related to RESPEK which inclusively involves the community in general, have resulted in this program running effectively and starting to equalize the needs of local communities (OAP). RESPEK is a direct non-military approach to fulfilling welfare (a human security approach) in order to build and eliminate inequalities experienced by the people of Papua. This program prioritizes the involvement of traditional leaders, namely village heads, so that they can accelerate peace and establish closer participation and cooperation. Traditional leaders and informal leaders have an important role in maintaining social capital in Papuan society. Utilization of social capital with key figures or informant leaders can create trust and positive networks in the empowerment process (Field, 2018). Trust is built on tribal allegiance within the OAP community's primordial framework, resulting in configured relationships and networks of relationships rooted in a shared Papuan traditional identity. This leadership pattern give the power to influence and move the community. This fosters a shared perception among native Papuans and the government, resulting in agreement among all parties in every government program (Muhammad, 2018).

Gradually, consensus can strengthen local government structures in Papua so as to strengthen leadership structures in Papuan traditional villages. Traditional villages that are able to participate in the political-social-cultural process can realize collective leadership and decision-making. Ife (2006:291-293) explains that the involvement of certain figures in the consensus approach is an effort developed to minimize the conflicts that will form (Ife & Tesoriero, 2016). If prosperity can be felt by the people of Papua, then a sense of love for their homeland, Indonesia, will slowly emerge.

Miall in Wahyudi (2018:15) writes that armed conflict or mass conflict as well as violent separatism can be prevented and efforts to resolve conflicts can be made if potential sources of conflict are correctly identified and analyzed. Sources of conflict that are currently being handled through RESPEK include infrastructure that supports economic equality, health facilities, community empowerment, and participation in every political process within the realm of local government. These efforts are continuously building increased trust in the government and diminishing the influence of the roots of separatism that are widespread in the land of Papua.

Furthermore, in 2020, the Head of the Papua Regional Development Planning Agency, Muhammad Musa'ad, explained that the PROSPECTS were temporarily stopped and would be

continued after the PON XX event. Papua Governor Lukas Enembe confirmed that the elimination of the PROSPEK program was aimed at focusing on organizing the 2020 PON XX. Papua is hosting the PON XX, which is based on Presidential Instruction 10/2017 that the PON venue construction project in Papua has an important meaning, not only for sports in Papua but for pride in Indonesia in the East region. This shows that Papua is starting to grow in a positive direction. In addition, the construction of sports facilities and infrastructure, such as sports complexes, aquatics, hockey, cricket, and velodromes, near the athlete's homestead can accelerate development by strengthening coordination to improve welfare in the Land of Papua. PON XX directly increases OAP's trust in the government, and most traditional leaders express their gratitude for this policy. Traditional leaders such as the Chairperson of the Papuan Association of Churches (PGGP), the Pastor of PGI Papua, the Chairperson of the Jayapura Communion of Churches (PGGJ) in Jayapura Regency, and the Papuan Council of Indonesian Ulemas (MUI) feel that the direction of Papua's development is becoming more inclusive (Firatmaja, 2021).

## **CONCLUSION**

Efforts to create peace in Papua can be carried out depending on the context of the situation and the conditions that exist. One of them is to approach the community outside the separatist movement through empowerment from a welfare perspective. The welfare approach through the implementation of RESPEK and PROSPEK is social development that aims to break the roots of inequality and support for separatist movements (preventing conflict escalation) by meeting the needs of the Papuan people. This is done to increase trust in the Indonesian government. In reality, the Papuan problem will not be easily resolved with just one approach. Collaboration, cooperation, and integration with military forces are needed in the defense function to deal with armed threats that lead to chaos or anomie, which result in social crises. Suggestions for further research include research related to military approaches. Collaboration between the welfare and military approaches then creates protective and conducive conditions to resolve the roots of the Papuan conflict in order to create national security.

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