



## Strengthening The Implementation Of The Papua Special Autonomy Policy In The Framework Of Supporting National Security Stability

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### Abstract

The special autonomy for the province of Papua consists essentially in granting the province and the people of Papua broader powers of self-regulation and self-government within the Republic of Indonesia as unitary state. Broader power also means greater responsibility for the province and people of Papua to administer the government and regulate the use of resources in the province of Papua for the greater prosperity of the Papuan people. However, the problems in Papua through the Special Autonomy policy, as part of the resolution of the Papua conflict, especially related to security and welfare issues, have not been able to stop the conflict in Papua. Which means that the application of the policy has not worked optimal and needs strengthening. This research raises the theme of Strengthening the Implementation of the Papua Special Autonomy Policy in the context of maintaining National Security Stability. This research was conducted using a quasi-qualitative research method using the policy theoretical approach of the Edward III Policy Implementation Model. While the research aims to analyze the application of the Papua Special Autonomy Policy in terms of the aspects of Resources, Communication, Disposition and Bureaucratic Structure, analyze the factors that influence the implementation of the Papua Special Autonomy Policy in terms of the perspective of Bureaucratic Structure, Disposition, Communication, and Resources, and design a strengthening model implementation of the Papua Special Autonomy Policy in support of National Security Stability.

**Keywords:** Special Autonomy, Papua, Implementation.

### I. INTRODUCTION

The handling of the Papua issue in the last twenty years carried out by the Government of Indonesia has shown a significant improvement, not only to being more responsive but also being more adaptive to developments in the strategic environment. The government established Papua as a new Region of Special Autonomy as a policy through Law No. 21 of 2001 on the Special Autonomy of the Province of Papua. Furthermore, this Papuan special autonomy policy is a two-way government effort, namely efforts to make better the welfare of the Papuan people and as a conflict resolution related to the security situation in Papua concerning some calling for Papuan independence. The issuance of this policy arose as a result of the dissatisfaction of the Papuan people with the economic, political, cultural, and social conditions in Papua. As an effort to accelerate the implementation of the Papua Special Autonomy policy, in 2008, the government decree issued by the government (PERPU) No. 1 of 2008 to amend Law No. 21 of 2001. Later, PERPU became Law No. 35 of 2008, specifically related to the autonomy of the province of Papua.

The special autonomy of the province of Papua essentially gives the province and people of Papua broader authority to regulate and govern themselves within the Republic of Indonesia as unitary state. Greater authority also means greater responsibility for the province and the people of Papua to administer the government and regulate the use of natural resources in the province of Papua for the greatest possible prosperity of the Papuan people (Djojosekarto, 2008).

However, the application of several development policies in Papua, including the Papua Special Autonomy Policy, has not been able to optimally suppress the growing conflict in Papua. This is caused by several other problems from the social, cultural and political aspects, but in reality the main problem lies in the still sub-optimal execution of Papua's Special Autonomy Policy. The non-optimal implementation of the Papua Special Autonomy Policy was conveyed by the LIPI research team (Indonesian Institute of Sciences) in 2017 (now BRIN, National Research and Innovation Agency), which can be seen in matters, including; there is no grand-design for long-term development in Papua that binds the commitment of all Papuan development actors. According to the LIPI study, the previous legal policy umbrella for Papua is the Papua Special Autonomy Act and its derivations for accelerating development in the form of government working guidelines in the form of presidential decrees or presidential directives. However, the government does not have a master plan that sets out in operational detail how the planning, implementation, monitoring and development goals for Papua will work in the long term. In addition, the government does not have a concept that includes which development roles and how the cooperation of the individual development actors, especially central and regional governments, is carried out. (Elisabeth, 2021).

In addition to the results of the research above by taking into account the currently increasing security situation in Papua,

It seems that there are serious problems with the implementation of Papua's special autonomy policy. It is this factor that underlies researchers to conduct research to formulate the way how the implementation of Papua's special autonomy policy can be strengthened by a study on the implementation of Papua's special autonomy policy, Volume One. Researchers have confidence that the Papuan problem that has been a burden on the Government for more than half a century, will find a consensus to create lasting peace in Papua. Regarding conflict resolution, Dahendrof said that conflict is always side by side with consensus. Conflict will always end in consensus, although conversely, consensus can lead to conflict.

Through an examination of policy implementation using the George C. Edward III's theory, which provides a theory of the policy model based on four elements that determine the success of a policy, consisting of communication factors, disposition, resources, and bureaucratic structure. By using these four indicators, this research aims to formulate a model to strengthen the execution of the Papua Special Autonomy Policy, what can be recommended to the regional and central governments to ensure that the implementation of Special Autonomy Volume Two can be carried out in the best possible way according to the expectations of the Papuan people.

Using parameters like Edward III's theory above, researchers develop three research questions as a problem formulation, thus:

1. How is the application of the Special Autonomy Policy volume one so far?
2. What factors have become obstacles to the application of the Special Autonomy Policy?
3. What is the proper strengthening model for the application of the Special Autonomy Policy in support of National Security Stability?

The aims of the research are to analyze the application of the Papua Special Autonomy Policy Volume I in terms of the aspects of Communication, Resources, Disposition and Bureaucratic Structure. Designing a model for strengthening the application of the Papua Special Autonomy Policy in support of National Security Stability.

With the above formulation of the problem and the research objectives, the research strategy we want to develop is based on the theme of strengthening the application of the Special Autonomy Policy for Papua in the future, which requires the enrichment of various parties that understand or are aware of the starting conditions for decision-making and the idea of a special autonomy for Papua. the decision-making process in the drafting of the Special Autonomy for Papua Act No. 21 of 2001, and the understanding of the constraints and barriers in the implementation of Volume One of the Special Autonomy for Papua, which has been running for about 20 years.

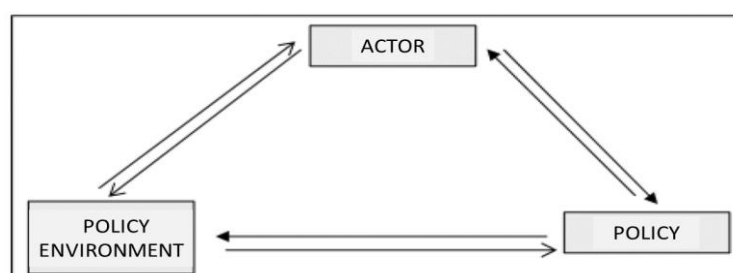
## II. RESEARCH METHOD

This study used a quasi-qualitative research method (Bungin, 2020). The data collection techniques were conducted through in-depth interviews., observations and studies of related documents of the Government's policy on Special Autonomy for Papua. Apart from going through interviews and observation techniques, researchers will also collect data as well as enrichment for researchers on the application of the Papua Special Autonomy Policy through clustered discussions in the form of SGD (Small Group Discussion), FGD (Focus Group Discussion), and RTD (Round Table Discussion). These three methods are a way of obtaining data and information input by presenting informants who do have expertise and expertise in policy formulation related to the application of Special Autonomy for Papua, community leaders or all parties who have the ability to understand the substance of the research being carried out by researchers.

## III. THEORETICAL BASIS

### 1. Systems Theory

This theory states that public policy making cannot be separated from environmental influences. According to Dunn (2003, p. 109) there are 3 (three) elements of policy: policy actors, policy environment and public policy. Richard Rose (1976, in Dunn, 2003, p. 109) observed that public policy is a more or less interconnected set of decisions made by government agencies and officials in areas such as defense, energy, health, education, and welfare. Public policy is born from the demands, which are a set of environmental influences, and then they are transformed into a political system. At the same time, there are environmental constraints and constraints that will influence policy makers. These environmental factors include: socioeconomic characteristics, natural resources, climate, topography, demography, culture, etc. (LAN, 2015, p. 12)



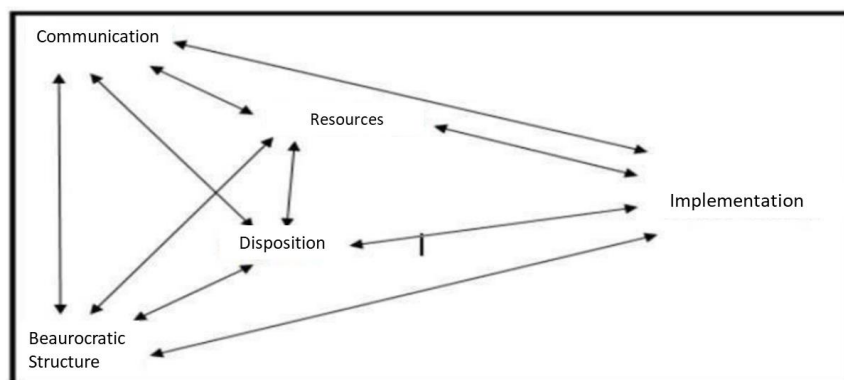
**Figure 1: Policy Elements**  
**Source: Dunn (2003)**

This theory is used to provide an understanding of the elements of a policy to understand how a policy is structured and created.

## 2. Edward III's Theory

The Edwards III policy implementation model (1980, as quoted in Dwiyanto, 2009, p.31) is influenced by four variables, namely: communication, disposition, resources, and structure of bureaucratic. These four variables are also related to each other, and described as follows:

- Communication.** The execution of a public policy, to be successful, requires the executor to have a clear understanding of what needs to be done.. The target group should be informed of the objectives and intentions of the policy so that distortions in implementation can be reduced. If the implementation of the policy objectives is unclear, understanding is not conveyed or the target group is not even aware of the policy objectives, then there is a possibility of rejection or resistance from the target group in question.;
- Resource.** The execution of the policy must be supported by human resources, materials and methods. While the aims, objectives and content of the policy have been clearly communicated and consistently, the implementation will not function effectively and efficiently if the implementer does not have the resources to implement them. Without resources, policies that remain on paper become documents, they are not implemented to solve existing community problems and community service efforts;
- Disposition.** Willingness and implementation characteristics, attitudes of policy implementers, such as communicative, intelligent, commitment, honesty, and democratic characteristics. A good executor must have a good disposition, then he will also be able to execute the policy as he wants and determine the policy. When policy implementation has a different mindset or perspective than policy makers, the execution process becomes ineffective and inefficient. Wahab (2010) explains that the disposition is the character and characteristics of the executor, such as: intelligent, commitment, honesty and democratic qualities;
- Bureaucratic Structure.** The organization provides an easy map to roughly outline their actions, and the distance to the peaks shows their relative status. The lines between the different positions are boxed to represent the formal interactions that took place. Structure of organization plays an significant role in policy implementation. An aspect of the structure of organization is Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs) must be exist. The function of the SOP is to guide each implementer in their performance. Too long an organizational structure tends to weaken oversight and lead to bureaucracy, that is to a complicated and complex bureaucracy. This in turn makes organizational activities inflexible. An explanation of the Eduardo III implementation model as shown below:



**Figure 2:** Policy Implementation Model

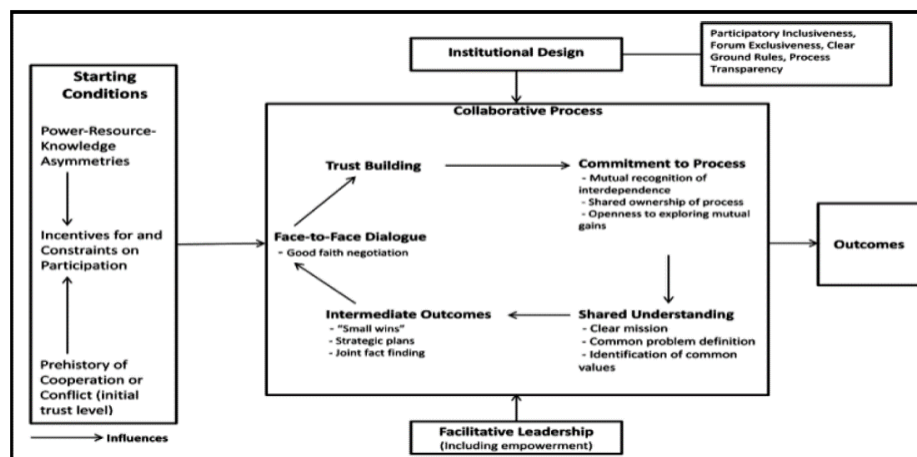
**Source:** George C. Edward III (1980, as quoted in Dwiyanto, 2009, p. 31)

This theory will be used as an analytical tools for the effectiveness of the execution of the Special Autonomy policy in Papua, where an analysis of the application of the Papua policy for the 20 years since this policy was made, depends on the extent to which the application of the special autonomy policy is effective or not.

## 3. Anshel & Gash Theory

Ansell and Gash (2008) developed another model consists of four phases, that is initial conditions, leadership facilitation, collaborative processes, and institutional design. In the initial condition, ie the phase of facilitating cooperation between existing stakeholders. There are two significant issues at this phase, that is the disparity in the resources each actor has and the attraction to get involved. If the resources and power of each stakeholder are not balanced, the collaboration will be manipulated by stakeholders who have a lot of resources and power. So when it happens, there must be an obligation to help vulnerable stakeholders. No less important is the need for incentives to allow weak actors to persistently band together. And finally, conflicts in cooperation must be anticipated, so that a relationship of trust must first be built up.

During the facilitative leadership or facilitative leadership stage, it is a very important stage to engage the stakeholders in unity, bring them closer together and unite them in one spirit. In addition, leadership is also very important to uphold the rules of the game in collaboration, to facilitate dialogue, to build mutual trust, and to explore mutual benefits.



**Figure 3:** Collaborative Governance Model, Ansell dan Gash (2008)  
**Source:** Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory (JPART)

This theory will be used as a tool in conducting discussions on the implementation of the Papua Special Autonomy policy.

## IV.RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### IV.1. PAPUA SPECIAL AUTONOMY POLICY

Special Autonomy or often abbreviated as OTSUS for Papua as stipulated in Law (UU) No. 21/2001, is one of the important responses from the central government to the emergence of various demonstrations by some Papuan people over various issues that were previously harbored and complained of. It is hoped that through OTSUS this problem will find a solution or solution. Conditions in the form of demands and even turmoil, which are more or less the same in essence, have also emerged in various areas on the outskirts of Indonesia, such as Aceh. There are various demands, from mere technical and administrative ones that ultimately improve governance, to political and ideological ones such as demanding independence of the Republic of Indonesia as unitary state.

This can be seen in a number of brochures and symbols that were carried, for example, at that time in Papua there were widespread hoisting of the Morning Star flag in many cities and counties, a symbol of demands for independence. Similar things also emerged in Aceh (NAD) and a number of other areas such as South Maluku. Responding to this, the Indonesian government issued a regional government law which provided broad and real autonomy to all regions in Indonesia and special autonomy to the two regions deemed most deserving of it, namely Papua and Aceh (NAD). The granting of special status to certain areas within a country is usually based on historical, political, ethnic and cultural diversity, accelerated development, and so on (Van Houten, 2004).

From the government's perspective, the Special Autonomy Act is seen as a strategic policy related to improving services, accelerating development and empowering all people in the provinces of West Papua and Papua, especially the native Papuans. Through this policy, it is hoped to narrow the gap between the province of Papua and other provinces in the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia and to give the native people of Papua the opportunity to participate in their territory as developmental subjects and objects.

Unfortunately, this policy was opposed by various community groups in Papua, who staged large demonstrations, including the occupation of the DPRD (Regional Council of People's Representatives) building of Irian Jaya Province and the Governor's Office in Doc II, Jayapura on October 14-15, 1999. One of the Reasons for refusal is that this policy was made without consulting the local communities. The Papuan people feel excluded from the decision-making process about this policy.

In response, the central government within a few days, specifically on October 19, 1999, through the General Assembly of the 12th Session of the MPR (People's Consultative Assembly) through the MPR Decree No. IV/MPR /1999, which essentially supports the special form of autonomy as a solution to solving problems and keeping Papua within the Republic of Indonesia as unitary state. By MPR RI Decree No. IV/MPR/1999 on State Guidelines for 1999-2004 Chapter IV subparagraph g number 2, which states:

"...maintaining national integration within the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia while respecting the equality and uniformity of the socio-cultural life of the people of Irian Jaya through the establishment of a Special Autonomous Region which is regulated by law and resolving cases of human rights violations in Irian Jaya through a court process that honest and dignified..."

## IV.2. LEGAL BASIS FOR PAPUA SPECIAL AUTONOMY

The 1945 Constitution is the constitutional basis for policy implementation. The special autonomy of Papua, which was subsequently passed in the configuration of law, namely Law No. 22 of 1999 on Regional Government. This regulation is the first rule in the reform era, dictating that the idea of regional autonomy should be applied to the idea of broad autonomy. Then the principle of broad autonomy was reaffirmed in Law No. 32 of 2004 on Regional Government, which replaces Law No. 22 of 1999, which establishes that the principle of regional autonomy used is that of the greatest possible autonomy. As comprehensive as possible means that the regions have the power to manage and regulate all government affairs outside of central government affairs.

Specifically, the Special Autonomy for Papua is a region that was granted the status of "Special Autonomy" by Law No. 21 of 2001 on the Special Autonomy for the Province of Papua. In addition, this law was perfected with Law No. 1 of 2008 amending Law No. 21 of 2001. This corresponded to the division of the provinces of West Papua and Papua.

The application of special autonomy through Law No. 21 of 2001 is part of the implementation of regional autonomy adopted in the Indonesian national system of government. According to Scott A. Bollens, special home rule enforcement as a way to implement regional home rule is an experiment by the central government to provide opportunities for minorities to become more active in politics, provide them with perspectives, preserve their culture, improve opportunities in inter-ethnic coalitions to form and build and offer potentially divided regions ample opportunity to seek a constitutional solution. Thus, the Papua Special Autonomy Act No. 21 of 2001, a different concept from the implementation of regional autonomy in other provinces, can be categorized as a form of asymmetric regional autonomy intended to enhance the uniqueness one possesses, respecting and minimizing the potential for resistance and that may have adverse effects. , including concerns that Home Rule could serve as a springboard for secession.

## IV.3. SUBSTANCE OF THE POLICY OF PAPUA SPECIAL AUTONOMY

The important substance of the special autonomy policy was also formulated by the Assistance Team formed by the Papua Provincial government as input in deliberating the draft Papua Special Autonomy Bill as follows:

1. The implementation of decentralization of government. Special autonomy is a form of asymmetric political decentralization that mediates the conflict that has plagued Papua. On the one hand, people can continue to exercise their rights to self-determination in the political, socio-economic and cultural space created by special autonomy without having to become a threat to a sovereign state. On the other hand, the central government should not worry that the application of special autonomy will lead to disintegration.
2. Safeguarding of the fundamental rights of Papuan natives. This is to warrant the Papuan community to develop its God-given self-reliance in a good and dignified manner, so that the Papuan community can become Indonesian citizens and members of a modern world society in the shortest possible time and stand on their feet. of equality. with all developed nations, without giving up their identity and identity.
3. Democracy and democratic maturity. Through this Otsus, we want to encourage the ability of the people of Papua to take advantage of the available democratic tools in a modern state such as elections, people's representative institutions, and political parties, so that their various aspirations can be channeled properly and have strong and effective legality in order to achieve democratic life. mature and responsible.
4. Respect for ethics and morals. Encouraging government officials and all Papuan people to practice their respective religious teachings in their daily lives. Only in this way can the entire Papuan people enjoy real prosperity, both physically and spiritually.
5. Respect for human rights. The implementation of development in Papua will be carried out by changing past development methods and practices that have the potential to cause human rights violations. Excessive security and military approaches will be put aside through dialogue mechanisms.
6. Enforcement of the rules of law. It is the basis for governance, the judicial process and upholding human rights. The law is implemented fairly and effectively without favoring the interests of power.
7. Respect for pluralism. Tolerance towards plurality will be promoted as an instrument for building Papuan society even though the majority are a Melanesian cultural group mixed with church denominations.
8. Equal status, rights and duties as citizens. This recognition of equal rights and duties as citizens must be done with deliberation and sensitivity to the objective conditions of some Papuan peoples whose socio-economic and political conditions require some protection. It is hoped that this protection will develop the self-capacity of the Papuan people so that their rights and obligations can be served as quickly as possible, the same as all citizens.

## V. CONCLUSION

Various weaknesses and obstacles to the application of special autonomy in Papua, if not immediately corrected, could have implications for reducing public confidence in the government's seriousness in fulfilling the people's demands, so that it is very possible that it will sow critical voices that want the separation of Papua into an independent territory separate from the Republic of Indonesia as Unitary State. Papua has the Papua Special Autonomy Law and has privileges that can be considered extraordinary when compared to other regions, but in its implementation there are various obstacles that have not run optimally, especially the problem of the distribution of authority and unclear flow of funds, to conflicts of interest and power between local Papuan elites, which ultimately lead to a loss of trust among Papuans.

The regional autonomy policy and decentralization in Indonesia was born in 1999 as part of the demand for reform. Since the promulgation of regional autonomy, local communities have space to participate in any formulation of public policies. Every individual and group in the local community has an equal opportunity and opportunity to express their aspirations. The effectiveness of the execution of the special autonomy of the Papuans can certainly be analyzed using the theoretical approach of George C. Edward III (1980), who presented four crucial factors for the successful application of a policy, namely, communication, disposition, resources, and bureaucratic structural factors. Researchers will consider and measure each of these four factors by applying Ansell and Gash's (2008) theory of the stages of policymaking, that is, initial conditions, supportive leadership, institutional design, and collaborative processes. From the results of this analysis, further research will try to unravel two things, namely, the first is the initial condition or condition that points to the failure to implement special autonomy as an initial condition (being), and the second is a condition expected. state (the solen) to develop through the construction of the theory to strengthen the application of the future special autonomy policy for Papua.

Based on in-depth interviews and observations, as well as literature reviews based on previous research results, it can be concluded that the most feasible approach in the framework of strengthening the implementation of the special autonomy policy in Papua is inextricably linked to cultural and institutional approaches by changing the bureaucratic structure to implement the special autonomy policy. Like the first data obtained from interviews with informants conducting targeted sampling, they show that the culture in Papua, the success of the execution of the special autonomy policy, as well as the bureaucratic structure of the institutions that implement the autonomy policy Papua's special autonomy, strongly influenced.

The expected result is the optimal application of the Papua Special Autonomy Policy by strengthening the institutional aspect, resulting in the realization of a safe and peaceful security situation and conditions in the Papua region with a high level of prosperity and competitiveness on a par with other regions in Indonesia which is expected that with the establishment of Papua's special autonomy institutional building model, it will have an impact on increasingly stringent national security stability to maintain upright and intact territorial integrity of the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia.

## VI.RECOMMENDATION

Build upon the products and results of this research framework, researchers can recommend two things in this study, namely the first theoretical benefit and practical benefit. Theoretical advances aim to develop the Edward III policy implementation model's theory by adding cultural and institutional aspects to the policy of special autonomy for the administration of Papua. The second is the practical benefits where this research will recommend changes to the Indonesian government. to the bureaucratic structure. Implement the special autonomy policy through the development of human resource aspects and the role of special authorities as provided for in the Papua Special Autonomy Law.

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