

Papua Conflict Resolution Challenges: The Linkage Of Relative Deprivation With The Spirit Of Separatism Of Indigenous Papuans

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Abstract

For many years, the Land of Papua has experienced bloody battles as separatist parties fought for independence from the Indonesian government. Understanding how relative hardship contributes to complaints and drives violent action is one of the critical obstacles to resolving these disputes. Indigenous people in Papua have long felt exploited and marginalized by the national government and international businesses that take resources out of the area. Compared to others in a social group or society, the sense of unfair disadvantage is called relative deprivation. This feeling of relative deprivation has fostered demands for independence and violent confrontations with security forces. In order to analyze a specific phenomenon, this research study employs a qualitative methodology that includes a thorough literature review of reliable papers. The result of this study is that the Papuan people experience relative deprivation because they have lost what previously belonged to them, such as land and resource rights, political representation, cultural identity, human rights, and fair social services. This sense of loss has caused deprivation in the Papuan people. At the same time, this deprivation fosters a separatist spirit channelled through acts of violence that cause casualties. The central government's lack of concern exacerbates the relative deprivation conditions of the Papuan people. Thus, the people of Papua are increasingly marginalized by the central government.

Keywords: relative deprivation; papua; conflict resolution.

Introduction

Indonesia is known as a country with mega-cultural diversity because it has various religions, cultures, ethnicities, races, and languages. The existence of ethnic groups with more than 250 groups and more than 500 kinds of languages is evidence of Indonesia's diversity (Ismardi & Arisman, 2014). There are two sides to viewing the diversity of Indonesian society, namely horizontally and vertically. The reality of social unity in society horizontally recognizes the diversity of Indonesian society. Community unity in social relations occurs based on differences in ethnicity, religion, customs, and regionalism in Indonesia. Meanwhile, the vertical diversity of Indonesian society can be seen in the structure of Indonesian society because there are pretty significant differences in the strata of society (Nugroho, 1999).

However, the diversity of Indonesian society has made Indonesia prone to conflict. According to Kamaludin in Salim & Salim (2002), conflict is any interaction between two or more conflicting parties. Not only that but conflict also includes behaviour that carries out various forms of indirect resistance or open resistance. Not a few conflicts have broken out and become a concern for the people in Indonesia. One conflict that has become the center of attention for people in Indonesia is the conflict in Papua. This conflict began when the Netherlands recognized Indonesia's independence. The conflict in Papua has become an issue discussed at the international level (Kusuma et al., 2022). Nevertheless, Indonesia's territory did not include Papua because the Netherlands acknowledged that Papua was administratively under the leadership of the Dutch kingdom. Therefore, the Dutch felt they had the freedom to rule Papua. Thus, the Netherlands decided to prepare for independence for Papua at the same time as the moral decolonization mission it was carrying out. In this case, the Netherlands is preparing for Papuan independence with the intention that Papua can stand as a country under the auspices of the Netherlands (Mukhtadi, 2021).

In addition, the Dutch gathered a group of educated Papuans and, then 1961, formed the Nieuw Guinea Raad or New Guinea Council as a form of planning for independence (Mukhtadi, 2021). This plan also includes the establishment of a legislature, a flag, and the national anthem for Papua (Mardiani et al., 2021). The Morning Star as the national flag of the state of Papua, and the national anthem, "Hi, Tanahku Papua," were hoisted and sung for the first time on 1 December 1961. So, as a response, Indonesia operated to liberate West Irian. The conflict in Papua is not only a concern in Indonesia but also at the international level. In this

case, handling problems in Papua has become a discussion at the United Nations (Mukhtadi, 2021). This discussion ultimately resulted in an agreement between the Indonesian and Dutch governments called the New York Agreement, in which Indonesia recognized Papua as part of its territory without involving any Papuan people (Mardiani et al., 2021). The recognition made by the Indonesian government in the New York agreement in 1962 led to the emergence of groups in Papua who sought to liberate Papua from Indonesia and the Netherlands to the United Nations (UN). This group experienced development so that it could carry out separatist actions or separate itself in a more structured manner which later formed an organization called the Free Papua Organization or OPM (Mardiani et al., 2021). In this case, OPM is fighting for the liberation of Papua in various ways, either employing diplomacy, seeking international support, or fighting the Indonesian government using weapons. It is not uncommon for OPM to commit violence which causes fatalities from both the civil society side and the security forces of the Indonesian government (Kusuma et al., 2022).

On the other hand, the Indonesian government is trying to foster new values of life for the Papuan people through many approaches. One of the steps the Indonesian government took to "win the hearts of the people" in Papua was to hold a Pepera or People's Opinion in 1969 (Yambeyapdi, 2018). Nonetheless, some community groups in Papua do not accept the results of the Act. The reason was that the results of the 1969 Act were deemed manipulated by the Soeharto government (Nainggolan, 2014). Thus, the group carried out a series of acts of violence. Thus, the death toll is estimated at around 150-500 thousand people (Philpott, 2018). The separatist movement in Papua was motivated by social jealousy in society. This jealousy occurs when the Papuan people perceive that the Indonesian government has been indifferent to injustice in the land of Papua. In this case, the Indonesian government massively exploits natural resources in Papua. However, the results of this exploitation are not enjoyed by the surrounding community. OPM takes advantage of this injustice to attract sympathy from the people of Papua (Central Sulawesi & Setiyono, 2021). In addition, the uneven development in Indonesia is also the background to the emergence of the separatist movement in Papua. During the New Order era, national development was centred on the island of Java without paying attention to other islands (Nugroho & Sardini, 2019). This development shows that development in Indonesia is "Java-centric."

This study then has three research questions that require answers. First, how does relative deprivation impact the spirit of separatism among Indigenous Papuans? Second, how can policymakers and conflict resolution practitioners effectively address the issue of relative deprivation in order to reduce the prevalence of separatist movements in Papua? Third, what role do cultural and identity factors play in shaping Indigenous Papuans' views on separatism and conflict resolution? This study takes an innovative approach to examine the link between relative poverty and native Papuan separatist sentiment. Although the idea of relative deprivation has been extensively researched in social sciences, applying it to the Papuan conflict is a novel and original technique that offers light on the conflict's root causes. The research advances knowledge of the conflict and suggests possible conflict settlement techniques by examining how relative deprivation affects the separatist spirit of indigenous Papuans. This study presents a novel viewpoint on the problem and may provide helpful information to academics, policymakers, and activists working to resolve the problems associated with the Papuan conflict.

Indonesian researchers have conducted the following studies on relative poverty and the conflict in Papua. Tay et al. (2015) researched psychological deprivation among Papuan refugees residing in Papua New Guinea. (PNG). They employed a conflict psychology strategy to identify deprivation among exiled conflict victims. Seda et al.'s (2018) other research focuses on social welfare, social exclusion, and social policy in Eastern Indonesia. His findings indicate a welfare difference between Papua and other Indonesian regions. Meanwhile, Sari (2021) examines the deprivation of Papuans in Biak who have lost in economic competition with residents from outside Papua. This gap is because the Papuan people's life is still tightly bound to tradition and culture, which is incompatible with modern economic life. Finally, Haley (2012) conducted a study on the relative deprivation of the population of Papua New Guinea from the Southern Mountains. He saw deprivation as the marginalization of the local population from business expansion in the form of an unfair distribution of resources which led to resistance against the Government. In contrast to these studies, this research will focus on the economic and political deprivation of the population of Papua Province, which is the context of the emergence of dissatisfaction and resistance of the Free Papua movement against the Government.

Literature Review

Eminent academic Ted Gurr created the idea of relative deprivation, which is essential to understanding political violence and social conflict. Gurr defines relative deprivation as the perceived gap between a person's or a group's perception of what they are entitled to and what they have. Relative deprivation can occur in absolute and relative terms depending on the situation and the individual's expectations. According to Gurr, relative deprivation can cause feelings of injustice, annoyance, and rage, inspiring people or groups to take action to make their complaints known. Gurr's theory of relative deprivation has been widely used in the social sciences, particularly in research on social movements, terrorism, and intergroup conflict. Academics have utilized relative deprivation to analyze conflict dynamics and the evolution of violent conduct. Comparative deprivation theory, for instance, has been used by academics to explain, among other things, the genocide in Rwanda and ethnic conflicts in the Balkans. Additionally, Gurr's theory has been used to examine nonviolent forms of protest, such as the American civil rights movement. In general, Gurr's concept of relative deprivation has improved knowledge of the root causes of social conflict and given researchers and politicians a valuable instrument to address conflict resolution issues.

The conflict in Papua began with the emergence of a spirit to become an independent country in the 1950s. The emergence of this spirit is inseparable from the role of the Dutch colonial government, which accelerated the formation of local government administration authorities (Kusuma et al., 2022). The role of Dutch colonial government saw that the Papuan people were culturally different from other communities in Indonesia. Thus, the Dutch colonial government decided to prepare for independence for West Papua. Thus, the Netherlands refused to give up the Papua region when Indonesia proclaimed independence (Philpott, 2018). Awareness of the right to freedom is the basis for growing the spirit of separatism in Papua. The right to obtain this freedom is the basis because this right has been recognized internationally by the UN (Djafar, 2016). Therefore, OPM is fighting against the Indonesian government by spreading the ideals of independence for Papua via the Internet and other

social media (Mulia et al., 2020). This spirit of separatism grew when there was social jealousy towards the attitude of the Indonesian government, which gave the impression of not caring enough about Papua. The Papuan people see the attitude of the Indonesian government, which is less concerned about Papua as a new colonizer. Thus, this view later influenced the views of the Papuan people, which caused some people to support OPM secretly and openly (Yambeyapdi, 2018).

The Indonesian government has taken various military and non-military steps to resolve separatism in Papua. Militarily, the Indonesian government launched a military command called Tri Komando Rakyat (Trikorra) on December 19, 1961, as a form of Indonesia's struggle to seize Papua and prevent the formation of a Dutch puppet state (Mukhtadi, 2021). In addition, the Indonesian government also carried out other military operations such as Operation Conscious (1965-1967), Operation Bharatayudha (1967-1969), Operation Wibawa (1969), Operation Jayawijaya (1977), Operation Clean Sweep I and II (1981), Galang Operations I and II (1982), Crush Operations (1983-1984), and Clean Operations (1985) (Sudira, 2022). Meanwhile, on a non-military basis, the Indonesian government is conducting dialogue. Dialogue is part of the negotiation process between the government and the Papuan people and externally through international organizations such as the UN. On the other hand, the Indonesian government also passed Law Number 21 of 2001 concerning the Special Autonomy for Papua (Kaisupy & Maing, 2021).

Autonomy is the principle of self-regulation based on various demands within the unitary state (Marit & Warami, 2018). The Special Autonomy for Papua is one of the main milestones in the democratic system in Indonesia, which has become a new positive spirit in the field of democracy. This special autonomy gives Papua greater freedom in managing its territory. However, the people of Papua see that implementing this special autonomy will not benefit them. This view is based on the existence of mining exploitation activities in Papua but does not have a significant impact on the welfare of the Papuan people. Thus, even though special autonomy has been running, there is still upheaval in Papua (Kaisupy & Maing, 2021). The upheaval occurred because the Papuan people lived in a situation of worry, fear, and uncertainty due to the plundering natural wealth (Marit & Warami, 2018). The people of Papua experience anxiety, fear, and uncertainty, which trigger a condition of relative deprivation. Relative deprivation arises when individuals compare themselves

with others in their community. This relative deprivation then results in internal responses and individual behaviour. Individual behaviour tends to lead to negative behaviour (Suh & Flores, 2017). The negative behaviour of some Papuan people who support this separatist movement is reflected in the acts of violence that killed security forces. One of them is the killing of two Mobile Brigade members and one Freeport security officer in Timika Regency in 2015 (Mulia et al., 2020). This negative behaviour is detrimental to Indonesia because it can hinder the process of national integration.

Based on the explanation above, this study provides an update on the discussion of relative deprivation. The update in this study is seen in how to understand the role of relative deprivation in encouraging a person or group to commit acts of violence. In this study, relative deprivation refers to the perception of being disadvantaged unfairly compared to others in a social group or community. This perception also occurs in Papua, where the people have long felt marginalized, and their resources have been exploited on a large scale by the Indonesian government and foreign companies such as Freeport. Therefore, this public perception fuels the spirit of the separatist movement in Papua. This discussion is interesting, considering the spirit of separatism in Papua since the beginning of Indonesian independence. However, until now, studies have yet to examine relative deprivation, one of the challenges in conflict resolution in Papua.

Research Method

This study uses a qualitative research method to explore challenges in conflict resolution in Papua. Qualitative discussion intends to understand the meanings contained in social phenomena (Creswell, 2003). The qualitative research method in this study focuses on the interpretation of non-numeric facts (Lamont, 2015). This research method is suitable for the topic of study because it focuses on the deep relationship between relative deprivation and separatist spirit. This study helps to explore the subjective experiences, perceptions, and attitudes of the local Papuan population toward conflict and to find out the causes behind the occurrence of violence. In addition, this research method has no rigid procedures, so the writer is more flexible in studying social phenomena. Thus, the authors must be more involved to obtain detailed and in-depth analysis results (Creswell, 2003).

Meanwhile, this study uses the perspective of psychology and security studies. In this case, this study uses the concept of relative deprivation. Based on Duclos & Gregoire (2001), relative deprivation shows gaps in social groups. This gap occurs due to limitations in the capacity of resources to meet the needs of life that can maintain the quality of life. In addition, Gurr in Kholil (2019) describes relative deprivation as a person's understanding of the negative distance between expected and capability values. The value of expectations is an individual's expectation of the quality of life he believes he has the right to have or enjoy. Not only that, the value of capability is a condition in which a person is sure to get his hopes. Thus, relative deprivation is a condition of someone's assumption that achieving something that is expected is impossible. Meanwhile, Smith et al. (2012) stated that relative deprivation has three aspects. First, Cognitive comparison occurs when there is a comparison between one individual and another. Second, Cognitive appraisals occur when a condition is assessed based on comparing situations between groups, the past, and other individuals. Third, The justice-related effect occurs when individuals experience unfair losses, feel they deserve better, and show deprivation and hatred toward a situation. Thus, individuals who experience relative deprivation have distinctive characteristics: anger, dissatisfaction, jealousy, hopelessness, and unhappiness.

According to Pramukti in Ratnawati et al. (2019), this "Java-centric" development causes envy from those who want justice in the life of the nation and state. This uneven development can trigger the outbreak of conflict in Papua. There is a narrative that views Java island people as "more advanced," and the people of Papua are considered "backward" as the background to the emergence of conflict in Papua (Rumkabu, 2022). This conflict occurred due to the Papuan people's dislike of Java people due to development focused on the island of Java. This development, considered Java-centric, has caused indigenous Papuans to feel marginalized by the Indonesian government. Therefore, the authors use the theory of relative deprivation in this study. This theory can explain the dissatisfaction of a group that can increase enthusiasm for committing acts of violence, as happened in the separatist movement in Papua.

In addition, the technique used in this study in analyzing is the descriptive analysis technique. This analysis technique aims to describe situations, mechanisms, and processes based on facts and data through an analysis process (Moleong, 2007). The data contained in the research are secondary data obtained from both

credible and trusted journals and sites. This study uses secondary data to strengthen the analysis contained in the discussion. In collecting data, this study uses a literature study. Thus, official documents from credible institutions, such as books, journals, and audio-visual documents, can be utilized in this study (Creswell, 2014). Not only that, this study uses interview techniques. An interview is a form of communication between two people that aims to obtain information from other people by asking questions with a specific purpose. In this study, the form of interviews used is unstructured interviews or in-depth interviews. This interview form is flexible because the wording of every question can be changed according to the needs and conditions during the interview (Mulyana, 2002). In addition, interviews in this study were conducted based on an agreement between the author and the informant. The writer uses this technique because it discusses relative deprivation, which requires the researcher to know how someone views/feels about something.

Analysis

After the reform, the Indonesian government began to pay attention to the Papua region by granting special autonomy. The granting of this special autonomy is known as asymmetric decentralization, which refers to differences in the economic field and the division of powers among local governments (Hidayat, 2022). This special autonomy happened after the ratification of Law Number 21 of 2001 concerning the Special Autonomy for Papua. The word Papua itself is rooted in Malay, meaning curly hair. The naming of Papua refers to the description or physical appearance of the indigenous tribes in the region (Papua.go.id, n.d.). The implementation of special autonomy in this province first took place in 2002 (Hidayat, 2022). The objectives of implementing this special autonomy are: 1) increasing the welfare of the community; 2) realizing justice, upholding human rights, the rule of law, and democracy; 3) recognizing and respect for the rights of indigenous Papuans; and 4) implementation of governance (DPR RI, 2021).

The Indonesian government views granting special autonomy as a solution to conflicts in Papua Province. This particular autonomy policy is considered a policy that is a win-win solution between parties who want independence and the Government of Indonesia (Katharina, 2019). In addition, granting special autonomy can build trust-building between the people of Papua and the Government of Indonesia (Ariyanto, 2017). Meanwhile, the ratification of Law Number 21 of 2001 concerning

Special Autonomy for Papua arose from the aspirations of the Papuan people who wanted independence for Papua, which began from 1998 into 2000. Three leading causes, namely triggered the emergence of the aspirations of the Papuan people: 1) the History of integration politics in Papua; 2) There have been various kinds of violence and violations of human rights against the Papuan people committed by the state; 3) The state's failure to develop in various fields such as education, health, and infrastructure (Kossay, 2022).

The granting of Special Autonomy for the Province of Papua shows that there has been a change in the approach taken by the Indonesian government in managing problems in Papua between before and after the reform. During the New Order era, the Indonesian government led by President Soeharto used state-owned war equipment to take a repressive approach in Papua. In addition, the Indonesian government resumed a policy of conquering and plundering resources. Implementing a repressive approach in Papua has caused Papua to become a military operation area for the Indonesian government. The implementation of policies by the Indonesian government is reminiscent of the character of a centralized feudal state (Nugroho & Sardini, 2019).

The Indonesian government started a more humane approach during the reform period. Adopting this approach aligns with the spirit of reform, which respects human rights and expresses opinions more freely. Changes have also occurred in the state-owned military sector, which has become the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI), which is more professional and promotes civilian supremacy, as reflected in its slogan: "With the people, the TNI is strong." On the other hand, the collapse of the New Order regime created new problems, namely the loss of absolute control from the Indonesian government over regions in Indonesia, including Papua. Absolute control from the Indonesian government during the New Order era was possible because the government during the New Order era was centralized, in which the President was at the top of the government pyramid. Thus, the President can be an important figure in government by playing an essential role in policy formulation (Nugroho & Sardini, 2019).

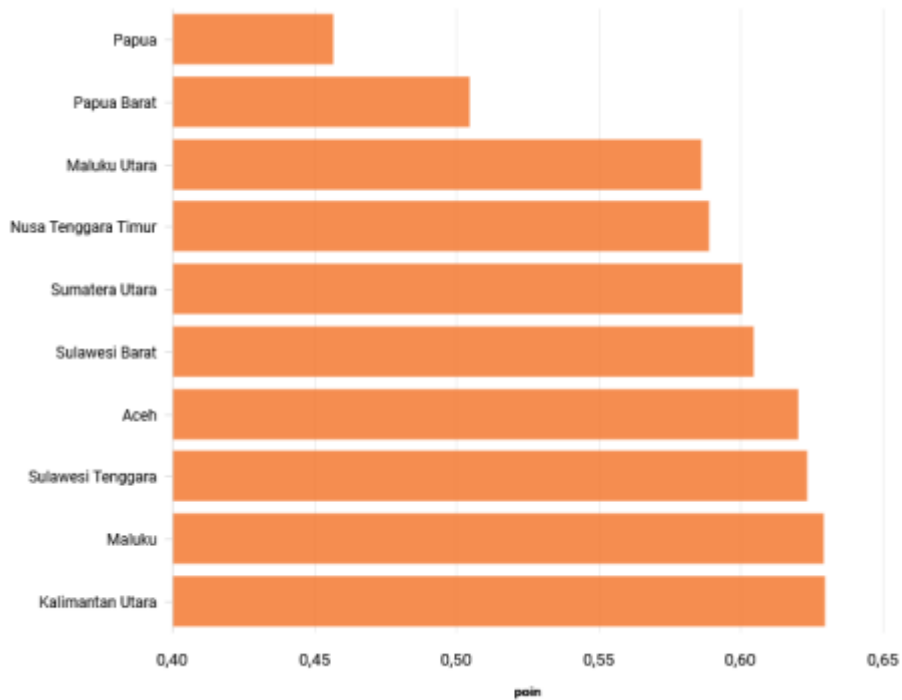


Figure 1. 10 Provinces with an Average Developing Village Index Score for 2021

However, the policy of the Indonesian government in granting special autonomy through Law Number 21 of 2001 is considered to have little impact (Kossay, 2022). In addition, the efforts of the Indonesian government to resolve the conflict in Papua through special autonomy are seen as only going nowhere (Nugroho & Sardini, 2019). Based on reports from the Ministry of Villages, Development of Disadvantaged Regions and Transmigration, Papua is the province that has the lowest developing village index. The low index of Papua has caused Papua to become the province with the status of the most underdeveloped villages in 2021. In this case, Papua has an average developing village index value of 0.4563, as shown in Figure 1. Until 2021, as many as 3604 of 5,411 villages in Papua have the status of very underdeveloped villages (Databoks, 2021).

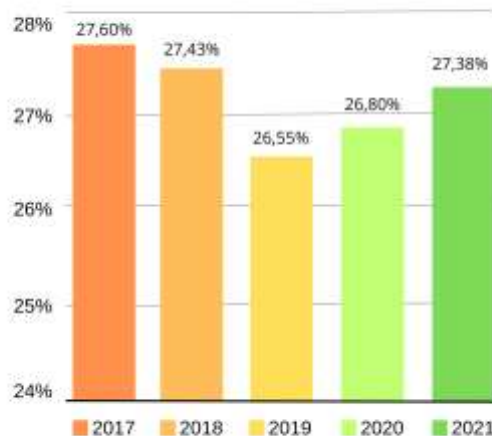


Figure 2. Percentage of Poor Population in Papua

According to the Ministry of Villages, Development of Disadvantaged Regions and Transmigration, the developing village index aims to review developments taking place in villages towards independence through implementing the Village Law. The developments in the village took place with the support of village funds and assistants in the village. Meanwhile, the low index of developing villages in Papua shows that there are still many people in Papua who live below the poverty line. Based on data from the Central Statistics Agency, there will be 944.49 thousand people in Papua below the poverty line in 2021. This number constitutes 27.38% of the total population in Papua (Databoks, 2022).

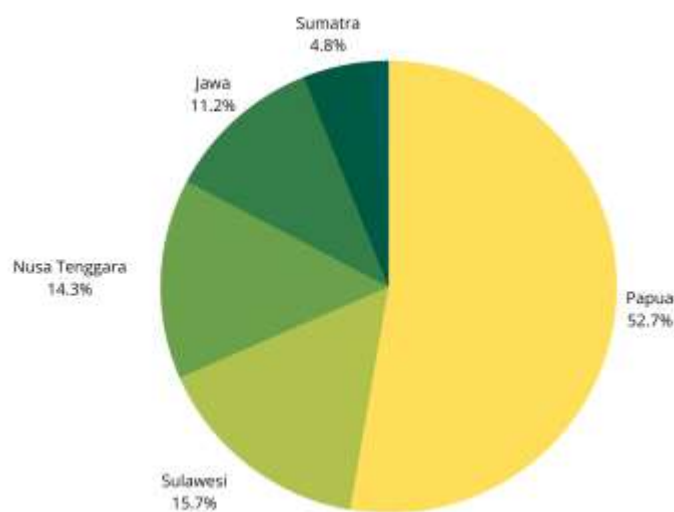


Figure 3. Percentage of Gold Ore Reserves in Indonesia (Processed by Researchers)

On the other hand, Papua has the largest gold ore reserves in Indonesia, where 52% of the total national gold ore reserves are in Papua. One of Papua's largest gold ore reserves is in the Sudirman Mountains in the interior of Papua (Philpott, 2018). Based on the booklet published by the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources in 2020, gold ore reserves in Papua reached 1.87 billion tons. However, Papua is one of Indonesia's islands that hold gold ore. In this case, the island of Sulawesi ranks second as an island for storing gold ore reserves in Indonesia. Gold ore reserves in Sulawesi itself reach 557.05 million tonnes. The data that has been collected shows the ironic condition of Papua as the largest gold ore storage island in Indonesia. This condition became even worse after granting special autonomy to Papua had no significant impact. The implementation of special autonomy for Papua should significantly impact the people of Papua because of their right to receive special autonomy funds. This funding assistance equals two percent of the national general allocation fund. The provision of special autonomy funding assistance is prioritized for financing in the education and health sectors, which are at least thirty percent and fifteen percent, respectively (DPR RI, 2013).

Meanwhile, the allocation of general allocation funds then increased to 2.25 percent. This increase in the allocation of funds occurred after the ratification of Law Number 2 of 2021, which contributed to an increase in financing for health by at least 20 percent (DPR RI, 2021). However, the increased budget allocation from the Indonesian government for Papua has not been accompanied by increased welfare for the people of Papua. Based on data from the Central Statistics Agency, Papua in March 2022 had a poor population of 922.12 thousand people, or the equivalent of 26.56% of the province's total population. The percentage of poverty obtained by Papua causes Papua to occupy the first position as the poorest province with the highest poverty percentage in Indonesia compared to other provinces (Databoks, 2022).

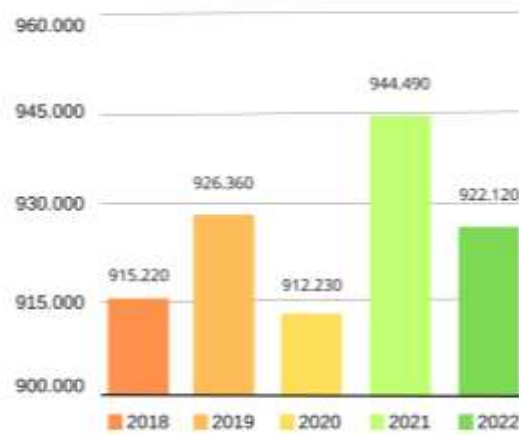


Figure 4. Number of Poor People in Papua

Poverty in Papua triggers relative deprivation in the Papuan people due to the gap that separates the expectations of the Papuan people for the Indonesian government and the existing reality. The emergence of this gap is triggered when someone compares himself with others. The comparisons made by these individuals also involve various situations, such as situations in the past or situations experienced by other groups as comparisons. Comparison with other individuals or groups can occur personally and in groups (Santoso & Hakim, 2012). In addition, relative deprivation generally occurs because of social injustice experienced by a person or group. This social injustice triggers deprivation, sadness, and fear in individuals and groups. This deprivation causes a person's or group's motivation to increase to carry out attacks, sadness causes someone to be motivated to stay away from social life, and fear triggers someone's motivation to leave social life (Smith et al., 2012). Meanwhile, Urney & Tierney in Smith & Pettigrew (2015) said that the emergence of social action is more straightforward when individuals who are in social action are mistreated or belittled compared to when they get proper treatment. In addition, relative deprivation also occurs due to the influence of 3 other factors. First, culture plays a role against individuals with individualistic backgrounds. This role is seen in individuals responding to circumstances who choose personal gains over group benefits. Second, group identification causes individuals with high identification to respond more negatively to the situation they are experiencing.

The third factor that triggers relative deprivation is the area of interest. With this factor, the individual will respond negatively if the area of interest is necessary for the individual or

the group. Furthermore, the process results in losses because individuals and groups perceive relative deprivation as higher if conditions are unfair. Finally, individuals or groups are not blamed because when individuals blame themselves or the conditions of their individuals or groups, relative deprivation tends to be higher (Smith & Pettigrew, 2015). In this case, relative deprivation as an individual tends to pursue strategies to increase personal value. In contrast, group relative deprivation tends to prioritize group interests and is not oriented toward individual interests (Tougas & Beaton, 2002). On the other hand, Gurr in Dayakisni & Hudaniah (2012) divides deprivation into three types, namely: 1) Decremental deprivation, 2) Aspirational deprivation, and 3) Progressive Deprivation. Decremental deprivation occurs when a person or group loses what it is considered that the individual or group should have. This deprivation occurs due to several circumstances, such as depression, enactment of rules, and retreat on several occasions. Individuals and those who experience this deprivation will tend to see the situation in the past. Meanwhile, aspirational deprivation is the opposite of decremental deprivation.

Aspirational deprivation occurs when individuals or groups no longer feel deprived of what they should have. However, this type of deprivation occurs when individuals or groups get angry when there are no tools/means they want. Meanwhile, progressive deprivation occurs when individuals or groups experience a decreased ability but have increasing expectations (Dayakisni & Hudaniah, 2012). Based on the explanation above, the model presented by Gurr is more dynamic in understanding the role of relative deprivation in motivating individuals or groups to commit acts of violence. The reality of not achieving the wishes or hopes of the Papuan people for welfare triggers problems such as the desire to liberate West Papua from Indonesia. The Indonesian government views the pursuit of West Papuan independence as a threat to national integration. The integration process is a complex political process because it relates to several aspects of life. In this case, the process of national integration in Indonesia is becoming increasingly complex because it has a multi-ethnic society spread over various islands. In Indonesia, national integration is essential because this integration process influences political, security, defense, and socio-cultural developments in the country (Pekey, 2018).

The conflict in Papua occurs at least because of two things that trigger relative deprivation: passive social interaction and dual society in the economic field. In this case, social interaction

can occur by fulfilling one of the main conditions, namely the meeting of two or more parties directly or indirectly, such as through social media (Kholil, 2019). The interaction between the Papuan people and the Indonesian government could be more harmonious. This disharmony of interaction occurs because of the separatist movement that wants independence for West Papua. Therefore, the Indonesian government seeks to harmonize interactions with the Papuan people by implementing the Act of 1969 and granting special autonomy to Papua (Marit & Warami, 2018). In general, harmony for several parties is a term that describes a situation that goes on without any problems. However, harmony can be interpreted as stable social justice with good inter-community solidarity when understood in social harmony. Complete solidarity between communities results from a process of healthy social interaction in society carried out continuously without being based on various interests (Kholil, 2019). This disharmonious interaction has occurred since the beginning of Indonesian independence with interference from the Netherlands. In this case, the Netherlands assisted administratively in establishing West Papua as an independent country (Mukhtadi, 2021).

Passive social interaction with the Papuan people is one of the symptoms of social exclusion in social life. In this case, passive social interaction causes people to no longer live in social bonds. This community life can reduce participation, access, and solidarity among fellow citizens (Syahra, 2010). Passive social interaction with the Papuan people began during the New Order era due to limited news and information about the Papuan people. What is more, most Indonesians need to learn more about the actions of the Indonesian government in Papua. Thus, this limited news and information hurt the level of sympathy of the Indonesian people towards the people in Papua. Thus, the Indonesian people may have minimal sympathy for the suffering of the Papuan people (Philpott, 2018). Passive social interaction between individuals or groups is simply an obstacle to establishing solidarity and concern for the social environment. Passive social interaction can become dangerous because individuals or groups will be indifferent to a problem faced by other individuals or groups. The indifferent attitude of individuals or groups towards the problems of individuals or groups arises because of sensitivity and fanaticism. Meanwhile, individuals or groups who are facing problems will experience jealousy on one side and dissatisfaction on the other. This jealousy and dissatisfaction occur because other

groups are used as comparisons with their group, which is considered not good (Kholil, 2019).

Regarding the economy, Papua is an island with an inconspicuous economy. The inconspicuous economy in Papua is not surprising, considering that many people in Papua still live below the poverty line. According to data from the Central Statistics Agency, more than 900 thousand people in Papua will live below the poverty line in 2022. This figure shows that more than 20% of people in Papua live below the poverty line (Databoks, 2022). So, in this case, the economy's strength in Papua is still weak.

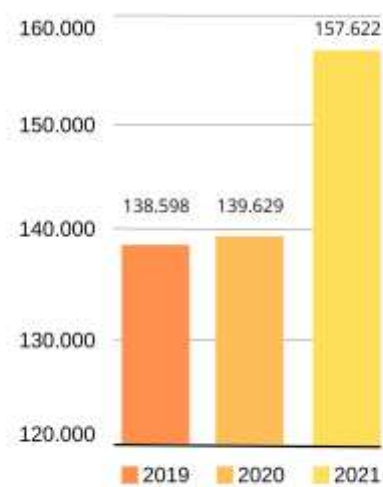


Figure 5. Papuans over the age of 15 who have completed elementary school or lower

The phenomenon of high poverty rates in Papua is due to the low level of education in Papua. The Central Bureau of Statistics records that there are Papuans over 15 who do not have a school diploma. In this case, the number of Papuans aged over 15 years who have only completed education at the elementary school level and below is 138,598 people in 2020. Meanwhile, this figure increased in 2021 compared to the previous year, when this increase was 1,091 people. Thus, the number of Papuans over 15 years who have only completed education at the elementary school level and below in 2021 is 139,629. The following year, this figure increased significantly to 157,622 people in 2022.

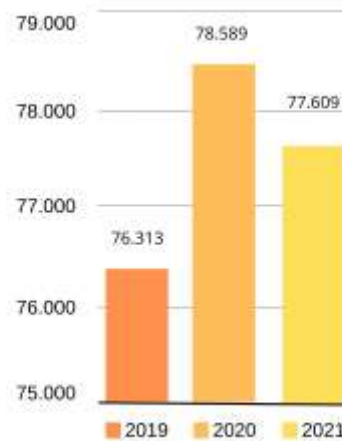


Figure 6. Penduduk Papua Usia di Atas 15 Tahun yang Menamatkan Pendidikan Sekolah Menengah Pertama

Meanwhile, as many as 76,313 Papuans aged over 15 years only completed education up to junior high school level in 2020. In 2021, this figure increased compared to the previous year, where this increase was 2,076 people. This increase impacts the number of Papuans over 15 years who have only completed education up to the junior high school level, of which 78,589 people recorded in 2021. Meanwhile, in 2022, the number of Papuans over 15 years who have only completed education up to junior high school level is 77,609. Then, as many as 110,359 Papuans over 15 years only completed their education up to the high school level in 2020. This figure will increase in 2021 when 115,270 Papuans have only completed their education up to the high school level. Not only that, this figure will increase again in 2022, when 127,445 Papuans have only completed their education up to the high school level.

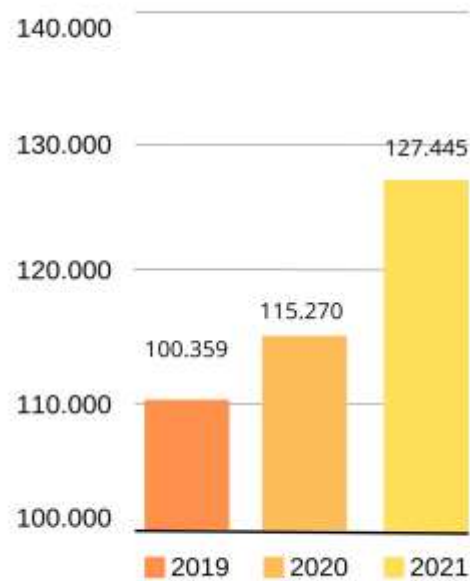


Figure 7. Papuan Residents Over 15 Years Old Who Have Completed High School Education

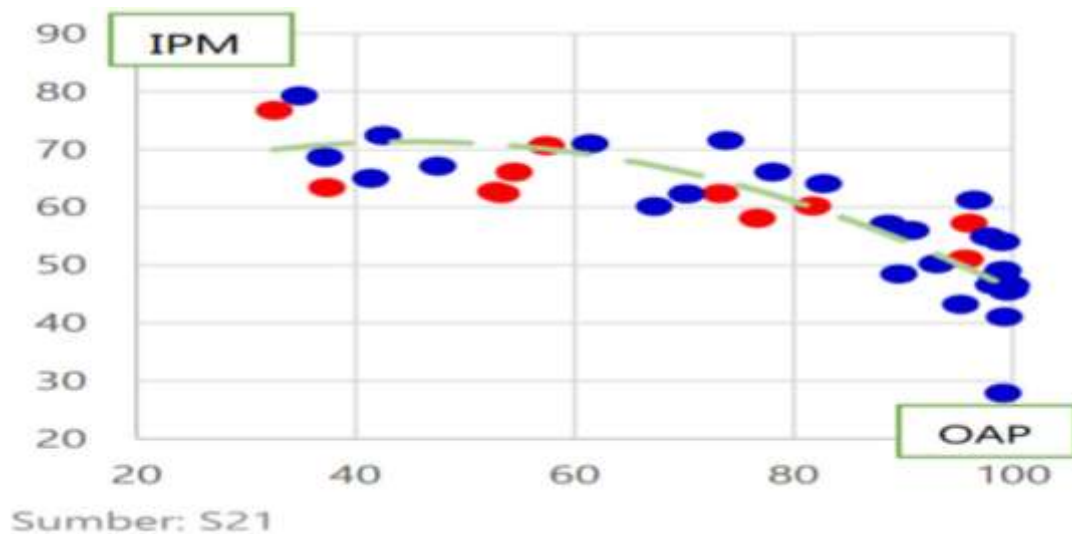


Figure 8. Human Development Index (HDI) based on Regencies in Papua Land

Source: Elisabet et al., 2020.

From 2013 to 2018, Figure 8 displays the Human Development Index based on districts in the Papua and West Papua Provinces. While their circles are in West Papua Province, the blue circles show the HDI figures of districts and cities in Papua Province. This graph demonstrates that the average HDI score for regions where native Papuans predominate is also generally poor; for instance, the regions of Nduga, Yahukimo, Tambrau, and the Arfak Mountains. While this

is the case, the average HDI rate is generally high in regencies and cities with a preponderance of non-Papuans, such as Jayapura City, Sorong City, Manokwari, Merauke, Jayapura, Nabire, and Mimika Regencies. The conflict between the Papuan people, who are within the scope of OPM, and the Indonesian government is seen by researchers as a result of relative deprivation. In this case, the Papuan people can be understood as a group that is experiencing dissatisfaction and, at the same time, a group that is fighting for the value expectations they have. The loss of access to resources as a condition for achieving welfare values for the Papuan people has resulted in frustration. This frustration arises because the Papuan people have basic needs to continue their lives. Negotiations in the form of dialogue have also been carried out repeatedly to achieve prosperity.

The gap between the desire of the Papuan people to obtain welfare as an expectation value and limited access to their resources is one of the capabilities values causing the Papuan people to experience relative deprivation. The relative deprivation of the Papuan people arises from previous experiences that have been felt. On the other hand, the value of welfare that has been disrupted due to lack of access has caused the Papuan people to be frustrated. Thus, the Papuan people were enthusiastic about separating themselves from Indonesia by establishing a new state. This spirit of separatism is detrimental to Indonesia because it hinders the process of national integration that has been carried out for decades. At this level, the Papuan people experience relative deprivation with decremental deprivation. The Papuan people experience this type of deprivation because there is a gap between the capability value and the expected value due to the capability value being lower than the expected value. Decremental deprivation experienced by the people of Papua has resulted in the sense of loss of something they should have the right to own. This is in line with Gurr, who stated that individuals or groups would feel more disappointed and angrier if they lost what should be theirs compared to losing hope of achieving what they have never had (Gurr, 1970).

Conclusions

The Papua region, which has been hit by violent conflict for years with separatist groups seeking independence from the Indonesian government, shows that the Papua region, which holds the most significant gold ore in Indonesia, still receives less attention from the Indonesian government. This study shows that the conflict originated from the exploitation of large-scale resources by the Indonesian government, which was not in line with the increasing

welfare of the Papuan people. In this case, the Papuan people consider that they are entitled to what is produced from exploiting resources in their territory. Nevertheless, that did not work out, so the Papuan people felt they were in an unfair situation. The emergence of this Papuan conflict on the surface is because it has been going on for decades, resulting in several casualties. The study results imply that the spirit of secession among Indigenous Papuans is significantly impacted by relative disadvantage. According to the survey, the Indonesian government is strongly seen to marginalize and exclude the Papuan people, resulting in relative deprivation. This sense of relative scarcity significantly fuels the Papuan independence movement. The study discovered that the Papuan people believe they have a right to whatever is produced from the resources exploited on their land. For the Papuan people, the advantages of these resources have not, however, resulted in greater well-being or development; this has led to increased discontent and animosity toward the Indonesian government, which has helped the separatist movement gain ground. This study's findings on this problem conclude that addressing relative deprivation among Indigenous Papuans is crucial to resolving the conflict in Papua and achieving lasting peace in the region.

On the other hand, cultural and identity elements substantially influence Indigenous Papuans' opinions about secession and peacemaking. Indigenous Papuans have a robust cultural identity rooted in their country, language, and customs. Due to Indigenous Papuans' perception that the policies of the Indonesian government pose a threat to their culture and customs, this identity is a critical component in the separatist movement. The sense of cultural threat among Indigenous Papuans is a significant motivator of secession. The study also demonstrates how Indigenous Papuans' traditional ideals of justice, solidarity, and community influence their perspectives on resolving disputes. They think that any peace settlement must protect their cultural identity and beliefs. Therefore, policymakers and conflict resolution practitioners must consider the cultural and identity factors influencing Indigenous Papuans' views on separatism and conflict resolution when designing conflict resolution strategies.

The research suggests that, as a next step, policymakers and conflict resolution specialists can effectively address the problem of relative deprivation in Papua by taking a multifaceted approach and, first, addressing economic inequality by giving the people of Papua equal access to economic opportunities and ensuring that

the advantages of economic growth are distributed fairly. They also advance political inclusion by offering the Papuan people more opportunities to engage in decision-making and control their local affairs. Thirdly, correcting historical injustices through coming to terms with past human rights violations and prejudice towards Papuans. Promoting intercultural communication and tolerance can help close the cultural divide between Papuan and other Indonesian populations. Lastly, dialogue and constructive engagement can help create a more conducive environment for addressing the root causes of the conflict between the Papuan people and the Indonesian government.

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