

For whom the infrastructure in Papua truly is?

Many people might think that there is a great mistake since the beginning of this Republic on what Central Government has ever done to Papua and its peoples. Something like stereotyping Papuans as a "primitive" society, over-reducing the problem of the Papuan people always on just economic matters only (ahistorical approach), and overgeneralizing problems in Papua with just one treatment are seen as just a view of its examples. Those things reflected on how Central Government implement Papuan Development Scheme which was so similar with other area of Indonesia, especially Java, instead of being different. Thus, creating a "Javan Papua" as the result.

Began in the authoritarian New Order regime, with its development plan stated in the Five Year Development Plan (REPELITA). Catching up economic growth is the main objective of this regime. Opening investment is seen as the answer for all problems exists. Started by granting mining work contract license to PT. Freeport in Timika, the establishment of a fishing company in Sorong, and timber exploitation in Jayapura Forest from around year 1967 to 1980. Furthermore, the development planning stage is achieving self-sufficiency in food (rice). The program was accompanied by bringing in transmigrants from other parts of Indonesia, specially Java. In this case, unlike Javan People, Local Papuans certainly do not have the ability and experience to work in the rice fields to be competitive. These circumstances leads to the portrayal of Papuan as a society that does not comply with The New Order development needs.

The Development Plan of Papua after the New Order, was built upon Special Autonomy Law (Otsus) No 21, released by Indonesian Government in 2001. The direction of development is focused on four priority sectors, which are education, public health, economy empowerment and infrastructure development. The flow of Special Autonomy funds in Papua have been distributed since 2002, and in West Papua since 2007. As per 2018 Province Papua had received Otsus funds numbers as much as 75.3 trillion, while West Papua Province had received about 29.8 trillion, which continue to rise every year ¹. ¹Although These numbers are huge, it still can't help rose the Index Human Development (HDI) in the two provinces from the bottom rank. Even until 2018, Human Development Index in Papua and West Papua was still below the Indonesian average (71.39), with just 60.06 and 63.74, respectively (BPS, 2018) thus made Papua as a province with lowest HDI in Indonesia.

After three presidential reigns since the beginning of Reformation Era, the baton of Papua development had passed to President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) and President Joko Widodo administration. The development of Papua in both regimes wasn't much different with what that of The New Order. characterized with intense top down management, centralized orientation, and imbalance approach in economic growth pursuit. Started from MIFEE (Merauke Integrated Food & Energy Estate) in the Master Plan for the Acceleration and Expansion of Indonesia's Economic Development (MP3EI) during the reign of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY), on until National Strategic Project (PSN) in the era of Joko Widodo administration. Although it has different name, but the project development approach carried out by these two regimes was actually the same. It is dominated by land grabbing (land grabbing) for land acquisition projects development driven by both state and private companies. Those conditions, raised several important question as follow: For whom The National Programs in Papua truly done? What social

¹ Exposure to Otsus data material. Ministry of Internal Affairs. 2018

and environmental impacts did it bring? Does the Papuan People really need that? And, what the Papuan people would actually get?

Papua in National Development Scheme

Aforetime, Papua long known as a place for harvesting resources without infrastructure improvement. Today, as the road construction throughout the island commenced, Papua become one of major infrastructure development priority in Indonesia. This is inseparable from the current global phenomenon of infrastructure developments that really prioritizes connectivity across islands, countries, or even continents as a strategy in order to boost the economy. In national development, the scheme set forth in the form of Indonesia's economic corridor (Figure 1). Where is the source based investment project natural resources, development of special areas, up to with the creation of new economic centers will be connected to the infrastructure created. The goal is none other than creating growth and markets so that the capital turnover is getting higher and the risk faced getting lower.



Figure 1 Indonesian Economic Corridor Development (Source: MP3EI document)

Papua with its very rich natural resources was one important node among the common economic chains throughout Maluku Islands. The direction and strategy of economic development in Papua and Maluku Archipelago Economic Corridor, was focused on five main economic activities, which comprise of food agriculture, copper, nickel, oil, gas, and fisheries. In the future, according to the 2020 RPJMN 2024, Papua Island has been targeted as destination of investment through green growth concept. The division of seven culture regions was even predicted as the basis for determining the corridor development in the

area². As is Figure 2, each development corridor designation has been determined based on reliable commodities.



Figure 2. Map of development planning in Papua (source: Ministry of National Development Planning / BAPPENAS, 2019)

Others, as shown in Figure 3, several new airports have been constructed at several Development Planning locations. Complete with three central points for the National Strategic Area (PKSN) on the border between Indonesia and Papua New Guinea in order to implement the connectivity development trend.

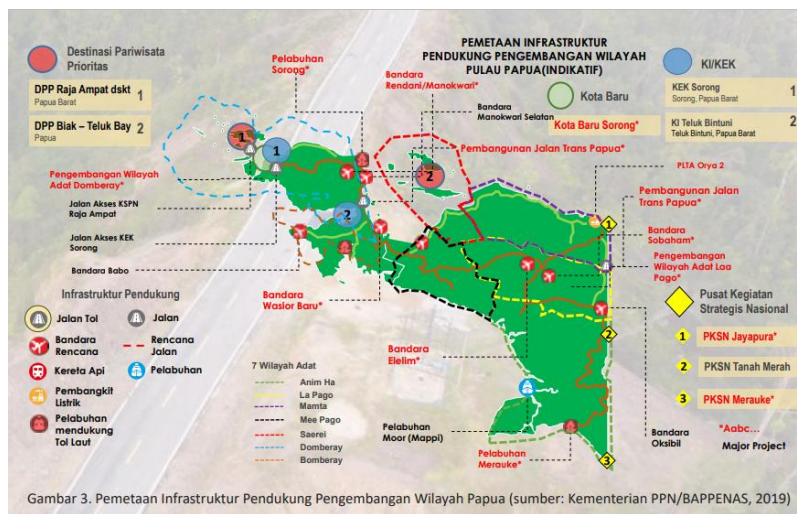


Figure 3. Mapping of Infrastructure to Support the Development of the Papua Region (source: Ministry of National Development Planning / BAPPENAS, 2019)

Seeing these condition, following questions rises: where does the infrastructure development plan actually came from? Is it entirely derived from local villagers or from parties other than them, who holds a special interest in the island? This brings infrastructure development program in Papua into a very

² The division of these 7 (seven) cultural areas is a classification that was used by Dutch researchers and anthropologists to tribal communities in Papua-West Papua.

questionable position, whether it is being prepared for the villagers or to attract investment from certain parties, solely purposed to pile up their wealth alone.

West Papua: Tambrau development and surrounding

West Papua in Papua development scheme divided into two cultural areas, which is Domberay and Bomberay. In the 2020-2024 RPJMN, West Papua was enlisted in top priority for major development project, with two major development projects comprises of new Sorong town area and the Domberay cultural area. The development direction of the area is divided into several focus is the development of an economic area based on agricultural commodities (cocoa, livestock, horticulture), tourism, port infrastructure and trans roads Papua, as well as basic services for access to health and education. The development locations are scattered within several points as shown in Figure 4.

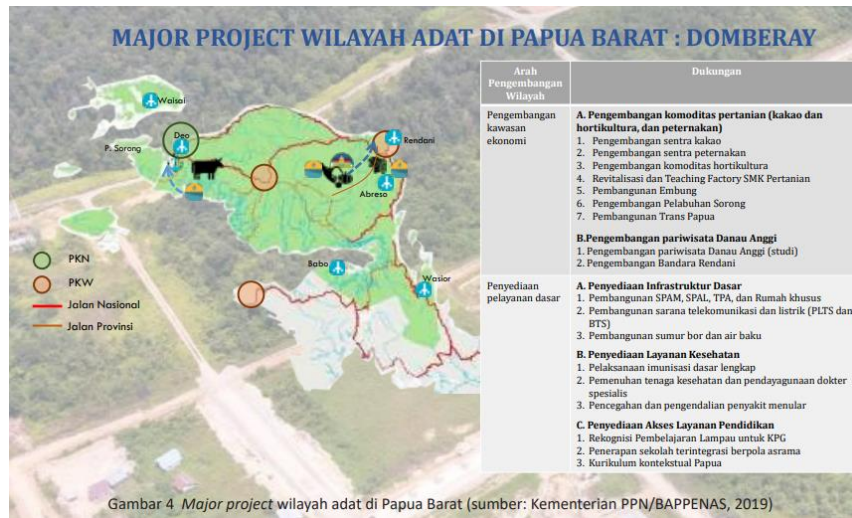


Figure 4 Major projects for indigenous territories in West Papua (source: Ministry of National Development Planning / BAPPENAS, 2019)

Regional Development Direction	Support
Economic Area Development	A. Development of agricultural commodities (cocoa and horticulture, and livestock) 1. Development of cocoa centers 2. Development of livestock centers 3. Development of horticultural commodities 4. Revitalization and Teaching Factory of Agricultural Vocational Schools 5. Construction of the Embung 6. Development of the Port of Sorong 7. Trans Papua Development B. Development of Lake Anggi tourism 1. Lake Anggi tourism development (study) 2. Development of Rendani Airport
Provision of Basic Services	A. Provision of Basic Infrastructure

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Construction of SPAM, SPAL, TPA, and special houses 2. Development of telecommunication and electricity facilities (PLTS and BTS) 3. Construction of drilled wells and raw water <p>B. Provision of Health Services</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Complete basic immunization 2. Fulfillment of health personnel and utilization of specialist doctors 3. Prevention and control of contagious diseases <p>C. Provision of Access to Education Services</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Past Learning Recognition for KPG 2. Implementation of an integrated boarding school pattern 3. Papuan contextual curriculum
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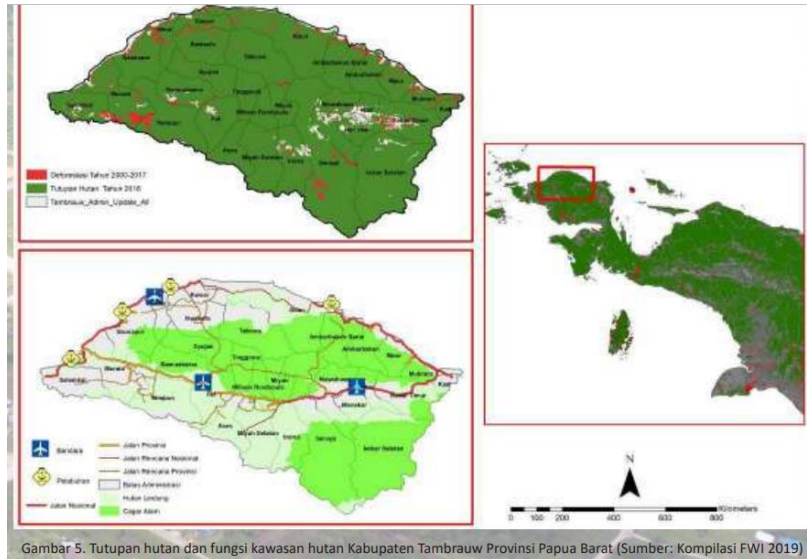
In spite of incessant flow of development that will be and is taking place in West Papua, Tambrauw Regency declared its territory as a conservation district. These two course surely create an inevitable conflict of interest, one agenda is how to clear the forests, while the one is how to keep it. Tambrauw as a district that was only assigned 10 years ago ³ quickly adapt to comply with the development direction of West Papua Province. This was reflected in the similarities between the vision and mission of RPJMD Tambrauw Regency with one that of West Papua Province.

Tambrauw was selected as a development case example that is taking place in Papua because Tambrauw was formed in the middle of the current national development which started rapidly (Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono era). In one side, its location is in the middle of two National Economic Activity centers (Sorong-Manokwari) of course Tambrauw has the potential as a raw material source-producer (raw material) for many Industries in Sorong and Manokwari. On the other hand, it provides a challenge for Tambrauw Regency which declared its territory as a district conservation. This paper is basically serves as an attempt to analyze the trends of an adopted national development schemes which run amid the dynamics of local development Tambrauw Regency and its implications to the socio-ecological conditions of its people.

[Tambrauw Regency Today](#)

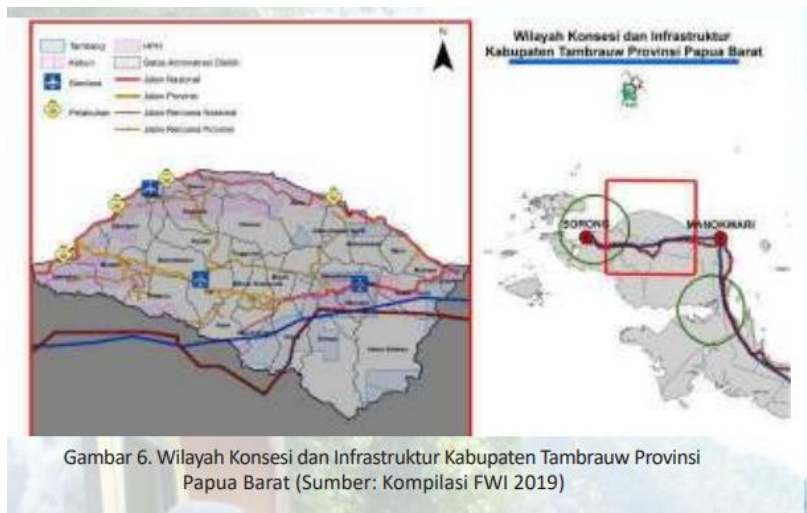
As a conservation district, Tambrauw was one among regency with a fairly large forest cover ratio namely 93.8% of the total area of 1,167,603.36 hectares. This district has an area of protected areas 876,969 hectares or nearly 75% of the total area the land. This protected area is a protected forest (36.27%) and North and South Tambrauw Nature Reserve (63.73%). These protected areas scattered throughout all districts. Not only protected areas, in fact this newly created district, in the last few years have also been in full swing of developing and constructing roads for natural resources exploitation.

³Tambrauw Regency Determination Decree. Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 56 of 2008..



Gambar 5. Tutupan hutan dan fungsi kawasan hutan Kabupaten Tamberau Provinsi Papua Barat (Sumber: Kompilasi FWI 2019)

Figure 5. Forest cover and function of the forest area of Tamberau Regency, West Papua Province (Source: 2019 FWI Compilation)



Gambar 6. Wilayah Konsesi dan Infrastruktur Kabupaten Tamberau Provinsi Papua Barat (Sumber: Kompilasi FWI 2019)

Figure 6. Concession Area and Infrastructure for Tamberau Regency, West Papua Province (Source: 2019 FWI Compilation)

Within the last 10 years, development of Tamberau, the road province that divides the central region from Fef to Four-wheeled vehicles now has enabled passing to Sausapor, the opening of the Fef-Sujuk road that divides Tamberau Mountains veins have been connected from the South to the north, and the of the trans papua national road (Miyah District - Susumuk) with smooth asphalt has been constructed. Likewise, the construction of the capital's infrastructure recently. Fef has been intensively carried out as a hub for the newly built roads. Development priorities in the region within first five years development is infrastructure facilities and region infrastructure in order to improve and support public services and local government bureaucracy ⁴.

⁴ Tamberau Regency Middle Term Development Plan Phase I (2012-2016)

Furthermore, in RPJMD Phase II (2017-2022) Tambrau Regency development direction, emphasizes on expanding the availability of infrastructure facilities and infrastructure area up to the village to push fields agriculture, tourism, transportation, electricity and telematics. This manifested in agropolitan area (Animal Husbandry in Kebar) and region marine tourism development (Sausapor), the construction of the causeway interior (including national and provincial roads), continuing the construction of new capital infrastructure facilities (EFF), regional port development (Ambarbaken), and airports. Tambrau development agenda as a conservation district was also included into priority to be more solid co-operated between government, Indigenous Peoples Institutions (LMA) and the tribal customary council in Tambrau. On the other hand, this infrastructure development expected to improve connectivity and ease people access goods or sell their products. However, in reality there are many parts of the road which is not crossed by any known villages or settlements. Even there are many other villages in Tambrau Regency which has not yet fully mapped. Now, even a lot of fictional villages appear which seems caused by the partition of Tambrau Regency. Fictitious Villages, exists across the road after it has been opened⁵. If so, then, for whom actually the road is constructed?

On the other hand, long before the roads were constructed, there is actually a concession license that already released aims to exploit resources nature in Tambrau. Until 2019, at least there are 9 mining companies that already has an exploration license in Tambrau, 2 plantation companies, and 4 IUPHHK-HA companies (HPH). Although not every company has been actively operating yet, if you look at the road construction plan (picture 6), both which is still in progress or those already finished will link each other's permission.

National roads and national road plans in the northern coast of Tambrau seems to provide easier access for IUPHHK-HA companies (HPH) which already licensed from 2006 to transport logs. While the road in the central area of Tambrau (District of Mawubuan and Mankear) passes through plantation and concession areas mine. Likewise, with airport construction and the port, all less than 5 km from concession area. This situation is also geographically supported, Tambrau Regency is flanked by two the main gateway for the transportation of natural resources from Papua, which are Sorong and Manokwari.

Social-Ecological Change as an impact of Development

Forest Cover Condition

Based on forest cover analysis in Tambrau. Large forest cover in Tambrau continued to decrease from year 2000 to year 2018 (Figure 7). The remaining size in 2018 is 1.078 million hectares. Deforestation of 42.48 thousand hectares took place from 2000-2018. The largest one occurred in Moraid District, with size towering at 5,251.77 hectares. While in the current capital, Sausapor, deforestation sized at 2,814.47 hectares. Meanwhile, in Fef, the candidate for next capital, the deforestation has reached 85 hectares since 2016. Other districts experiencing high number of deforestation is Abun (3,688.43 hektare) in second place, Then Senopi (3,646.49 hectares), Yembun (3,177.56 hectares), then Sausapor. Based on concession license data overlay analysis, the highest deforestation occurred in the IUPHHK-HA area with 10,122.89 hectares, followed by mining area with to 3,701.25, and plantations with 1,622.45.

⁵ Findings of field visits in Tambrau Regency in 2019

Based on overlay and buffer analysis results as far as 100 m carried out by FWI, ⁶ which used to measure the effects of road development to forest cover, there are at least 7,953.39 hectares of natural forest cover in Tambaui Regency which may be deforested by the provincial road plan and the national road construction.

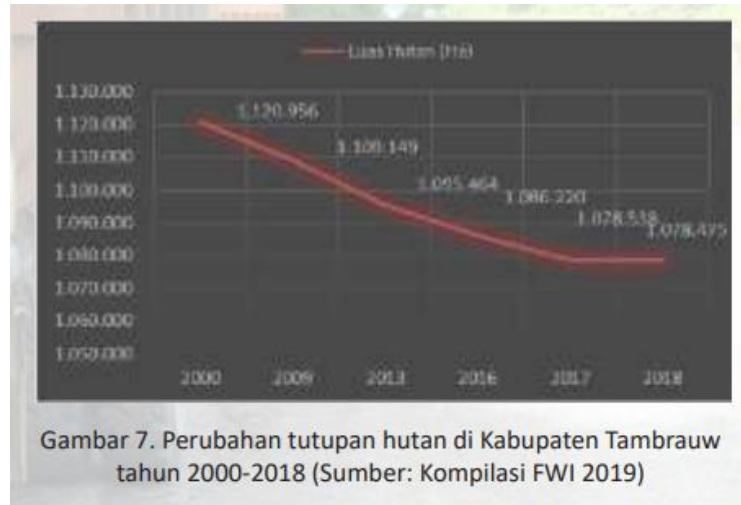


Figure 7. Change in Forest Cover in Tambaui Regency 2000-2018 (Source: FWI 2019 compilation)

Change in the Meaning of Land: as a new transaction tool

As the lands in Tambaui are owned and controlled by clans. Land is viewed as a place where the villagers live and supported by. The land must be preserved and maintained for the next generations. When the development takes place, it's basically emerging a new spatial problem. Because of course, in dismantling forests and mountains, there are clan lands that might sacrificed by the process. As a result, conflict between local villagers and local governments or private company could not be avoided. There were countless recorded roadblocks protests carried by the clans whose sacred ancestral lands are badly impacted.



Figure 8 Blocking of the Manokwari - Maybrat main road (Kamundan river bridge KM 249) by the clan Sewia on 6 November 2019 (FWI Documentation).

⁶ Overlay is combining two pieces of spatial data. Buffer is the addition of area around spatial data.

Since becoming a separate district, development in TAMBRAUW began to intensify. Paying compensation is considered as the most compatible way by the government to compromise the damage and loss of the adat sacred areas with local clans. This then causes villagers to worry about their clan lands and their customary territories. As the result, whether they like it or not, the villagers had to follow what local government suggest in dealing with any clan land and sacred area disputes. That includes: accepting a compensation price on their every clan land and customary territory. There are mathematical and economic measures that must be embedded on the ground, not to maintain and nurture the lands, rather than anticipate the need in case it will sometimes be evicted'. If it had been prepared well, then the compensation will be much easier. Thus, paying compensation for clan land disputes today had become a common practice in the regency.

As happened in Fef District and Miyah District. Year 2002, land in Fef District is valued at IDR 10,000 per block ⁷, but when in Fef District being prepared to become the capital, land price skyrocketed reaching IDR 20,000 per meter, and today IDR 25,000 per meter. Meanwhile, for sacred areas it is valued up to billions of rupiah, depending on the level of sacredness and types of sacred areas affected by development. This compensation money will then be divided equally among all clan members. In Miyah District, that construction currently massive is the construction of provincial roads for access from Sorong to Manokwari. Clan lands in the form of gardens and bamboo forests also affected, valued hundreds to billions of rupiah.

Changes in the way of life and loss of important people's cultural sites.

There is a big consequence local villagers had to face as the result from the expansion and development⁸. One of it is a lot of their important places might be damaged or even eliminated. Losing such places might affect their lives significantly. Besides that, the village people also got abandoned by their important figure such as their clan / villager elders and current parents that usually help them to know more about his village, who now has been working in regional governmental services. This thing is not separated effect from the partition. The number of villagers continue to decrease in each village as the government manages to disperse them to fill new villages. While the new village needs special people to set it up. Like it or not, finally the clan elder / villages became easy targets to be recruited into the officials. Loss of good habits of the people is actually a loss of villager's survival.

⁷ There is no standard area of the block

⁸ The expansion at the district and village levels occurred very rapidly and massively in TAMBRAUW Regency. In just two years, the TAMBRAUW Regency Government has divided its area by 2.5 times from 2016 which was only 11 districts to 29 districts in 2019 (BPS Kabupaten TAMBRAUW 2019)



Gambar 9. Potret pembangunan jalan trans Papua yang membelah puncak perbukitan (Dokumentasi FWI)

Figure 9. Portrait of the trans Papua road development splitting the top of the hill (FWI Documentation)

Watum⁹ habits are no longer practiced among local villagers, whereas watum was a very important way for parents to educate their children. Including how to protect nature and people. If watum habits lost, how the villagers can understand nature and people? This phenomenon seemed to get compounded by the losing of important cultural sites, due to running development projects and partition.

⁹ Watum is a way of regenerating villagers through advice from parents. Giving advice is informal, usually done near a wood-burning stove at mealtime. Through watum, young children (girls and boys) are given knowledge of how to become adults by their parents