International Institute of Social Studies

GraduateSchool of Development Studies

Redefining Self-determination:
Social Movements, Human Rights,
and Future Development in Papua, Indonesia, 1998-2010

A Research Paper presented by:

Cypri Jehan Paju Dale
(Indonesia)

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of
MASTERS OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Specialization:
[Human Rights, Development, and Social Justice]
(HDS)

Members of the examining committee:

Dr Helen Hintjens[Supervisor]
Dr Rosalba Icaza - Prof. Dr. Karin Arts [Reader]

The Hague, The Netherlands
December, 2010

Disclaimer:

This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

Inquiries:

Acknowledgement

At the end of my field work for this research, Mama Yosepha Alomang, a respected indigenous figure and a human rights and environmental advocate in Papua, said these words to me, "*Anak laki-laki* (Son), convey my voice everywhere you go!" The content of the interviews with her was various 'memories of sufferings' of the people of Papua and how they have been trying to struggle for their survival, welbeing, and dignity. In addition to academic standards in critical thinking, I hope this paper demonstrates adequately a sensible empathy to the cries of oppressed people and injured universe in Papua and voices their struggle for social justice.

And above all, I am grateful to the social movements actors in Papua, especially those included in this study. I would like to dedicate this work for the people who have been non-violently resisting against the oppression and consistently seeking for peace and justice. We *"[h]ear the voices; the cries of wounded beings. People have to be awakened! Truths have to be told! And I am writing to bear witness!"**

* Quoted and modified from "Kesaksian" (Witness) by W.S. Rendra and IwanFals in KantataTakwa

Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Maps

List of Acronyms

DAP   : *Dewan Adat Papua*, Papuan Indigenous Council
FORERI : *Forum Rekonsiliasi Rakyat Irian*, Reconciliation Forum of Irian People
ple
ICCPR   : International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and
ICESCR : Intenrational Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
JDP   : *Jaringan Damai Papua*, Papua Peace Network
NGO   : Non-Governmental Organization
NKRI   : *Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia*, the Unitary State of Republic of Indonesia
OTSUS   : *Otonomi Khusus*, Special Autonomy
PDP   : *Presidium Dewan Papua*, Presidium of Papua Council
RTD   : Right to Development

Abstract

This study is concerned with the way in which self-determination is framed in the discourse, actions and proposals of contemporary social movements in Papua (1998-2010). As well as the historical emergence of the movements it also explores the understanding and presentation of the problems of Papua today. In addition, it examines how these movements propose solutions in regard to human rights and development agenda.

The main sources of information included interviews with key social movement actors in present-day Papua and documents and/or publications they produced. These assisted in revealing shared perspectives and agendas, which are not always visible or obvious from an external perspective. The main challenge of this research was trying to link central social science concepts of human rights and development, to Papuan social movements' own analyses, in terms of past wrongs, present injustices and future hopes. Nonetheless, self-determination emerged as the key conjoining concept, used by the movements as well as in social science. Further, among the key findings of this study included the importance of the discourse of *'memoria passionis'* (memories of suffering) as a diagnostic frame and self-determination, as prognostic frame for Papuan problems. *'Memoria passionis'* is a way by which social movements may express shared problems that emerged from the integration of Papua into Indonesia since 1962, combined with development hazards, marginalization of indigenous people and state-sponsored violence. The study demonstrates how self-determination has been redefined since 1998 as a framework for future solutions, not only in a political sense but more pragmatically, in economic and cultural terms. The notion of self-determination praxis by social movements aslo have potentials to change the concept and practice of human rights and development in the future.

Relevance to Development Studies

This paper seeks to connect concepts of development, human rights and social justice with self-determination within an analysis of social movements in Papua, Indonesia. It reveals how in concrete situations of development hazards, rights violations leading to social injustice, change or social transformation, are imagined and practiced, through the discursive, non-violent practices of social movements. Hence, the study provides social movements' alternative ways of imagining the past, present and future. This is achieved by linking the central concepts, with the social struggles of Papuan movements and by focusing on the complimentary concept of self-determination and how it has been redefined.

Keywords

self-determination-social movements-Papua-human rights-development-social justice

Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1. Introduction

This study is about how contemporary social movements in Papua, Indonesia, present and frame the problems of Papua as well as how they negotiate for solutions to those problems. The time frame relevant to this paper, is from 1998 to 2010. In particular, the study focuses on various key concepts, as utilised by social movements in Papua. The central concept of self-determination, is relevant to this study insofar as it examines how social movements understood related concepts of human rights and development. The main objective is to gain a better understanding of how different social movements understand their present problems and identify future solutions. An important pool of information was derived from interviews with key social movement actors in present-day Papua. This has assisted in revealing shared perspectives not readily visible and/or obvious from external observers. Once these common themes are identified, social movements are then categorised according to the different 'discourses' they utilise to propose solutions to the problems of Papua today. Among the key findings of this study was the currency of the idea of '*memoria passionis*', reinforced by development hazards and a lack of respect for indigenous culture. Referring to a 'memory of suffering', hazard and dignity is a way for social movements in Papua to express shared problems that arose following a long history of often violent colonialism and integration. However, the main challenge of this research, was attempting to link central social science concepts of human rights and development, to Papuan social movements own analyses of past wrongs, present injustices, and future hopes. Self-determination was chosen as the interrelated concept with which to do this.

1.2. The problem of Papua

To fully understand social movements discourse, actions, and proposal, we first need to understand the political, economic, and cultural condition of Papua, in relation to local and global dynamics.

Papua is located in the most eastern part of Indonesia and is home to 250 Melanesian indigenous groups, known as Papuans. The area also contains the second largest primary rainforest area in the world. In 1862, West Papua was colonized by the Dutch, who remained there until 1963. The island was then taken over by independent Indonesia through a highly contested act of legislation (and perhaps inappropriately named), *Act of Free Choice* in 1969 (Drooglever 2009; Alua 2006; Saltford 2003). Since then, the authoritarian regime of New Order applied centralistic development policies, combining massive economic development and military control. After the fall or regime in 1998, Papuan political and social movements invoked the past wrongs and present injustice, and demand for independence for Indonesia. The Indonesian

post-New Order government of B. J. Habibie (1998-1999) and Abdurrahman Wahid (1999-2001) introduced dialogue as response to Papuan demand. This process led to Special Autonomy Law being introduced in 2001. Their successors did not continue this broad approach to dialogue, and the Autonomy scheme is limited to acceleration of development, without addressing the fundamental social injustice issues. Under the state-led, business-driven development, Papua is now host to some of the world's biggest oil, gas, timber and mining corporations. Today, more than half of the total population of Papua in non-indigenous, so that Papuans find themselves in a minority (2010 census). This increased very rapidly from around 2 per cent being non-indigenous in 1969 (Census estimate). This change has resulted from the Indonesian government's officially assisted *transmigrasi* (transmigration) program, combined with inward investments in natural resources extraction (gold, timber, oil). These are the source of many of the key problems of Papuan today.

Most studies on contemporary Papua point to four key dimensions of the multi-sided problems of Papua today (Van den Broek 1998; Ondowame & King 2001; Tebay 2008; Widjojo 2008:9):

(1) historical disputes concerning political status of Papua and its integration of into Indonesia

(2) development hazards, especially in relation to economy, culture and nature;

(3) marginalization of indigenous Papuans;

(4) political violence and repression perpetrated by state and business actors

What results is an unprivileged position for Papuans in their own 'home'. This can perhaps best be represented through an image (see Figure 1). This monument was built by the Indonesian Administration in the capital of Papua, Jayapura. Papuans can be seen at the base of the monument, supporting what look like Indonesian military figure at the top. What is interesting, and useful for this study, is to note how Papuans are represented in this public sculpture. Men and women are depicted as small, and indigenous in appearance, wearing traditional or tribal clothes. They carry a heavy weight – a gold basin on which a much larger and conventionally dressed military man is standing. He holds the Indonesian flag in his left hand and a gun in his right, a grenade round his waist. The bigger and taller figure at the top is a huge weight for those below, who apparently cannot put down their burden. The

Figure 2. Sculpture in Jayapura, Capital City of Papua Province, symbolically representing power relations in Papua

gold basin is telling, since abundant gold is mined and exported from the island. Thus, natural resources in the land of Papuans, also become part of the support system for the larger figure.

The sculpture is interesting in many ways for this study. It is similar to colonial monuments which depicted slaves and colonisers in similar ways. It expresses domination and control, taking place in the name of progress, nationalism and development. While natural resources are taken away from indigenous communities, their voices are silenced. It is ironic that a sculpture of this kind was erected as part of 'integration' policies. So normalized do colonial attitudes appear to be that the image is hardly seen as scandalous. The starting point for this study, therefore, is that power relations in Papua today are highly unequal. This inequality is multidimensional: political, economic, and cultural.

With that context, the problem of self-determination in Papua is complex and multidimensional. It is not only concerning the rights of Papuan people to freely determine their political status (either to claim for independence or remain with Indonesia); but also their broader political as well as economic and cultural development. In other words, the problem of self-determination in Papua is related to the four dimensions of the Papuan 'problem' identified in the previous section.

As will be explored in depth in this study, the experience of being at the bottom of those unjust and violent power relations generates resistance and struggle for change. While some part of the society are trying to climb the ladder and get at the top, and the helpless others are trapped in the desperate fate at the bottom, the social actors are mobilizing themselves to change the situation by negotiating this power relations. They establish networks and organizations, deploy various types of non-violent tactics, use various symbols and narratives, document and criticize the right violations, development hazards and ironies of modernity project, develop counter hegemonic discourse (new practices of knowledge and doing), and advocate various alternatives solutions. In short, social movements are expressions of self-determination of the social actors in Papua.

1.4. Research Questions

To appreciate the richness of social movements in any context is almost impossible (Tilly, 2005). However, this study does something more modest. It analyses what some key Papuan social movements say today about their problems, and proposed future solutions. This is the analysis of discourses as a form of social movement action. There is one main question and a number of sub-questions that guide the rest of this study, chapter by chapter.

How is self-determination framed in the discourses, actions and proposals for the future of social movements, especially in relation to human rights and development?

Sub-questions are as follows:

- How have Papuans organized themselves through social movements in the years since the collapse of the old New Order (1998)? (Chapter 2)
- What conceptual insights can help us understand the discourses of Papuan social movements? (Chapter 3)
- How do social movements frame their past and current problems, and future solutions? (Chapter 4)
- To what extent do these framings help social movements to articulate claims with outside actors (including government and business actors)? (Chapter 5).
- What can we learn from social movements' discourses, actions, praxis, for conceptualizations and practices of human rights and development? (Chapter 5).

Through addressing these questions, the aim is to explore the complex, and sometimes confusing, interlinkages between social movements' own analyses of human rights, development and social justice, and the analyses in social science. Self-determination is the key linking concept that connects there two 'worlds'.

1.5. Methodology

This study uses multiple methodologies. In collecting data, I spent 6 weeks in Papua. I met key actors of social movements in four places: Jayapura-Abepura, (the capital city of the province), Sentani, Keerom, and Timika (see Map 1).Twenty one in-depth interviews were conducted and many of them turned out to be more

Map of Papua

like testimonies or life histories. I simply listened to stories and narratives without trying to force specific answers to what had been my pre-determined questions. Two Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were organized which were indispensible to helping map out the key actors and 'streams' within the social movements of Papua. I also participated in four seminars and workshops all involving social actors from Papua. In this way, I was able to use participant observation methods (Jorgensen 1989) during field observation. Participating in and observing activities of some members of social movements in three areas (Keerom, Jayapura Raya, Timika, shown on Map 1) was also important. I was fortunate in being accepted as a researcher by the social movements. This meant I could also obtain key documents, including minutes of meetings,
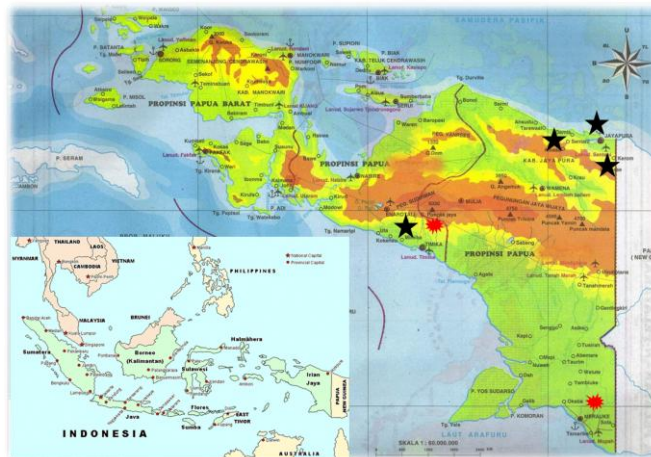
workshops notes, declarations, statements and manifestos as well as various internal documents. As argued by Andrew Martin (2010), the movements' publications are vital data vital to help in better understanding the internal and shared dynamics of social movements and their discourses. On the government side, I also managed to find relevant policy briefings, military strategy documents, official development plans. I also had informal contacts with government representatives in workshops, but decided not to interview them, since their views were not my main focus. Media reports, covering the period January-August 2010, helped complete the picture.

The most valuable sources, apart from the interviews and informal conversations, were books and manuscripts about the West Papua situation, written by Papuans themselves. Combined with interviews with the writers, these manuscripts became a key source of ideas. They were used to understand not only the expressions used, but also the sources and foundations of different ways of expressing their analyses and demands. All this helped in better understanding the worldviews, or frames, of Papuan social movements, both on present problems inherited from the past, and future solutions for Papua. All reference to interviews, FGDs and workshops are done by numbers, with full details in Appendix I.

In the chapters that follow, I have used this material to conduct a simplified form of discourse analysis of the frames used by the actors and organisations within the social movements. By exploring key discourses, especially concepts, but also some symbols and selected actions of social movements, this study identifies some overlaps and differences across the movement and draws some wider analytical conclusions for the future. In discussing findings and developing argument, I have engaged with substantive and authoritative scholarship from critical social theory, social movement studies, and post-colonial approaches to development, drawing for example on the work of Souza-Santos (2002) and Rajagopal (2003). These approaches are elaborated on in Chapter 2.

1.6. Justification and Ethical Concerns

Social movements –especially those of oppressed and indigenous groups— are often about survival (Tilly, 2005). Their problems are often also about repression. Many indigenous leaders or others who struggled peacefully, and nonviolently, were killed, or put in jailed. A brief example of this will be given at the end of this introductory chapter. Those repressions are not simply past wrongs; it is a continuing threat. For instance, whilst this research was being completed, Ardiansyah Matra'is, a journalist from local critical media was killed, though it is not clear by whom. He was investigating the widely resisted agriculture mega-project in Merauke, Papua, called Merauke Integrated Food and Energy Estate (MIFEE) at the time of his death. Two videos circulated widely on YouTube show a Papuan protestant priest and villagers being abused by the military. This video on YouTube drew the attention of human rights institutions and national and international media (YouTube, 2010).

Most of those who informed this research have at some time been stigmatized as 'the enemy'. During the field work, two leaking 'secret docu-

ment' from military operations were collected, confirming that the social movement activists in the list of surveillance. Military oppression still works, and activists are well-known to the military. Impunity has not ended. The case of Theys E. Aluai, an indigenous Papuan leader, and Munir, a leading human rights activist, are better known as example of repression of peaceful movements (Giay 2005).

Within that context, this research carried some elements of risk, but these were seen as justified, given the importance of the topic, and the need for such research not to be silenced by a fear of the consequences. Interviews suggested that social movements in Papua have mostly decided that they need to speak up about human rights abuses. The movements are basically a manifestation of this choice to express themselves about the problems they confront. They hope that by speaking out, the problems can be better identified and dealt with in a constructive way, rather than through well tried means of violence. This research is thus part of telling stories about social movements that have to be told to repair a history of broken trust and silences (Tilly, 2006).

Despite of security risk, the respondents agreed to let their voice written. Suffering caused by abuses exercised over many years in Papua—as everywhere else in our today's world— can lead to facelessness. The deep reflection of philosopher Emanuel Levinas is very relevant, when he noted the importance of them 'human face to face relationship' for non-violence to be possible (Levinas 1970). Where actors of social movements present themselves in 'defenceless nudity', what they are hoping for is a non-violent response (Alua 1998, Giay 2000). We now see an example of this in the case of Mama Yosepha.

1.7. Mama Yosepha: Papua's movements in one person

Many of those I interviewed became participants who helped in redesigning the original research proposal. An example was Yosepha Alomang. For indigenous Papuans she is a *Pembawa Hai*, a 'bringer of blessings', the term used for a highly honoured person. Her struggles for prosperity and peace in Papua are widely known, and led to her being awarded the *Yap Thian Hiem* human rights award in 1999, and the *Goldman* Environmental Award in 2001. For the Indonesian Government, however, Yosepha has often been viewed as a trouble-maker, and even as an 'enemy'. She was tortured in 1998-9, and has since then at times been accused of organising anti-government activities and supporting rebel groups.

What has Yosepha done to be the object of such a mix of admiration and distrust? Taking a position on behalf of her own Amungme community, Mama Yosepha has participated in all kinds of 'collective actions' that address various rights violations and development hazards suffered by the people of Papua (the term 'development hazard' is one used by social movements). The problems she has spoken out about include state-sponsored violence, unregulated mining activities, land-grabbing, deforestation, discrimination against women, excessively rapid migration, economic marginalization, cultural domi-

6

nation, and many other issues. All relate to the basic right to survival, dignity and wellbeing of Papuans.

Embodying the views of many other social movement actors in Papua, Mama Yosepha is a useful example of how people who are oppressed politically, marginalized economically, and culturally, can struggle to improve their position (for self-determination). Her particular account of Papuan reality stresses that when people are killed, and when nature, their mother's womb, is destroyed, things will not go well. The earth is conceived as a mother figure in Papuan cosmology, in common with many other indigenous peoples across the globe. As Mama Yosepha argues, whether in the name of national integrity, or development or modernization, damaging people and their environment invokes legitimate resistance. This view is undoubtedly a strong tool in the hands of Papuan social movements, for it suggests that their struggles as self-defensive, and need not therefore be viewed as aggressive. The Papuans' cosmology and their stand can best be represented as a basic self-defence. In the words of Mama Yosepha:

> The Mountain of Nemangkawi is me, the Lake of Wanagong is my spinal cord, the sea is my legs, the land between the mountain and the sea is my body. The government and the corporations have eaten me. Which part of me have you not been eating and destroying? My land and my body [i.e. my self] should be respected (Giay 2000: 200, restated in the interview 6).

Like Papuan social movements, Mama Yosepha is interesting since she questions the whole promise of progress through economic development programs and 'good governance' as it is usually understood. As she comments: "the government says that they come to improve our lives; but what we experience here is land-grabbing, mining, competition with migrants, and military operations" (Interview 6). Her emphasis on the future is also echoed in this study, which deals with social movements' proposals for a peaceful future, whatever the region's formal political status.

1.8. Structure of the Paper

This research has been structured in line with the central questions (section 1.3.) After this introduction, Chapter 2 briefly traces the history of social movements in Papua in recent years.

Chapter 3 then explores and explains how the key concepts – social movements, self-determination, human rights and development, link in the Papuan case. Each concept is understood in relation to the others, and defined for the purposes of the rest of the study.

Chapter 4 examines the discourses of social movements in Papua in more detail. Some of the main discourses or frames of problems and solutions, as deployed by various social actors in Papua, are identified and analysed. This analysis is then linked with the discourses of Self-determination as employed by social movement actors and organisations, for example in key documents and events. Chapter 4 emphasises the importance of what is termed the 'subject position' for Papuan social movements, reflecting their

emphasis on the need to determine their own definitions and strategies for survival, dignity, and wellbeing. Political, economic, social and cultural aspects are all given a space.

The final 'empirical' chapter is Chapter 5. This addresses the last sub-question, and considers the interplay between social movements, human rights and development. This chapter specifically reflects on lessons of the Papuan case for how the praxis of social movements can contribute to substantial change in concepts and practices of human rights and development, and to social transformation in general.

Finally Chapter 6 draws together some conclusions by returning to the central questions that guided the study. Two sets of modest recommendations are included for future academic study that might help to further highlight the important interlinkages between social movements, human rights, and development.

Chapter 2
Social movements in Papua 1998-2010

2.1. Introduction

This chapter outlines the emergence and growth of the movements in Papua in the period of 1998-2010, focus on the historical manifestation and typology based on networks pattern. This necessarily condensed historical account functions to provide background information on the discussion in the next chapters on the discourse of Papuan social movements in relation to self-determination, human rights and development.

2.2. Emergence and Persistence of Papuan Social movements

The era after the fall of New Order authoritarian regime in 1998, Indonesia undergone a significant democratic transition, known as *Reformasi*. Within the democratizing environment, the social movements in Papua organized networks and assemblies, developed discourses, produced knowledge, and channeled their critics, and propose various forms of reform. They exercised their collective claims addressing past wrongs and present injustice.

At the centre of Papuan social movements' claims is self-determination, which is seen as in part a continuation of the agenda of Papuan political movements in the pre-1998 era, especially of pro-Independence groups. However, as will be explored in detail in chapter 4, the social movement actors, using the opportunities provide by Indonesian reform, have expanded the significance of self-determination to include other substantial issues in the political, economic and cultural spheres. While the pro-Independence path imagines solutions as being beyond existing Indonesian State, some lines of self-determination claims of social movements are more nuanced, and negotiate solutions *with* state and economic actors under the framework of autonomy.

From the Papuan social-movements' own conceptual perspective, it seems that they have been maximising the use of political opportunities opened up for exercising emancipatory politics. Through collective contentious actions directed towards social change, their goal seems to be to secure the protection of the rights and shared interests of the people of Papua.

> **Periodization of present Papuan social movements:**
> - 1998-2000: early socio-political mobilization, network building, various articulation for self-determination
> - 2001-2010: negotiating Autonomy as win-win solution; movements divided: (1) use the autonomy, (2) claim for radicalize autonomy, beyond economic, but also political settlement (3) continue the struggle for independence
> - 2010: the trust for autonomy declined, beginning of new negotiations—call for comprehensive dialog. Move toward dialog; with two different claims: more autonomy and referendum for independence.

Table 1. Periodization of Papuan Social Movements

2.3. Early stages

The current Social movements in Papua first articulated themselves through a series of three events or forms of activism in 1998. The first was a series of demonstrations led by students and intellectuals in Papuan universities, following a trend of demonstrations nationwide. Their claims were almost the same as elsewhere, but were locally articulated with the agenda of demilitarization, resistance to human rights violations by state-actors, decentralization and political reform. The second series of events involved various coordinated civil society stakeholders (intellectuals, religious leaders, NGOs, students, indigenous leaders, local political activists and others) forming the Reconciliation Forum of Irian People (Forum Rekonsiliasi Rakyat Irian - FORERI). The core agenda of FORERI was to channel the political aspirations of Papuans in peaceful ways, not only in relation to national reform, but also in relation to local political, economic, and cultural demands. The third series of events was political mobilizations that reiterated earlier demands for Papuan political independence. The main forms of symbolic action in this respect were raising the Papuan Flag (the morning star), or making declarations in favour of political freedom and separation from Indonesia (Alua 1998).

Using the momentum created by *Reformasi*, during the following years, many 'organized collectivities' emerged in the form of forums, organizations, mobilizations, and coalitions. They mainly followed existing networks, including structures of faith-based groups and NGOs, for example. These organisations increasingly aligned themselves with the social agenda of the people of Papua and of their social movements. The Catholic Church, for example, established its Secretariat for Justice and Peace (Sekertariat Keadialan dan Perdamaian—SKP) in 1998, and SKP later become one of the leading actors within the social movements of Papua. Leaders of Protestant Church—mostly native Papuans— also became more actively involved in social activism during the post-1998 period. Some NGOs also established human rights programs, such as ELSHAM (Institute of Human Rights Studies and Advocacy) and *Kontras* Papua (2 local NGOs). Finally, Papuan students and youth, both in Papuan universities and in universities in other parts of Indonesia (especially in Java, Bali, and Celebes), organized themselves in various associations and forums. As will be shown in chapter 4, all those social actors, either individually or collectively, raised all sort of concerns about the political, economic, and cultural conditions in Papua such as human rights, economic justice, cultural recognition, environment, basic service, decentralisation, political freedom, etc. The substantial part of the movements agenda was directed to demand the so called *'pelurusan sejarah'* (make the history straight), i.e. negotiation towards solution of the dispute on the history of integration of Papua into Indonesia. In those wide range of issues, social movements actors not only criticized government institutions and programs, but also started to operate as channels for expressing the political aspiration of Papuans for comprehensive change. In this sense, while working to expand and defend an emerging civil society, social movement actors developed and expanding their own 'political society', a politically engaged form of 'civil society'.

This dual expansion of civil society and 'political society' was especially evident during the years 1999-2001. Coalitions of Papuan social movements

(indigenous political activist, indigenous leaders, community of faith leaders, intellectuals, NGO representatives, women representatives, youth and students) had a major dialogue with central government in November 1999, for example. Together, they managed to send 100 representatives –known as Team 100— to Jakarta for this purpose. In front of the President, Cabinet, and House of Representatives, Papuan social actors openly declared their agenda: "We want to be separate from Indonesia, as the integration in 1961-1969 was highly manipulative and since then Indonesia has treated us violently in many ways". This demand to separate from Indonesia was proposed in a direct way, whilst remaining peaceful and civilized.

Meanwhile, the democratic transition in Indonesia continued. The first democratic election in 1999 brought Abdulrahman Wahid, a prominent pro-democratic leader, to the presidency. This paved the way for collective mobilization in Papua as well, with President Wahid initiating a constructive dialogue. Visiting Papua in the first day of the Millennium (1 January 2000), the president also supported the people's congress later that year. President Wahid insisted that self-determination does not necessarily lead to political independence (Alua 2000). This stance indicates his relative openness to negotiate with social movement actors in determining the way forward for change in Papua.

As a sign of greater openness after 1999, two large public mobilizations were organised the following year: the Great Assembly (Musyawarah Besar) and the Second People's Congress (referring to the first in 1963 prior to Papua being 'given' to Indonesia by the Dutch).In 2000, these two large gatherings were highly participative and democratic. Not only the leaders were represented, but also members of each group of indigenous Papuans attended and took an active part. The consolidation of Papuan social movements' agendas was expressed through the creation of an organization of the movements. The Presidium of Papuan Councils (*Presidium Dewan Papua* or PDP) was established during this period of intense public consultations. Later this led to new kinds of political articulations of Papuan demands for self-determination. Following the closer collaboration of various clusters of movements in Papua during this period (through FORERI and Team 100, for example) the PDP represented *adat* leaders, faith-based groups, and women representatives on a quota basis.

Whilst coordinated among themselves through such umbrella forums, each set of social movement actors has also maintained some independence from the others. Faith-based representatives, for example, can sometimes become involved in the PDP, but at other times faith-based organisations claim to remain separate from the PDP, their main focus being on human rights and social justice (Interviews 1, 2, 17). NGOs have similarly not always been clear about their position in relation to the PDP. Most NGOs concentrate on networking with national counterparts – whether in human rights advocacy, security reform, good government or community empowerment. Their focus is mainly on building civil society capacity for social change in Papua (Interview 8, Workshop 1).

As Chapter 4 will explore in more detail, all social movements actors are linked by the general platform of self-determination. However, it was found that whilst the PDP tends to stress the political significance of self-determination for Papuans, faith-based and NGO actors tend to stress the

human rights and development aspects of Papuan self-determination. When it comes to the political status of Papua, views are diverse and range from full sovereignty and political independence to autonomy. Each set of actors has different, although linked, strategies for social change. Complex dynamics of 'linking' and 'delinking' show the ability of social movements to adapt their strategies to restricted socio-political and security conditions they find themselves in. This ability will now be highlighted through looking at negotiations around Special Autonomy in relation to the central government.

2.4. The Special Autonomy Law: an effort to achieve win-win?

Sheer persistence of Papuan social movements, and their direct demands placed on the socio-political agenda, eventually obliged central government to negotiate with these movements' representatives for future change in Papua. These negotiations led to the Special Autonomy Law of 2001 being introduced. In principle, Special Autonomy was an attempt to create a win-win situation, where improvement of the situation in Papua would happen without separation from the Unitary State of Indonesia.

Despite some resistance to this solution from pro-independence actors, most social movement actors saw the prospects for positive social change through Special Autonomy as quite positive, at first. In 2000-1, faith-based activists and NGO-based actors, for example, were involved in starting to formulate a Papuan version of the Special Autonomy Law. This revised Autonomy Law was intended to be more comprehensive in terms of the political, economic, and cultural agenda, and to focus on civil and political freedoms, human rights promotion, development and recognition of Papuans (Interviews 1, 2, 5, 17). Nevertheless, the final version of the Special Autonomy Law that central government wanted to implement was considered too narrow by the social movements, compared to their own broader proposals[1]. Another substantial critique of Special Autonomy from social movement actors was the lack of dialog in the process of its agreement and design. Despite demands from Papua for comprehensive discussions about substantive solutions to the Papuan problem, the central government used a very top-down process in designing the Autonomy Law, with only the President and the House of Representatives involved (Interviews 2, 15, 16; Tebay 2009).

Without any other choice, the majority of Papuan social movements accepted the Autonomy law, in spite of some reservations, and on-going demands for radicalization and deepening of the proposals it contained. The

---

[1] The Autonomy Law debate was partly influenced by the impasse of Reform at national level, where in 2001, anti-democratic and anti-reform civil and military groups had forced the legitimate President to step down before the end of his term. Although the reform agenda continues, since 2001 there have been severe restrictions imposed by the military, including the killing of both Theys A. Eluay, the non-violent Papuan political leader, in 2002 and of human rights activist, Munir, in 2004.

most appreciated point of the Law was its attention to affirmative actions intended to improve the respect, protection, and empowerment of the People of Papua. This was to be implemented through increased budgetary allocations known as Special Autonomy Funds and through incentives to accelerate economic development. The Law also provided for possibilities of Papuan people's participation through the creation of a body called the Papuan People's Council (*Majelis Rakyat Papua* or MRP) in 2005. This was to be a body for indigenous Papuans to protect Papuan cultural values in the framework of representative democracy.

For social movements, the MRP was seen as inadequate, even though the NGO based movements actively supported the MRP for several years. From 2005-2010, the MRP, with some support from social movement actors, had issued 14 decisions (*Surat Keputusan*) designed to secure improved social justice for Papuans. None of its decisions are accommodated into legally binding decrees, given the lack of support and follow up from government (interview I2, I1). Indeed, the government has argued that the mandate of MRP was intended to be cultural, and not political (ICG 2010).

The policy of central government under Special Autonomy legislation was inconsistent. Without consulting the people of Papua, and despite resistance from the MRP and Papuan social movements, the central government divide Papua into two provinces in 2008, and still in process to divide it further. While the promised commission on Truth and Reconciliation is not yet established, human rights violations and development hazards continues to cause sufferings in Papua. There is no improvement from exploitative development; such as in the increasing number of mining investments and the new mega-development-projects involving land-grabbing and deforestation such as MIFEE in Merauke. While preaching affirmative promise, the government continue the *Transmigrasi* policy, leading to minoritization of the indigenous in their own land. With all this inconsistency, the social movements argue that special autonomy has not delivered what was hoped (Interviews 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 16, Workshops 1, 2, 3, 4, Alua 2010).

2. 5. Negotiations continue…

The lack of real and significant change under Special Autonomy scheme, leads to continuous negotiations after the inception of the Law in 2001. A series of mass mobilization was organized by social movement actors in 2005 to symbolically hand back the policy to the central government, and to call for more substantial dialog towards a comprehensive solution. In June 9-10 2010 a coalition of Papuan social movements, who call themselves *Fordem* (*Forum-Demokrasi*, Democracy Forum), in collaboration with MRP, organized a public consultation to evaluate Special Autonomy. The conclusion of the gathering was that "special autonomy has failed" and hence they handed back the special autonomy law to central government and called for a new and more comprehensive dialogue (Proceedings of MRP-Indigenous Community Consultation 9-10 June 2010; Interviews 1, 4, 5; Focus Groups 1, 2). This act of 'handing back' marked an nadir point of Special Autonomy, and indicate a need of new solutions.

From Papua side, there is a push for a comprehensive and fundamental dialog with central government. In the last two years, the social movement actors also initiated a coalition called *Jaringan Damai Papua* (Papua Peace Network) to encourage this dialog. This initiative was supported by researchers from a government institute, the Indonesian Science Institute and by national pro-democratic activists. Despite different political positions within the pro-independence liberation movements, substantial dialogue is seen by social movements as peaceful way to find solutions for the Papuan problems already presented in the Introduction.

To sum up, in the last 12 years, Papuan social movements have tried to act as channels of popular participation in pursuing positive social change towards future development that can address existing injustices. Although there have been some gains from the Special Autonomy Law, the process and content are not viewed as substantial enough. The law provides funds for accelerating development - in itself problematic due to development hazards – but other Papuan problems are not even addressed. Hence social movements have sought to rearticulate demands for dialogue and greater involvement in policy processes. In this context, self-determination starts to be redefined as a broad-based objective in relation to negotiated future changes in Papua, as Chapters 4 and 5 will show.

2.6 Typology of Social movements in Papua

Although addressing the same issues and linked by their ethnic solidarity as oppressed group, Papuan social movements are diverse in strategies, repertoire and characteristics. They have worked together in the past, and this has helped to strengthen their shared agendas. However, there are few hierarchical or permanent alliances among component parts of Papuan social movements. Neither do all actors necessarily want to be identified with each other on a permanent basis.

Based on lines of network affiliations, and based on their historical foundations and emergence, the main groups of actors within Papuan social movements can be grouped into six principal clusters. Table 1 below maps those clusters, combined with examples of organizations and individual actors included in this study[2].

Table 2: Typology of Papuan Social movements

No	Social Movement Clusters	Examples of Actors included in this study
1	Ethnic/Race based nationalist	Dewan Papua (Papuan Council) and

---

[2] A full list of interviews conducted, FGDs, and workshops consulted is included in the reference section. There is no intention to exclude or ignore any other groups or stakeholders not mentioned in this categorisation.

	movement	DewanAdat Papua (Papuan Customary Council)
2	Indigenous community based initiative and individuals	Indigenous structures in Keerom and Mama YosephaAlomang (individual)
3	Community of Faith based actors	Protestant Church, Catholic Church, and Muslim
4	NGO based actors	Foker LSM Papua (Coordination Forum of Papuan NGOs—consisted of 119 members), YPMD,
5	Youth and Student Movements	Garda Papua, Front Pepera, SOLPAM
6	Women's Movement	Pokja Perempuan Papua (Papuan Women Working Group), Suara Perempuan Papua (Papuan Women's Voice), Solpap (Solidarity of the Indigenous Papuan 'Market Mothers')

This categorisation does not imply separation, since the categories are fluid, and defy tidy compartments. They overlap in part because many actors play multiple roles within the social movements, and because there is a stronger and growing tendency for inter-group collaboration and convergence. All these groups are committed to survival and dignity for Papuans. Sometimes, however, they operate separately because of differences in strategies or position either in principal or for tactical reasons.

Since 1998 some larger, more visible and strategic networks and collaborations have emerged, such as in Tim 100 (1999), PDP (2000 onwards), and Fordem (2010). These have involved more than two of the clusters working together in a more coordinated way, whilst still keeping some distance from each other. None of the groups wants to be dominated or manipulated by the others for their own ends. In terms of their political claims, social movements may have some contradictory agendas. Whilst some actors demand political independence, others saw new opportunities as arising from the autonomy law. Sometimes they take the position of independence for their bargaining position in negotiations.

Finally, although NGOs and community of faith are not social movements, they are included in this study because of their involvement in shaping and influencing, as well as acting on, broader social movements' agendas.

2.7 Conclusion

The emergence of the movements was made possible by the democratization process in Indonesia—*reformasi*. Following the opportunity created during the democratic transition, social actors in Papua started to organize collective actions and raise Papuan agendas.

A wider discussion on the organizational dynamics of the Papuan social movements is beyond the scope of this study. However this chapter has provided basic information on the emergence of the movement, on key actors,

and on processes of negotiation with the government. Papuan social movements have emerged around agendas focused on survival and dignity of the Papuans, from a very specific set of self-determination priorities, revolving around resolution of political disputes, development hazards and human rights violations, all of which have in the past caused suffering for Papuan people. Following the existing networks and axes of involvement, the movements emerge as six different groups: ethnic/race nationalist, indigenous, NGO-based, community of faith-based, youth-students, and the women movements. All are linked through indigeneity, commitment to survival and dignity of Papuans, and a shared platform for social transformation. The next chapter explores the characteristic and agenda of social movements in relation to human rights and development in Papua.

Chapter 3. Conceptual Considerations

3.1. Introduction

The theoretical consideration in this chapter intends to clarify the meaning and relationships of key terms as they are used in the study and to support the analysis on discourses, actions and proposals of social movements in Papua. The key terms, in order, social movements and then self-determination, are discussed, concluding with two sections that relate social movements to discourses of human rights and development, respectively. This chapter suggests how the study might contribute, in some small way, to wider scholarship of social movements, even though in the unique context as Papua.

3.2. Social movements

Political opportunity and collective actions both play significant roles in the emergence of social movements. The relative opening (*keterbukaan*) after the fall of the highly authoritarian and centralistic regime of Suharto in the late 1990s helped to create more space for social actors, including social movements, in Papua to organize collectively, to defend their rights, and to advocate more emancipatory forms of political engagement beyond the demands for independence.

3.2.1. Emancipatory Politics

What happened at that time in West Papua is different but related to processes elsewhere in post-New Order Indonesia. East Timor became independent in 1999, shortly after regime change, and demand for referendum in Aceh ended in a peace agreement in 2005. The common element is in a challenge to the central state by groups seeking 'autonomy' or a greater degree of self-control and self-determination. However there are important differences, also, in that Papuan civil society and social movement actors have mostly claimed their 'freedom' from central government in a relatively decentralised, and not as highly organised way. Peace negotiations in Aceh and East Timor involved clear structures of authority, 'command structures' not easily identifiable in the West Papuan context. This may be in part why economic and social justice claims, revolving around wealth distribution and land rights, for example, as well as cultural claims for non-domination, have become such an important theme for West Papuan social movements.

This resonates with what Kymlicka (1995) has termed 'differentiated rights' and forms of 'differentiated citizenship'. The important point to note is that in each case (West Papua, East Timor, Aceh) self-determination and rights claims were combined in unique ways. 'Differentiated non-citizenship' may also have been an issue in each case, to borrow from Kymlicka further. In West Papua, what becomes clear is that the struggles with the Indonesian state

involve simultaneous demands for recognition of equality on the one hand and demands for recognition of cultural difference on the other. It is a situation well described by de Sousa Santos, when he notes how "(e)mancipatory politics and the invention of new citizenships are played out within the tensions between equality and difference, that is, between the need for *redistribution* and the demand for *recognition*" (2002: 9)

In the context of structural injustice and violence such as in Papua, redistribution and recognition are keys for transformation toward justice. The social movements claim their "right to be equal when difference breeds inferiority and the right to be different when claims of equality threaten our right to identity based on shared experiences and histories" (de Sousa Santos 2002:10). In front of the experience of discrimination, marginalization and oppression as different entities, the Papuans claim their right to be equal. In front of uniformity simply as citizens of state or consumer of market, the Papuans claims for their different identities and status.

3.2.2 Collective action and contentious politics

In general, the present social movements in Papua qualifies what Tarrow describes as "collective challenges by people with common purpose and solidarity in sustained interaction with elites, opponents and authorities…to exploit political opportunities, create collective identities, bring people together in organizations, and mobilise them against more powerful opponents" (1994:3-4). This collective action become contentious, "when it is used by people who lack regular access to institutions, act in the name of new or unaccepted claims, and behave in ways that fundamentally challenge others" (4).

The dynamics of social movements in Papua (as discussed in chapter 2) shows this collective mobilizations and their sustained interaction or negotiation with power holders. They contentiously challenge the current hegemonic power exercise by state and economic actors which sustaining social injustice in Papua and propose alternatives for better future through broad demanding of self-determination (chapter 4-5).

3.2.3 Non-violent Actions of Civil Society

It needs to be noted that although plays a contentious politics, social movements in Papua are distinctive from the military or quasi-military political resistance to central government as played by TPN/OPM (National Liberation Army/ Papuan Independence Organisation). This social movements occupy the civil society and use the non-violent strategies to gain their objectives. Agus Alua, a leading scholar and activists who was elected to lead MRP, define non-violence as the main characteristic of present social movements; both in their targets (to stop violence and domination) and its strategy (to use non-violent negotiations) (Interviews 1, 2, 16). They follow the strategies and principle of Gandhi, Martin Luther King, and Aung San Suu Kyias as model for (Giay 2000, Interview 1).

As civil society base movements, the present social movements also actively involved in Trans National Advocacy Networks (TNA) in terms of agenda, while taking political contestation as one of their agenda, those movements expand their claims to take into account the range of issues such as human rights and ecology. In terms of strategy, they use the opportunity provide by democratization process, use the symbolic politics of protest, such as demonstrations, manifesto, aimed at the state. Moreover the movements also pave ways towards dialogs, negotiations and engagements with the state.

3.2.4 . 'Against' Capitalism and State-centred National and Global System

The relation of social movements in Papua with state is complex. Considering the ethnicity or race component and their claim for independence component, one can categorize social movement in Papua as what Olzak (2008) called ethnic/race and nationalist social movement. While recognizing this components, I would argue that social movements in Papua are not simply (cannot be reduced as) ethnic and nationalist social movement. Nationhood or separation from existing state structure is only one claim by certain clusters of social movements in Papua; others simply used it as strategy for negotiation, and not as final end.

To certain extent, the social movements in Papua are also claiming the states responsibility for its compliance for development and human rights. However, they also fundamentally challenge the way the state exercise its power in collaboration with global political and economic powers. Consequently, social movements in Papua are an example of challenge to capitalism, nation-state and interstates international system in one package. As the study will show, the combination of those issues make the social movements in Papua highly complex and multifaceted.

To sum up, social movement in this research refers to organized collectivity and collective actions by group of people tied together by identity and solidarity to challenge the hegemonic power exercise and injustice system, solve their existing problems and to reach a collective imagine future. The main feature of social movements in Papua includes (1) sustained collective actions, (2) non-violence resistance, (3) expanding civil society, but at the same time involve in political negotiations , (4) contentious claims against state and global powers, (5) seek for alternatives to existing system of Capitalism, State, and inter-state cooperation.

3.3. Self Determination

This study suggests self-determination can be viewed as the 'master-frame' of Papuan social movements (Brett 2008:24). To fully understand the nuances of social movements' demands for self-determination, some conceptual clarity is first needed. The concept and practices of self-determination in global politics and international law have centred around three key issues: decolonization and state building; development; indigenous people.

Firstly, in the context of state-building and decolonization, self-determination explains changing relationships between entities within the state-

building or nation building process. Mohamed Salih (2010, forthcoming) explicates four historical phases of this practice of self-determination: rights of people within independent states for self-rule (conceived after the World War I); decolonialization of countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America (post-World-War II); claims of (ethno) nationalist movements fighting for cessation (independence) or autonomy within their independent states (during and after Cold-War); and present (questionable) principle and practices of non-interference by states for their internal affairs from international community.

As a principle of decolonialization, self-determination is recognized in international law especially in the UN Declaration on 'The Granting of Independence to Dolonial Countries and Peoples' (UN Resolution 1514). It is stated that the "[a]ll peoples have the right to self-determination by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue thir economics, social, and cultural development" (Article 1).

Secondly, in relation to development, the Covenants of Civil and Political Rights and Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (Resolution 2200A), and the Declaration on Right to Development (Resolution 41/128) point out that by virtue of the right for self-determination, all people can "freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development" (Article 1 of both Covenants). The same article also articulates self-determination as freedom to determine political status.

Thirdly, in the case of indigenous people, their indigenous status qualifies them for particular right for self-determination. The recently adopted Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People (Resolution 61/295), while limiting the exercise of right to self-determination within state structure (Article 46) and in "internal and local affairs" (Article 4), states that "[i]ndigenous peoples have the right to self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development" (Article 4).

In Papua, the struggles for self-determination are unique because they entail all together these three layers of self-determination: political status, development, and indigeneity.   With this important and central understanding in mind, self-determination in this study is not viewed simply as a solution for political status (either through independence or autonomy), but as a more nuanced set of articulations. Chapter 4 and 5 show that at the centre of self-determination claims of Papuan social movements are questions of 'subject position' and agency in relation to negotiating political, economic and cultural power relations.

To understand the dimension of power in self-determination, two additional conceptual references need to be elaborated. *First*, we need to differentiate two forms of power, which are 'power over' and 'power to' (Stammer 2009:25). 'Power over', as exercised by the rulers entails domination. While 'power to', as demanded and practiced by social movements is self-authority, capacity, and implies opportunities to determine one's own life (i.e. self-determination). *Second*, self-determination also implies autonomy and non-domination, a meaning drawing on feminist views of autonomy and political philosophy approaches to freedom. In feminist reflections, autonomy is inter-

preted in a relational way as "the capacity of individuals to pursue their own ends in the context of relationships in which others may do the same" (Young 2007: 47). Autonomy is here in line with the concept of freedom as non-domination, beyond simple non-interference (Pettit 2001). Such an understanding of self-determination as 'power to', as autonomy and non-domination, helps this study to appreciate how self-determination has been redefined by Papuan social movements in relation to human rights and development priorities.

3.4. Counter-hegemonic Human Rights

Beyond dominant views that trace the origins of human rights to philosophy or law, more critical human rights scholars have in recent years paid attention to interlinkages between human rights and social movements. Boaventura de Sousa Santos (1995, 1999), for example, calls for reconstruction of our understanding of human rights by taking into account their connections with social movements struggles. Rajagopal (2003) in his notion of 'international law from below', stresses the role social movements play in third world resistance to hegemonic global structures. Upendra Baxi (2002) also points to the oppressed mobilizing themselves into social movements as hidden authors of contemporary progress in human rights. Similarly, Neil Stammer recently argued that "ordinary people—working together in social movements— have always been a key originating source of human rights" (2009:1). The bottom line of those arguments are the notion that human rights are indeed a struggle-based set of concepts and practices, deployed by social movements in their effort to overcome oppression and domination.

Based on this critical view, this study will show and argue that, human rights agenda of social movements are in some ways fundamentally different from conventional human rights advocacy. The conventional advocacy positions people or citizens as right holders and states as duty bearer. As right holders people are framed as target groups or beneficiaries, while the active-actor of human rights are states (to provide primary protection), multilateral systems (secondary protection), and human rights NGOs (tertiary protection). Central in this system is the accountability of state 'to respect, protect, and fulfil human rights obligations' and advocacy work of NGOs to ensure the compliance of states through multi-lateral systems such as United Nations.

As will be shown in Chapter 5, for social movements, human rights are viewed as a challenge to the exercise of 'power over', and are the result of grassroots struggles to secure people's basic survival and wellbeing. These alternative practices of human rights poses a challenge for the international legally-based human rights system, which can from this angle even be viewed as operating within existing dominant development practices as a form of power exercised over the marginalized and oppressed by dominant actors.

3.5. Alternatives to Hazardous Development

Social movements – including in Papua - are often highly critical of existing hazardous development concepts and practices. As argued by post-development scholars who in any case draw many of their theories from social

movements practices, "it is not the lack of development that caused poverty, inflicted violence, and engaged in the destruction of nature and livelihoods; rather, it is the very process of bringing development that have caused them in the first place" (Rajagopal 2004:3). Additionally, "…at best, development has failed," says Thomas "…or at worst it was always a 'hoax', designed to cover up violent damage being done to the so-called 'developing' world and its people" (Thomas 2000:3, quoted in Ziai 2007:3). Development of that kind is seen as "a threat to people's autonomy", "a new form of colonialism", a tool for expansion of economic and geopolitical power imposed to the people who are constructed as backward or underdeveloped (Rahnema 1997:9).

As part of the critique to that hegemonic development, the Post-development thinkers also scrutinize the creation of institutional apparatus such as World Bank, IMF, United Nations system at global level as well as national planning and development agencies and local level projects as part of creation and exercise of power over the third world (Escobar 2007, 19).

Without assuming that all and every types of development are hazardous, this study will show how development by state and business actors in Papua has not only failed to improve the living conditions of the indigenous Papuans, but has created new sufferings in many ways (Chapter 4). A prominent indigenous activist elucidates this paradox by saying that "Government and corporations call it development; but what we have experienced here is violence, land-grabbing, environmental degradation, marginalization" (Interview 6). Within this context, it is not surprising that social movements are demanding alternatives to present forms of economic development, and not more of the same.

3.6. Conclusion

This chapter have clarified not only the definitions of the basic concepts – social movements, human rights and development, but also especially a broad-based definition of self-determination. Through articulation of self-determination, social movements pose alternative forms of human rights and development concept and practices; counter-hegemonic human rights and emancipatory post-development.

We have explored how they are interlinked in the conceptualization and practices of social movements. The diagram below shows how these concepts are linked in the chapter. The 'triangle' device is returned to later in the study to reflect on the key questions in Chapter 5.]
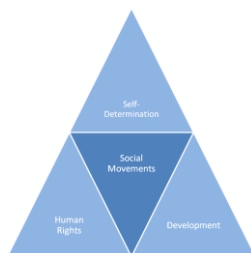

Figure 2. Relating key concepts

In the next chapter we will see how this claim for self-determination is developed and practiced in everyday struggles in Papua; and how that self-determination seeks to challenge existing development and human rights practices by the state, inter-state systems, and corporations in local and global context of Papua.

Chapter 4. From 'Memories of Sufferings' to Self-determination

4.1. Introduction

This chapter analyses Papuan social movements' frames for their past and current problems (diagnostic frame) and future solutions (prognostic frames) and how these framings help them to negotiate political, economic, and cultural power relations with the national and global actors in Papua. This discourse analysis on framings is intended to elucidate the practical knowledge, or praxis, of social movement actors in order to contribute to social transformation.

4.2. Memories of Sufferings

The Papuan social movements describe the history of contemporary Papua as Memories of Suffering (*memoria passionis*). The term was initially conceived in the Papuan context in 1998 by church-based actors, translating the theological terminology of political theologian, Johann Baptist Metz. The term is used as the title for a series of annual documentation of human rights violations in Papua, circulated in Papua and worldwide. The term *memoria passionis* adequately captures, not only the factual reality of rights violations and violence suffered by people of Papua, but also their response to the past and present suffering recorded. Despite the fact that sufferings paralyze them as victims, the people of Papua through this conception, can also transform their sufferings into positive energy in order to constructively resist and change society (Interviews 16, 17). For that reason, *memoria passionis* become the common term, used by social movements and their constituencies in Papua.

The space available forces us to limit the discussion of narratives of *memoria passionis* in detail. The following examples show how political, economic, and cultural aspects of this memory of sufferings weave together with issue of survival, wellbeing and dignity.

- Many Papuans see their history of decolonialization from the Dutch and integration into Indonesia as a continuation of colonialism (recolonialism). This stance stemmed from historical events of 1945-1968, and collective experiences since then. When Indonesia gained independence from the Dutch in 1945, Papua remained under Dutch administration. Sharing global demands for decolonialization, Papuan people claimed their right to independence from the Dutch, leading to the establishment of Nieuw Guinea Raad (New Papuan Council), and creation of a national anthem and flag in 1962. However, under pressure from Indonesia and supported by the USA, the Dutch and Indonesian governments signed the so called New York Agreement, without involving the Papuans. The agreement transferred authority over Papua from the Netherlands to Indonesia, with the weak proviso that Indonesia should prepare a plebiscite within 8 years, to let the Papuans decide either to remain within Indonesia or have their own state. Steered by the spirit of nation-building and decolonialization project,

Indonesia then expanded its authority to Papua with deployments of military and civil officials. Since then, the political activism of Papuan Council banned, the anthem and flag was illicit. A plebiscite—called Act of Free Choice— was organised in 1969 by Indonesian authority under the observation of United Nations. About 1025 Papuans, hand-picked by Indonesian military and civil authorities, voted on behalf of the rest of the population. Despite protests from Papuans about the process, and demands for 'one person one vote', the UN ratified the results of the so-called *Act of Free Choice*, legalizing integration of Papua into Indonesia by 1969.[3] The economic interests was also a driving factor of active involvement of US to the transfer of authority over Papua from the Dutch to Indonesia, as well as the Dutch stance to maintain authority over Papua (Drooglever 2009: 291-309), leading to the signing of the investment contract for mining operations in Papua between US and Indonesia in 1967, two years before the plebiscite in 1969. As a result, Papuans today see integration into Indonesia as arising from manipulation and betrayal, including by the UN.

- Since 1960 Papua has become the target for massive development initiatives for state and businesses. Investment has opened up mines, legal and illegal logging, palm oil plantations, and all these initiatives have resulted in land-grabbing, deforestation, environmental degradation, exploitation and eviction of indigenous communities, and massive migration into the indigenous territory from outside. US-based Freeport-McMoran Copper and Gold Mining Operation started operations in 1967, and currently the mega-project known as Merauke Food and Energy Estate (MIFEE) are two major examples. Eviction for mining of tribal communities of Amungme and Komoro, expelled from their land has damaged, if not destroyed, the island ecology from Cartenz mountain peaks down to the ocean. The MIFEE project is to cover 1,6 million hectares of forest and indigenous land, and is projected to bring in 6 million workers, three times the indigenous population of the whole of West Papua (PDP 2000, Workshop 4).

- Political repression and development hazards are combined with state-sponsored, business-related violence and a range of economic, social, cultural and political rights violations against indigenous people. At the same time, in-migration is steered by government's *Transmigrasi* program and huge development projects, making indigenous Papuans a minority in their own land. In Keerom, one of the palm plantation area, the ratio of non-Papuan population to Papuan grew from 1:99 in 1969 to 40:60 in 2010 (2010 Census). Reflecting all these process, an interviewee says, "[t]hey take our ancestors land, claim our forests as state forest, and giving our recourses to corporations; they make us

---

[3] Among the historical account of *The Act of Free Choice,* see the work of Drooglever (2005, 2009). For the scandalous involvment of United Nations, see Saltford (2003). The Papuans also, in the post authoritarian regime, publised books on their history (Alua 2000, Socrtes 2007, Koroba et.al. 2004)

poor, and then they come bring us development" (Interview I6). In the case of marginalized groups, this type of development have not only failed to bring about its promise, but caused suffering for people and nature.

These are just 3 examples of the events that have helped to shape collective memories of suffering. For those who experienced or have heard of these events, the memory of them helps Papuan social movements today to articulate their responses to what is happening now. Internally, these memories stimulate a sense of crisis and solidarity among the movements, their constituencies and their networks. Externally, in relation to the state and economic actors, memories of suffering serve to delegitimize the often empty (but loudly proclaimed) promises of future progress, economic growth, new investment, more development, and better modernization. As one prominent indigenous activist elucidates: "Government and corporations call it development; but what we have experienced here is violence, land-grabbing, environmental degradation, and marginalization" (Interview 6; also Interviews 1, 2, 4, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20).

4.3. Self-Awareness, Agency, Self-Liberation

While the sufferings might leads to frustrations that paralyzed people, the social actors have transformed their anger and desperation into solidarity and actions for change. Through their liberation project, they refuse to continuously become victims of violations and hazards, to become Subjects with agency to determine their own future.

Self, Agency, Human Liberation is central in the discourses of Papuan social movements. Speaking in religious terms, Papuan anthropologist and theologian Benny Giay articulates that the liberation or salvation projects in Papua "is not only a movement to find God…It is also a movement to find ourselves…to be aware of our potentials, our culture, our wealth, and our capacities to determine our future" (Interview 1). Yoman Socrates, a leading human rights advocate and priest, in his book titled "Drink from Our Own Well" (similar to the work of founder of Liberation Theology, Gustavo Gutiérrez), argues that the domination in forms of Western conqueror, Indonesian domination, or Capitalistic exploitation in Papua are rooted in the non-recognition of Papuan subject position with all their culture and nature. "When the Western came, both as emperors and as missionaries, they thought that this land is empty, no one's land. They thought that we do not have cultures, no civilization. They are wrong!" (Interview 7).

In short, social actors in Papua have transformed their experience of sufferings to struggle to take a Subject position to defend their survival and struggle for their dignity and wellbeing. Instead of waiting and simply demanding the responsibility of the State and business actors coming to Papua (which proved to be Savage instead of Saviour), they want to take a Subject position to determine their own future (Interview 1, 16).

This articulation of agency or subject position implies two fundamental agenda: resistance to domination and empowerment of self. Those agendas are

at the centre of prognostic frames of Papuan social movements in the following section.

4.4. Self-determination in the Discourses of Social movements in Papua

The discourses discussed here are selected from the major themes of social movements in Papua. Three key points need to be made here. Firstly, there is overlapping of the content of the discourses. Secondly, although evolved in any specific clusters of the movement, the discourse end up being quite widely shared by all parts of the social movements. Thirdly, the discourses reinforce each other in certain ways so that although each pay more attention to particular issues, together they constitute share agenda and platforms of Papuan social movements. Hence, all discourses need to be comprehended all together as part of discourse of social movements in Papua.

The table below provides overview on the main discourses of social movements in Papua, the proponents as well as the interactions with other actors in general.

No	Discourse	Clusters			
		Indigenous Structure Based	Faith based	NGO based	Students Youth Based
4.2.1	Papuan National Awakening and Independence	❶	❸	❸	❶❸
4.2.2.	New Papua	❷	❶	❷	❸
4.2.3.	Papua Land/Zone of Peace	❷	❶	❶	❷
4.2.4	Save People and Forest of Papua	❶	❷	❶	❸
4.2.5	Affirmative Actions: Protection and Empowerment of Indigenous people	❶	❶	❶	❷

Table 3. Shared Prognostic Discourse of Papuan Social Movements

❶ Initiated and lead by   ❷ Actively Supported and Promoted by   ❸ Echoed/partly promoted by

4.2.1. Kebangkitan Papua and Papua Merdeka (Papuan Awakening and Independence)

The Awakening of Papua is a frame used by movement actors to identify the nationalism spirit among Papuans since 1998, after long repression under Soeharto authoritarian-militaristic-developmentalist regime. It is closely related to the discourse of separate state, self-government, or political independence from Indonesia (Alua 1999; Yoman 2009).Those discourses are deployed by

political section of the Papuan social movements especially by actors from *adat* (indigenous structure) based, faith based, and students and youth based.

These discourse articulates at least 3 inter-related issues (Alua 1999, Yoman 2009; Interview 4, 12):

(1) the existence of Papuan as distinct People and Nation (they are racially different; and hence cannot be considered simply as part of Indonesia);

(2) Papua was on their way towards full independence from the Dutch, when Indonesia –with the support of international community— annexed it in 1961-1969; and hence their political status needs to be renegotiated

(3) Experience of sufferings during integration with Indonesia, led them to the conclusion that for their survival and well-being, they have to reclaim their status as an independent entity or at least with adequate autonomy to manage their own future.

In other words, ethnic/race nationalism and the awareness to self-organization, combined with distrust to the authorities, are important component of this articulation of the movements. It is congruent with what Susan Olzak (2008) called 'Ethnic/Race nationalist movement'. The main stated target of the Awakening of Papua and Independence is to "to reclaim the Sovereign Rights of Papua achieved in 1961" before it is annexed by Indonesian Government. (Alua 1999:iii). However, the articulation of substantial meaning in real politics is to be negotiated. The movements see themselves as working for 'liberation' where the People of Papua are free from dominance from external power and free to determine their own destiny. This applies not only to political relations *vis a vis* state, but also in economic, social and cultural arenas. The issue of self-government and independent status are claimed together with the claim against mining corporations, plantations, transmigration as well as cultural identity. In other words, at least for the moderate members, the final end is liberation for domination; which can be achieved in real politics through many ways.

Moreover, although taking-over the agenda of political self-determination, the proponents of the awakening discourse demark themselves from the 'older' articulation of Papuan political movements including resistance led by guerrilla groups in the jungle and international diplomacy and campaign lead by political activists in exile. The current movements are claimed as new in terms of actors (new generations of political leaders, intellectuals, indigenous/*adat*, civil society members) and strategies (dialog, democracy and non-violence)(Alua 1999, interview 2).

The present articulation of this discourse is nuanced (Interview 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 10, 11, 12, 15). Some factions see the independent as non-compromise, have to be done now. Those are the groups who hope that (1) the international community, led by UN, will impose the referendum in Indonesia and (2) call for international dialog. They are active with international lobby. The other group is trying to be realistic and deal more for day to day meaning of awakening and independence. Those group tend to (1) speak about human rights, social justice, empowerment, and (2) work for opportunities to put an end to the *memoria passionis* and work for real meaning of self-determination in the future.

28

This group are more realistic that the challenge for state is not only Indonesia but global power which is in favour of Indonesia. "Rather than dye in waiting room (wait for independence), let's go and do something to change the situation" (interview 1).

This non-monolithic stands of independence prove that while for Jakarta the Unitary State of Republic of Indonesia is 'harga mati (literally means 'dead price, meaning fixed and immutable), for the Papuans, independence is 'harga hidup' (life price, negotiable in order to get the best for the life of the people). This jargon of 'harga hidup' vs 'harga mati' is popular in Papua.

4.2.2. Papua Baru (The New Papua)

The discourse of New Papua was initiated by Papuan intellectuals including church leaders and other social activists. It was soon followed by other clusters of the movement, and has become one of the main discourses of social movements in Papua. This discourse become particularly popular in the period of 2000-2004, and mixed with the discourse of Papuan Awakening at that time.

New Papua is basically an *imagined social change* which could turn the dark and troubled history full of 'memories of suffering' in the past towards a new condition where the Papuans could take a lead in determining their own future (Interview 1). According to its proponents, the imagined future of "New Papua" emerged out of the concerns and fears that the future of the people of Papua within the Unitary State of Indonesia would be limited, not only because of the systematic violations and marginalization in the past, but also due to the fact that there is no sign for significant improvements (Interviewes 1, 4, 7). The only way out would be by "taking a subject position to determine the future, to think outside of the current Indonesia framework" (Interview 1). Hence the project of The New Papua is to encourage decolonialization process that refuses an imposed historicity. Just as Indonesians thought beyond the historicity imposed by the Dutch in their colonialization project, from this perspective the Papuans are now taking the lead for New Papua, positioning themselves as subject, and no longer as followers. Their history is no longer determined by non-Papuans alone.

The detail analysis of New Papua discourse in writing of Papuan intelectuals (Giay 2000, Wospakrik and Apomfires 2000, and Ayomi 2000) is provided in the Appendix II. With the risk of over-simplification, the following chart describes some the main elements of the discourse:
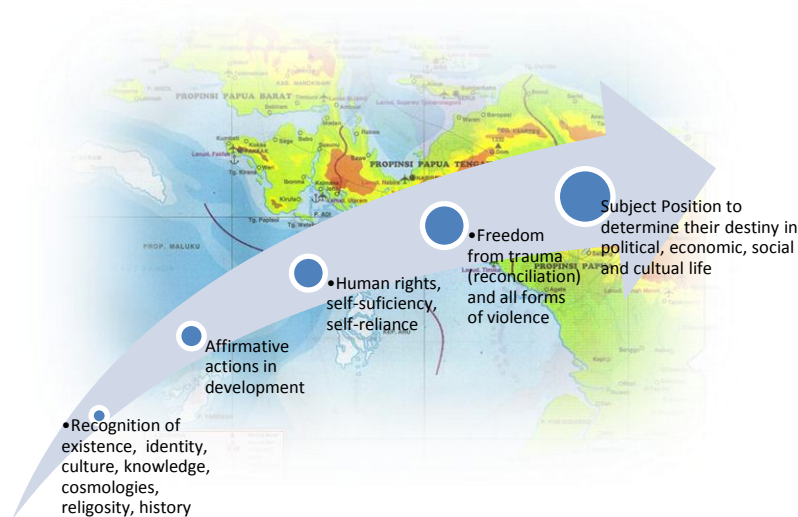
Table 4. Key Component of New Papua Discourse

New Papua is not simply a political agenda for independent state. "Although some social and political actors are struggling for political independence," says Benny Giay, "the social movements are dealing with immediate challenge and opportunities for survival and dignity, in all aspects of life". It is a process of making change in day to day life of the Papuans (Interview 1). Moreover, the the principles of social movements are based on truth, through dialog, consistent and gradual social change, and nonviolence. The leaders consistently refer to Gandhi, MLK, Aung San Suu Kyi as role models for their struggles (Giay 2000).

4.2.3. Papua Land of Peace/Zone of Peace

The discourse of Papua land/zone of peace was initiated by church and NGO-based groups (in dynamic interactions with other clusters of the movement), but later on become the discourse of whole spectrums of movements in Papua. This discourse evolved around the main concern that out of conflict and violence, fear and inferiority, desperate and silence, the Papuans wants 'liberate themselves', striving to gain recognition and respect, through which they defend their survival and dignity as People. All these are claimed through a peace process, not through violence (van den Broek, et.al. 2006)

The term 'Papua Zone of Peace' was firstly launched by Peace Task Force (cosponsored by churches and NGOs). A conference held by Peace Task Force in conjuncture with the Provincial House of Representatives, Governor and Police, in October 2002, define three components of Papua Zone of Peace:

> (1) a situation where by the land of Papua and its People feel free from physical and psychological conflicts, (2) all policies have to adapt to the social and cultural conditions in Papua, and (3) it has to be formulated in Law (Elsham 2002)

For the Social movements in Papua, Genuine Peace for the People of Papua comprises not only lack of violence (negative peace), but also fundamental conditions that ensure the wellbeing of people and nature of Papua. A

30

workshop on Papuan Land of Peace, initiated by Catholic based NGO, where 40 organizations/networks of social movements participated, in November 2002, define Peace as comprise at least 9 components. Those components are Participation, Solidarity and Tolerance/ Respect, Information/Communication, Welfare, Security, Truth and Justice, Self-reliance, Self-esteem and recognition, and Unity/Harmony (Workshop Document). The detail explanation of these each component can be found in Appendix III.

The workshop also recommends various actions plans and mapping the actors for the achieving of Papua Land/zone of Peace. Although eight years later, the initiators of 'Papua Land/zone of Peace' feels that they have not achieved what they have imagined (Interview 7, Workshops 1, 3), the discourse have contributed to the dynamics of social movements in Papua in the last 12 years, including its consistent struggles for fundamental articulation of self-determination where the survival and wellbeing of Papuans become the shared hopes.

The recent articulation of this discourse is the demand by social movements towards the Indonesian government for constructive dialog to find radical solutions for Papuan problems. Dialog, in which the existence of Papuans as Subject is recognized and respected, is seen as method towards sustainable peace.

4.2.4. Save People and Forest of Papua

Save People and Forest of Papua (SPFP) is a campaign led by Papuan NGOs Collaboration Forums (Foker LSM Papua) in close relationship other clusters of the movements. It is firstly articulated in the Congress of social movements actors (which brings together NGOs/CSOs, indigenous leaders, church based actors, women activists, students, etc.) held in Jayapura in November 2009.

The SPFP discourse is built upon two main concerns. Firstly, concerning the *memoria passionis*, it addressed right violations and nature degradation due to development programs. The statement of SPSP says that "*Adat*/indigenous communities undergoes marginalization and neglection from the process of development in relation to the expansion of palm oil plantation, mining, decentralization, military infrastructure activities and logging concessions in which these activities do not respect and recognize *Adat* Community rights and cause human rights violations in the land of Papua". Secondly, it reclaims the subject positions of the People of Papua, "We acknowledge that Papua *Adat* Community have been the key players and main actors in natural resources based local wisdom management for centuries. We understand that all development activities should involve *Adat* Community and all of the outcomes should be mainly intended to improve the welfare of the Papuans"

This discourse has a comprehensive dimension: Papuan and their nature are seen as relational unity. It says "Papua Land is recognized as MOTHER who gives the life. The Land of Papua is the heritage of *Adat* Community.

Thus, it belongs to *Adat* Customary People. Therefore, land cannot be sold and bought" (Land is not simply a property as in modern cosmology).

The discourse of Save People and Forest of Papua, enables the social actors to address various issues: militarism, environment, human rights, intellectual property rights, population, health care, local culture and structure, government policies, etc. This framework is widely used for various types of resistance and advocacy. It used for against mining corporations, against discrimination in economic programs, against transmigration.

Most recently, the framework of Save People and Forest of Papua is used to frame the resistance of the Social movements to central government's new mega-project called MIFEE (Merauke Integrated Food and Energy Estate). Targeting 1,6 million hectare land in Merauke, the project is conducted by more than 30 national and international corporations investing in agricultural projects. Apart from corporatization of agriculture (which take away the subject position as producer from farmers to corporations), the movements argue that the project endanger the survival of People and nature of Papua. With an assumption that 4 workers is needed for one hectare agricultural land, Papua will be flooded with 6 million workers (three times more than the indigenous Papuans). The project will also change the richness of ecology of Papua into monoculture modern agriculture.

Like other discourse, this discourse also articulates the subject position of Papuans. It explicitly and emphatically promoted the collective agency and knowledge systems of local communities and civil society groups of Papua for alternative social change. The Declaration stated: "We acknowledge that Papua *Adat* Communities have been the key players and main actors in natural resources based local wisdom management for centuries. We understand that all development activities should involve *Adat* community and all the outcomes should be mainly intended to improve the welfare of Papuans" (ibid). Other part of the statement also says, "*Adat* Community should be involved and participate actively in all development process"

Moreover, the actors also claim the primary responsibility of the state, "It is the responsibility of the State to save the people and forest of Papua" (SPSP document).

4.2.5. Affirmative Action of 'Protection, Preference, and Empowerment for Indigenous People'(Perlindungan, Keberpihakan, Pemberdayaan Orang Asli)

Affirmative actions towards the indigenous people of Papua is proposed by social actors, and particularly articulated by the NGO based activists and now become 'common language' among the movements (political leaders, indigenous leader, faith based groups, students-youth) and adopted (at least in the rhetoric) by government and incorporated into the Special Autonomy Law.

The idea of affirmative actions is based on few considerations. Firstly, the indigenous community of Papua are distinct in almost all aspect of life, includ-

ing their cosmologies, cultures, and way of life. Although the government views see this distinctiveness in a way that stereotypes the Papuans as backward, from the social actors in Papua this distinctiveness is view in a more appreciative way.

Secondly, the people of Papua cannot be left in a competitive system with other layers of the population (i.e. the migrants) and the corporate actors; hence need protection.

Thirdly, for a long time the way development is done in Papua are neglecting the existence of indigenous communities, and hence there is a need for preferential option to prioritize the Papuans in development programs. It is particularly linked to the fact that the people of Papua are marginalized in all sectors of life, while the emerging numbers of migrants become elites in economic and political sector.

Fourthly, as proposed by local development NGO activist, the essence of development should be education and empowerment, to enable the communities to sustain their own life (Interview 8). This view is contrast with the mainstream development with its investment and growth logic, which put profit as the ultimate goal.

4.4. Self-determination

The exploration of the discourses of social movements in Papua lead us to conclusion that claim for self-determination is multidimensional. The table below provides summary overview of components of Self-determination in each discourse:

Table 5. Self Determination Aspect of Main Discourses of Social Movements in Papua

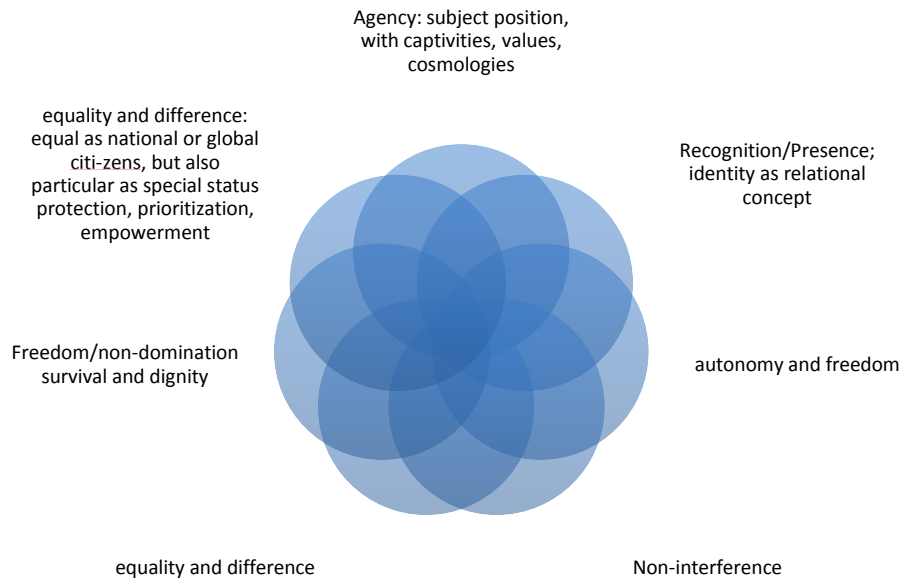| Discourse	Self-determination Aspect	
Papuan Awakening and Independence	• Ethnic/race based nationalism leading to renegotiation of political status: either independence or at least greater autonomy • Freedom/liberation from '(re)colonialism', domination, rights violations, development hazards	• Subject Position: No longer as Powerless Victims, but Capable Actors • Self-governance/government: Papuanization
New Papua	• Claiming Subject Position for survival, dignity, and wellbeing (not dependent on the good will of Indonesia) • Decolonialization: refuse the imposed historicity, domination • Self-reliance, self-sufficiency, Know the potentials, self-confident, make changes in all aspect of life	• Papuanization: Papuan leader take leading position Freedom from trauma, violence, militarization • Self-sufficiency, self-resilience • Papuan cosmologies, knowledge, culture – "drink from our own well" • Recognition and affirmative action

33

Papua Land/Zone of Peace	• Participation, • Solidarity and Tolerance/ Respect, • Unity/Harmony • Truth and Justice,	• Security, • Self-reliance, Self-esteem and recognition, • Welfare • Information/Communication,
Save People and Forest of Papua	• Survival of people, the culture and nature • Active role of the People of Papua with all its values not only in participating in development, but also in defining the type of development • Papuan Cosmology, knowledge, culture	• Against 'creeping genocide', marginalization, destruction of nature • Struggles for respect, protection, and promotion of Papuan integrity
Affirmative Action	• Protection, preferential prioritization, empowerment of Papuans • Be capable Subject of Development	• Local capacities • Self-resilience

From the above discussed discourses, we can identify at least four roots of claim for self-determination:

- Political status in the de-colonialization process, which are subject to political and historical disputes

- Position in state-led-market-driven development; which have not only marginalized but also victimized the Papuan people

- Special status as Indigenous people

- Resistance to continuous violence by state actors

The elements of self-determination from each discourse above can be summarized in some general points:

Table 6. Core Components of Self-determination

Agency: subject position,
with captivities, values,
cosmologies

equality and difference:
equal as national or global
citi-zens, but also
particular as special status
protection, prioritization,
empowerment

Recognition/Presence;
identity as relational
concept

Freedom/non-domination
survival and dignity

autonomy and freedom

equality and difference

Non-interference

4.5. Conclusion

Central in the discourses of Social movements in Papua is a claim for self-determination. All discourses deployed by various clusters of the movement lead to claim for Subject Position to determine their own survival, dignity, and wellbeing in political, economic, social, and cultural aspect of life. That struggle for self-determination, comprise the claim for autonomy, non-domination, non-interference, and recognition of difference and equality.

Though the discourse, Social movements in Papua have been trying to challenge the hegemonic power relations legitimized and supported by certain knowledge produced by those in Power. By taking this subject position, the movements are negotiating power relations. The negotiations are not only done through obvious forms of resistance such as protest, mass mobilization. Instead the movements also work at discursive level. Through the deployment of certain discourses, they produce knowledge system and seek to challenge the hegemonic knowledge production by those in Power which seems to legitimize their hegemonic position.

In that sense, Social Movement is not merely a resistance in Marxist theory, but (all at once) a discursive practice of social change in post-structuralist sense. They do not resist from the periphery to knock down the wall of hegemony, but go directly to the *Central Processing Unit (CPU)* of the system, understand the way it works and its logics, and install new counter-hegemonic system which challenge the monopoly system. As the result, they delegitimize the hegemonic power and force them to renegotiate the power relation.

Where do this process of power negotiation leading to? The next chapter will explore this counter-hegemonic discourse and power negotiation process in the sphere of development and human rights.

Chapter 5
Social movements, Human Rights, and Development

5.1. Introduction

So far we have discussed the emergence and persistence of social movements in Papua (Chapter 2-3), and particularly focus on their articulation of self-determination in resistance to oppression and domination and in articulating subject position or agency in defining their own future (chapter 4). This final chapter elucidate the interplay between self-determination, human rights and development, based on concepts and practices of social movement actors. The social movements' critiques or challenges to the existing dominant human rights and development paradigm will be discussed first, followed by alternative proposals of social movements on counter-hegemonic human rights and post-development, and the main features of those proposals.

5.2. The question of Power in Human Rights and Development Practices

Whilst human rights law and system is in place, and whereas development is propagated as governments agenda and instrument for fulfilment of those rights, the living condition of the oppressed and marginalized groups have not significantly improved. In Papua, as discussed in Chapter 4, State as duty bearer turned to be savage, the main violator of human rights. Economic development, while have generated wealth for few, have caused suffering for the majority. While the human rights system in UN has not been really effective in stop the violations and provide remedy for victims, there is still no fundamental change for social injustice at global level. This condition resonates what Gaay de Fortman calls 'human rights deficit'; meaning that despite acknowledgements of rights and general commitment of legal protection for realization, "the world of human rights is a world of unfulfilled expectations" (2006: 34-35).

From social movement and counter-hegemonic critical scholars' point of view (as discussed in Chapter 3), one of the main cause of this deficiency is the ambiguity of existing human rights and development concept and practice to the issue of power. Reflecting the discourses of social movements in Papua, this notion can be elaborate further. *First*, the idea and system of human rights is embedded in global and local political, economic, and cultural systems or power relations. International law and the whole United Nations system is a terrain of struggle over power and domination (Evans 2005; Rajagopal 2003; Santos 2002). This explains why, despite of the fact that the self-determination of all peoples is recognised as human rights in international law, the global powers (such as United Nations, US and Dutch) government supports the transfer of Papua from the Dutch to Indonesia, without adequately consider

the voice of the Papuans to have their own state (Saltford 2003; Drooglever 2009). The economic interests, as we have seen, were also a driving factor of this process. This embeddedness of human rights in power relations exists until today. While actively criticise the human rights performance of Indonesian government, the western countries (such as the Netherlands and the USA) have not substantially changed the operations of the multinationals in Papua. At the same time, the support for Indonesian military and security forces are intensified, some of them are operating to secure the investments in Papua.

Second, the problem of institutionalization of human rights and development. Institutions are needed to ensure the remedy of the entitlements. However, in reality, once it is institutionalized, the emancipatory potential of human rights "can get lost or be switched in ways that results in human rights becoming tool of power, not a challenge to it' (Stammer 2009: 3). As criticized by Macau Mutua (2007:547), standard setting of human rights is restricted by "how those norms are made, who makes them, and why". The reservation of Article 1 on right for self-determination of the ICCPR and ICESCR by Indonesia, for example, close the door for the use of this fundamental right by right holder in Indonesia. At the same time, Indonesia used the right for self-determination both to claim its sovereignty over Papua and to resist the international intervention or support for the claims for self-determination in Papua. At the same time, institutionalisation of development—through creation of vast institutional national and global apparatus and professionalization of development— has facilitate the centralization of power to state and economic institutions as well as the experts. As explicated by the post-development critiques discussed in chapter 3, through this institutionalization, development becomes 'project' in the hands of those actors, with all its hazardous impacts to people and nature.

Third, the idea and practice of human rights and development are state centred, and 'business friendly'. As criticized by Alston (2005), the extant system puts state as main actor; the other actors are simply framed as non-state. It is the state that has sovereignty over people and over properties and resources. No other collectivises, including indigenous people who exist prior to nation-state, have substantial sovereignty and property over lands and natural resources. While taking over the sovereignty and resources from the native People, the state, in neoliberal system, hand over the resources to other private (non-state actors) such as multinationals. The state-centred global system, combined by neoliberal privilege of the economic actors, causes the current global injustice (Pogge 2002). In the case of Papua, as we have seen, it is this dynamic of 'taking over from indigenous people and handing over to economic actors' that caused suffering to the people and nature.

The social movements in Papua have unmasked this hegemonic law and development paradigm and existing practices, and propose alternative praxis. The next section discusses in detail how social movements contribute to new ways of practicing human rights and development.

5.3. Self-determination, Counter-hegemonic Human Right and Alternative (to Mainstream) Development

Through the discourses or praxis (knowledge and actions) of *memoria passionis* and *self-determination*, Papuan social movements have been practicing the so called 'the human right from below' and 'post-development' in their own context. At the centre of these praxis are resistance to the 'power over' exercised by the dominant political and economic actors, and articulation of agency (subject position, 'power to') of the Papuan people in determining their political, economic, and cultural affairs.

This counter-hegemonic praxis contribute to distinct theoretical and practical lessons or critical reflection for human rights and development theory and practice.

Firstly, human being (people) as Subject of human right and development. Through the broad meaning of self-determination, social movements bring the human beings back to the centre of human rights and development practices. They are subject, not simply object or target groups of human rights the enterprises of state(s) as duty bearer. Similarly, they are not instruments (resources, human resources as equal to natural resources) in the economic development practices.

Secondly, the demand for self-determination implies agency. As subjects, the ordinary people (or citizens in the category of state), individually and collectively, has agency, meaning 'power to' contribute to social change, determine their own futures in the politics, the economy, and the cultural arena. The collective actions of social movements exemplify this agency. People come together, mobilize and organize collectively, create organizations and networks, defend their rights and negotiation changes for present injustice towards better future.

Thirdly, *development and human rights are not individualistic and anthropocentric.* Rather, human rights and development are exercised it is practices in relational way, not only with the fellow human beings but also with the natures. Identity and territory, culture and nature, are constitutive parts of social movement struggles.

Fourthly, *the final end of development and human rights are survival, wellbeing, and dignity of people and universe.* It is contrast with the prevalence of the discourse of sovereignty, security, global order, progress, growth, and other hegemonic discourses in the current practices of human rights and development. For Papuan social movements, human rights and development should contribute to creation of 'Papua land of peace', where its people and nature are 'recognised' and 'save'.

Fifthly, *social movements bring (the notion of) social justice, systemic change, and social transformation to the main stage of human rights and development.* Through their activisms, social movements demand for systemic change at local, national, and global level. To quote a Papuan indigenous political leader, " [t]he problem of Papua today is not only the problem of Papua in Indonesia, but the problem of Indonesia in Papua. It can be solved only if Indonesia runs a fundamental

change in its development and human rights policies" (Interview 13). Expanding this argument to global level, it is arguable that the problems of marginalized and oppressed groups all over the world are the problems of global political and economic powers. Their solutions requires at local, national, and global justice.

Incorporation of those five points will fundamentally change the hegemonic concepts and practices of human rights and development towards comprehensive and sustainable social transformation. In the such social transformation, social movements actors plays a central role, together with other political, economic, and cultural actors. The features of social movements's transformatory actions will be discussed briefly in the next section.

5.4. Discursive Transformatory Praxis

By deploying counter hegemonic human rights and development concepts and practices, social movements are negotiating the power relations and enhancing historical development towards social transformation. It has been done not simply in conventional revolutionary works (of social struggles), but "through innovative creativity in ideas and practices (understood together as praxis)" Stammer 2009: 33-34; Cohen and Arato 1992; Sztompka 1993).

In Escobar's categorization of root paradigms of development theory, the mechanisms for change deployed by social movements are far beyond *Liberal paradigm* of "better theories and data and more carefully tailored interventions". It is also ahead of *Marxist paradigm* of "social (class) struggle"— including counter-hegemonic struggles as first theorized by Gramsci. Rather, social movements are practicing the *Poststructuralist paradigm* of change which is "change practices of knowing and doing" (2007:172-173). In other words, the social movements are deploying praxis of liberation.

Accordingly, we can see in the movements in Papua not only "how local actors *resist* development interventions" or modernity (Marxist ethnography), but also "how knowledge producers resist, adapt, subvert dominant knowledge and create their own" (poststructuralist ethnography) (Escobar 2007:173). The actors contribute to change not only in terms of "transformation of social relations, development of the productive forces or development of class consciousness" as Papuans, but fundamentally "transformation of political economy of truth" and "new discourses and representation (plurality of discourses) in encountering the monolithic and hegemonic discourse of the dominant state and business power (173).

Snow and Benford (1992:136) call this practices as "politics of signification" of social movements, referring to the process of construction of new meanings and transformation of old ones as "an active, process-derived phenomenon that implies agency and contention at the level of reality construction". Tarrow resonates the same observations when he says:

> Movements frame their collective action around cultural symbols that are selectively chosen from a cultural tool-chest and creatively converted into collective action frames by movement entrepre-

neurs....Social movements are deeply involved in the work of naming experiences, connecting them to other grievances, and constructing larger frames of meaning that will resonate with a population's cultural predispositions and communicate a uniform message to power holders and others (1994:119-122)

In the context of Papua, the discourses of *memoria passionis* and self-determination" are part of transformatory praxis or social movements' ways of "knowing and doing". Through this praxis, social movements have been trying to improve the mainstream state-centre, business-driven development and law, and (2) proposing alternatives for counter-hegemonic human rights and development. Their source of power lies not in the use of counter-power (which is in turn reproduce power circle with leads to unending circle of violence), but in their articulation of self-determination or agency as knowledge/power producers in Foucauldian term.

5.4. Conclusion

In summary, a nuanced political, economic, and cultural articulation of self-determination is a key principle in the praxis of counter-hegemonic human rights and development by social movements. While resist the 'power over' exercised by dominant political and economic actors, self-determination is an articulation of agency (subject position, 'power to') of social movements in determining their survival, wellbeing, and dignity.

From this interlinkages of self-determination, human rights and development; at least 5 conceptual and practical lessons can be learned: (1)human being (people) as Subject of human right and development; (2) the recognition of agency of ordinary people; (3) the need for a non-individualistic and non-anthropocentric character of development and human rights; (4) notion to survival, wellbeing, and dignity of people and universe as final ends of development and human rights are; (5) the centrality of social justice, systemic change, and social transformation for human rights and development.

The praxis of self-determination by social movements leads them to a continuing negotiation of with the dominant actors such as state and corporations. This negotiations has transformatory power, not though conventional class or ethnic struggles but through creative innovations of ideas and practices. From social movements in Papua we have seen how the the diagnostic discourse of *memoria passionis* have unmasked and delegitimized the promise of progress, growth, prosperity state-lead, business-driven development. Meanwhile, the prognostic discourse of *self-determination* have help them articulating their claims for negotiating counter-hegemonic human rights and development practices.

Chapter 6
Conclusion

This research analyses how self-determination was re-framed in the discourses, actions and proposals for the future of social movements in Papua, especially in relation to human rights and development. It is explored and argued that in the praxis of social movements in Papua, a nuanced articulation of self-determination has served not only as a legal category, but as a central principle in framing the resistance to 'power over' or domination exercised by political and economic actors, and to articulate the 'subject position' or agency of the people of Papua in determining their political, economic, and cultural affairs.

The first chapter identified the key elements of the 'Papuan problem' and discussed one public monument as symptomatic of social injustice and hegemonic power relations still faced by the people of Papua today. These problems are (1) political dispute over the status of Papua; (2) development hazards; (3) marginalization of indigenous people, and (4) continuing state-sponsored and corporation-related violence. In the case of Mama Yosepha, I have shown that social movements are dynamics of those at the bottom of the monument to solve their problems and to enhance social justice. The problem of social injustice and hegemonic power relations and efforts to change it, thus, became starting point of this study.

Chapter 2 considered how social actors in Papua have organised themselves through social movements in the years since the collapse of the old New Order, and found that social movements in their present form have emerged in the past 12 years, using the relative openness available after *Reformasi*. The negotiations around the New Autonomy Law since 2001 and the current push for new comprehensive and substantial dialogue with central government helped to crystallise social movements' defence of the 'best interests' of the people of Papua.

The conceptual considerations from social movements theory (Chapter 3) has led to conclusion that as social movements, social actors in Papua have been deploying contentious collective actions for emancipatory politics by using nonviolent strategies to find alternatives from Capitalistic and State-centred national and global system that affects social injustice in Papua. Moreover, especially important was the framework of counter-hegemonic human rights and emancipatory post-development theories, which it was suggested, could help us in better understanding discourses of social movements in Papua around self-determination, human rights and development.

Central to this research is the question of how have social movements in Papua framed their past and current problems, as well as future solutions and alternatives? In Chapter 4, I have shown two sets of frames: *memoria pas-*

sionis as diagnostic framing and *self-determination* as prognostic one. The *memoria passionis* is the way social movements actors frame the multidimensional problems of injustice that cause sufferings for the people of Papua, since colonial time up to the present time. Internally, this discourse of *memoria passionis* help to mobilize solidarity and hope for change; while externally it helps to articulate sense of crisis and the need for substantial change. As prognostic frames, I have examined 5 discourses deployed by social movements in the last 12 years. Those discourses are Awakening and Liberation of Papua, New Papua, Papua Land of Peace, Save People and Nature of Papua, and Affirmative Action. The bottom line of those discourses, as I have shown, is self-determination; which is resistance to domination and articulation of agency of the People of Papua. It has political, economic, and cultural aspects in relation to power holders at local, national and global level.

Such redefinitions of self-determination, as I have shown, have different layers of articulation. First, the demand for separate statehood, and related negotiations for improvement through greater (real) autonomy within Indonesia. Second, beyond this specific political dimension, self-determination has another substantial layer, involving self-determination as a claim for subject position, and the demand that people be able to determine their own future, or to exercise their own agency. For Papuan social movement actors today, whilst political disputes need to be settled and negotiated – whether for secession (Independence) or Autonomy (self-government within Indonesian national unity)—other problems of self-determination in the wider economic, social and cultural senses, need to be delinked from political sovereignty issues and tackled separately as problems of human rights and development, with their own dynamics. In other words, beyond the binary opposition of independence and autonomy, lie unlimited possibilities for creative change for survival, dignity and wellbeing of the people of Papua.

Self-determination in these wider frames was viewed as a challenge to state-centred and liberal definitions of development, since it puts people and their nature and culture at the very centre of social change. Self-determination is an instrument in this sense, to claim the human rights needed and the kind of development suited to human survival, wellbeing, and dignity, as well as preservation of nature. In this sense self-determination in Papua is resistance to domination and a call for justice, not only in relation to Indonesia, but global justice.

Finally, struggles for self-determination by social movements, as I have shown in chapter 5, leads to counter-hegemonic human rights and transformatory post-development concepts and practices (or praxis). The components of those praxis includes (1)human being (people) as Subject of human right and development; (2) the recognition of agency of ordinary people; (3) the need for a non-individualistic and non-anthropocentric character of development and human rights; (4) notion to survival, wellbeing, and dignity of people and universe as final ends of development and human rights are; (5) the centrality of social justice, systemic change, and social transformation for human rights and development. These forms of self-determination were being conceived and acted on not only in conventional revolutionary ways (through protests, mass-

mobilizations, campaigns and so on), but through what I called *discursive trans-formative and revolutionary acts*. These involved social movement actors, together or in parts, deploying counter-hegemonic and subversive forms of language (discourse) which challenged mainstream power and knowledge production processes.

Referring to the statue representing injustice in Papua in the introduction of this paper, self-determination is an articulation of 'power to' by the people at the bottom in response to 'power over' is exercised by the people at the top. Process at stake is to determine the social systemic change, towards social justice, not only at local and national level, but also at global level.

Conceptually, this study has contributed a notion of self-determination by social movements in the theoritization of human rights and development. However, instead of claiming conclusive findings, this study provides indicative considerations for future research. One of the potential issues is the foundations and implications of counter-hegemonic human rights and transformatory post-development: how are they possible in practice, which are the conditions, and what the implications are. The other problem is the issue of Agency or Subject position of people, individually and collectively, including indigenous and the oppressed groups, in human rights law and in economic development.

From the dynamics of social movements we can gain lessons learned and theorize them in academic scholarship. However, from the praxis of social movements, we can also learn that knowledge should be exercised not only for the sake of knowledge. Through critical engagement in knowledge praxis, we can contribute to social transformation.

Appendices

Appendix I. List of Interviews, Testimonies, Focus Group Discussions and Workshops

Due to security concerns, this list is not included in this publication!

Appendix II. Elements of New Papua in the writings of 3 Papuan scholars and activists

Authors	Elements
Woskpakrik and Apomfires	• Recognition and respect to specific values of the Papuans • Access for the Papuans for economic opportunities in local, regional and international arena • Freedom from authoritarianism and militarism.
Ayomi	(a) Freedom to take initiatives to manage their own region/community (government from, by and for the people) to improve their own life using their own human capabilities. (b) the executive and legislative positions are occupied by Papuans; so that the Papuans become part of the formal structure. (c) Education for the indigenous Papuans (d) Recognition of indigenous rights (hakulayat) over land, forest, ocean, to the local communities (e) The end of direct violation by the military and cultural violations by the migrants. (f) Freedom of expression, political democratic education to be participate in democracy.
Giay	• Protection to the People and land of Papua • Affirmative actions in the development policies in order to put an end to discrimination and start an empowerment • Recognition to the historical view and identity symbols of the People of Papua • Reconciliation and therapy trauma collective • Papuanization • Demilitarization • Multi-ethnicity • Development that prioritize the human development of the People of the Papua as correction to the development which sees Papua as surplus of resources/wealth for Indonesia.

(Giay 2000, Wospakrik and Apomfires 2000, and Ayomi 2000)

Appendix III. Component of Papua Land of Peace

Component of Peace	Key aspects/elements
Participation	• Rights/obligations to participate in the development of the world we live in • Becoming agents – not victims – of history • Communities must be informed of and involved in determining of government policies • Freedom of aspiration and the expression of opinions • Shared perspectives • Mutual respect • Building a shared awareness gender equality • Using persuasive and adoptive approaches in a range of activities and policies
Solidarity and Tolerance/ Respect	• Commitment to community on the part of its members • Sense of shared destiny – joint responsibility for fortune and misfortune • Shared commitment [1] among Papuans, [2] among Papuans and non-Papuans • Awareness of shared universal values • Coming together as one does not mean being the same as each other; room for difference amid togetherness • Not only accepting – but actively respecting differences • Understanding of difference, different values • Difference is a source of wealth and strengths • Open and critical attitude required • Avoiding fanaticism • Beginning the process of change close to home
Information/Communication	• Communication and information are a key to participation • Information creates opportunities to influence "the world" • Incorrect information misleads people • Accurate information helps people to position themselves • Freedom of opinion • Information is not intended for propaganda/provocations • Information should be factual and analytical
Welfare	• All members of the community have the opportunity to develop themselves • Balance – equality of development • Special efforts to promote protection/strengthening/empowerment for disadvantages groups • Fulfilling primary needs (shelter, food, clothing, and nutrition) • Healthy social environment • Becoming an actor in the economy as a subject of development
Security	• Enjoying a life of peace to feel a sense of physical, social, and psychological/mental security • To live free of threat or arbitrary treatment
Truth and Justice	• Justice: granting and recognizing genuine human rights • Truth: speaking and acting true to actuality (human beings, nature, situation, etc.)

	• Justice and truth: fundamental values in all forms of social interaction • Total abolition of legal immunity • Recognizing the contribution and needs of all members of society • Eradicating the use of religion, doctrines and ideology as a pretext for maintaining political power • Eradicating the tendency to value other people only to the extent that they can be used • Eradicating the manipulation or engineering of facts
Self-reliance	• Feeling a sense of being in control of one's life and not an "object" of other people's interest • Increased self-confidence • Decreased dependence
Self-esteem and recognition	• In the eyes of God, we are all equal, with the same worth and rights • Issues of self-respect and recognition relate to how we conduct ourselves in daily life • The time has come for Papuans to develop and demonstrate their abilities and potentials, while also respecting the potentials of others • Being recognized and recognizing others • Mutual recognition of the existence of all people/ethnic groups as the starting points to building peace
Unity/Harmony	• We are all integral parts of an entity that is far greater than our own existence • Commitment to unity/harmony in terms of the relations between human beings and God, between human beings themselves and between human beings and nature • Commitment to unity in terms of responsible exploitation of nature and related policies

References

Alston, P. (2005) *Non-State Actors and Human Rights, Collected Course of the Academy of European Law.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Alua, A. (2002) *Kongres Papua 2000: Marilah Kita Meluruskan Sejarah Papua Barat.* Jayapura: Sekretariat Presidium Dewan Papua dan Biro Penelitian STFT Fajar Timur.

Alua, A. (2002) *Peringatan 41 Tahun Tragedi Kejahatan Terhadap Kemanusiaan Di Tanah Papua Dan Kemerdekaan Papua Barat.* Jayapura: Sekretariat PDP dan Biro Penelitaian STFT Fajar Timur.

Alua, A. (2006) *Papua Barat Dari Pangkuan Ke Pangkuan: Suatu Ikhtisar Kronologis.* Jayapura: Sekretariat PDP dan Biro Penelitian STFT Fajar Timur.

Alua, A. (2010) 'Evaluasi Singkat Implementasi Otonomi Khusus di Tanah papua dari Januari 2002 s/d Juni 2010', Musyawarah MRP dengan Masyarakat Alsi Papua, June 9, 2010.

Ayomi, M (2000) 'Strategi Pemerintahan dalam Memanfaatkan Sumber Daya Manusia Papua', Jayapura: Makalah Diskusi Panel ISTJ

Ball, O. (2005), 'Conclusion', in Gready, P. & Ensor, J. (eds.), *Reinventing Development: Translating Rights-Based Approaches from Theory into Practice*, London: Zed Books, pp. 278-300

Baxi, U. (2006) *The Future of Human Rights: Upendra Baxi.* New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Brett, R. (2008) *Social Movements, Indigenous Politics and Democratization in Guatemala, 1895-1996 ; [Transl. from the Spanish].* Leiden: Brill

Chauvel, R. and Ikrar Nusa Bhakti (2004) *The Papua conflict: Jakarta's perceptions and policies,* Washington: East West Centre.

Cohen, J.L. and A. Arato (1990) *Civil Society and Political Theory: Jean L. Cohen, Andrew Arato.* Cambridge: MIT Press.

Crisis Group International (2010) 'Indonesia: The Deepening Impasse in Papua'. Jakarta and Brussels: ICG.

de Feyter, K. (2005), 'Avenues of Hope', in de Feyter, K. (ed), Human Rights: Social Justice in the Age of the Market, pp. 135-173. Dhaka: University Press,

Drooglever, P.J. (2009) *An Act of Free Choice: Decolonisation and the Right to Self-Determination in West Papua.* Oxford: Oneworld Publications.

Escobar, A. (1995) *Encountering Development.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Escobar, A. (2007), '"Post Development" as Concept and Social Practice' in Ziai, A. (ed), *Exloring Post-development: Theory and Practice, Problems and Perspectives*, pp. 18-31. London and New York: Routledge,

Escobar, A. (2008) *Territories of Difference: Place, Movements, Life, Redes* Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Escobar, A. (2010) 'Latin America at a Crossroads: Alternative Modernizations, Post-liberalism, or Postdevelopment?" *Cultural Studies* (24) 1: 1-65.

Evans, T. (2005), 'International Human Rights Law as Power/Knowledge', *Human Rights Quarterly* 27, pp.1046-1068.

Fuchs, M. (2004) 'Articulating the World: Social Movements, the Self-Transcendence of Society and the Question of Culture' in Giri, A.K. *Creative Social Research: Rethinking Theories and Methods*, pp.37-56. Maryland: Lexington Books.

Giay, B. (2000) *Menuju Papua Baru: Beberapa Pokok Pikiran Sekitar Emansipasi Orang Papua.* Jayapura: Deiyai/Elsham Papua.

Giay, B. And Y. Kambai (eds) (2003) *Yosepha Alomang: Pergulatan Seorang Perempuan Papua Melawan Penindasan.* Jayapura: Elsham.

Giri, A.K. (2004) 'The Calling of Creative Social Research: Rethinking Theories and Methods' in Giri, A.K. Creative Social Research: Rethinking Theories and Methods, pp.1-36. Maryland: Lexington Books.

Heidbuchel, E. (2007) *The West Papua Conflict in Indonesia: actors, issues, and approaches*, Wettenberg: Johannes Herrmann, J&J-Verlag.

Hernawan, J. B. (2005), *Papua Land of Peace: Addressing Conflict Building Peace in West Papua* (ed). Jayapura: SKP Jayapura

House of People's Representatives, Republic of Indonesia (2001) 'Bill of Law of the Republic of Indonesia no 21 Year 2001 on Special Autonomy of Papua Province'.

Jamison, A. and R. Eyerman (1991) *Social Movements: A Cognitive Approach.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Kennedy, D. & Abrash, A. ((2002), 'Repressive Mining in West Papua', in Evans, G., Goodman, J., & Lansbury, N. (eds) *Moving Mountains: Communities Confront Mining and Globalisation*, pp. 59-74. London: Zed Books,

Kymlicka, W. (1995) *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Majelis Rakyat Papua (2009) 'Keputusan Kultural MRP Tentang Kebijakan Dan Penelenggaraan Hak-Hak Dasar Orang Asli Papua'.

Maria, C. (2006) 'The Politics of Right for Self-Determination: The Case of West Papua', MA thesis. The Hague: Institute of Social Studies.

Marks, S. and A. Clapham, (2004), 'Development' in International Human Rights Lexicon, pp. 91-105. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Marks, S. P. (2005), 'The Human Rights Framework for Development: Seven Approaches', in Sengupta A., Negi, A., & Basu M. (eds), *Reflections on the Right to Development,* New Delhi: Sage Publications India Pvt Ltd, pp. 23-60

Marks, S. P. (2005), 'The Human Rights Framework for Development: Seven Approaches', in Sengupta A., Negi, A., & Basu M. (eds), *Reflections on the Right to Development,* pp. 23-60. New Delhi: Sage Publications India Pvt Ltd.

Marks, S.P. (2003), 'Obstacles of Right to Development', Working Paper published in http://www.harvardfxbcenter.org/resources/working-papers/FXBC_WP17--Marks.pdf, retrieved 7 April 2010

Merry, S.E. (2006) *Human Rights and Gender Violence: Translating International Law into Local Justice.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Meyer, S. (2004) 'Ethnic and Nationalist Movements' in Snow, D.A. and S.A. Soule (eds) *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements,* pp. 266-293 Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Mutua, M. (2007)' Standard Setting in Human Rights: Critique and Prognosis', *Human Rights Quarterly* 29: 547–630.

Ondomawe, J. and Peter King (2003) 'Peaceful dialog over West Papua: the Design of a Way Forwad, Position Paper of The West Papua Project centre of Peace and Conflict Studies No. 1. Sidney: University of Sydney.

Papuan Indigenous Council (2007) 'Statuta Dewan Adat Papua'.

Pettit, P.H. (2001) *A Theory of Freedom: Philip Pettit.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Pieterse, J. N. (2010), *Development Theory: Deconstructions/Reconstructions* (2nd edn). London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Pogge, T. (2002) *World Poverty and Human Rights: Cosmopolitan Responsibilities and Reforms.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Pogge, T. (2008), *World Poverty and Human Rights: Cosmopolitan Responsibilities and Reforms* (2nd edn.). Cambridge: Polity Press

Rahnema, M. (1997) 'Towards Post-Development: Searching for Signposts, a New Language and New Paradigm' , in M. Rahnema and V. Bawtree (eds) The Post Development Reader, p. 377-403. London : Zed Books.

Rajagopal, B. (2003) *International Law from Below: Development, Social Movements, and Third World Resistance.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rajagopal, B. (2006) "Counter-Hegemonic International Law: Rethinking Human Rights and Development as a Third World Strategy",*Third World Quarterly, Vol. 27, No. 5, pp. 767-783.*

Salama, I. (2008), 'The Right to Development: Renewal and Potential' in Marks, S.P. (ed.), *Implementing the Right to Development: The Role of International Law*, pp. 117-126. Geneva: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.

Salih, M, (2010 forthcoming) 'Darfur and the International Community: Self-determination, State-building, and "The Responsibility to Protect"' in Mangala, J *New Security Threats and Crisis in Africa: Regional and International Perspectives,* pp. 149-170. Palgrave: Macmillan.

Saltford, J. (2003) *The United Nations and Indonesian Takeover of West Papua 1962-1969: the anatomy of betrayal.* London and New York: Routledge.

Santos, B.d.S. (2002), 'Towards a Multicultural Conception of Human Rights', in Hernandes-Truyol, B. (ed.), *Moral Imperialism: A Critical Anthology.* New York: New York University Press

Santos, B.d.S. (2007) *Another Knowledge is Possible.* London: Verso.

Sengupta, A. (2002/2005), 'On the Theory and Practice of the Right to Development', , in Sengupta A., A. Negi & M. Basu (eds.) Reflections on the Right to Development, pp. 61-109. New Delhi: Sage Publications India Pvt Ltd.

Sinha, M. and D. Gasper (2010) *How can Power Discourses be Changed?: Contrasting the 'Daughter Deficit' Policy of the Delhi Government with Gandhi and King's Transformational Reframing. Critical Policy Studies*, 1946-018X, Volume 3, Issue 3, pp. 290 – 308.

Snow, D.A. and S.A. Soule (eds) (2004) *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements:* Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Stammers, N. (2009) *Human Rights and Social Movements.* London: Pluto Press.

Sumner, A. & Tribe, M. (2008), *International Development Studies: Theories and Methods in research and Practice.* London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Sztompka, P. (1993) *The Sociology of Social Change: Piotr Sztompka.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Tarrow, S.G. (1998) *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics / Sidney Tarrow.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tebay, N. (2008) *Papua: Its Problems and Possibilities for a Peaceful Solution.* Jayapura: SKP Jayapura.

Tebay, N. (2009) *Dialog Jakarta-Papua: Sebuah Perspektif Papua.* Jayapura: SKP Keuskupan Jayapura.

Tilly, C. (2004) *Social Movements, 1768-2004.* Boulder, CO: Paradigm.

Tilly, C. (2006) *Why?: Charles Tilly.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Tim Perumus (2010) 'Satu Tanah, Satu Hati, Satu Budaya', Executive Summary of the Results of Consultation of MRP and Papuan Indigenous People, Jayapura (June 9-10 2010).

United Nations General Assembly (1960), 'Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples', UNGA Resolution 1514, 14 December 1960).

United Nations General Assembly (1960), International Covenant of Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights', UNGA Resolution 2200A, 16 December 1966

United Nations General Assembly (1966), International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights', UNGA Resolution 2200A, 16 December 1966.

United Nations General Assembly, 1986, 'Declaration on the Right to Development', UNGA Res. 41/128, 4 December 1986.

United Nations General Assembly, 2007, 'Declaration on the Right to Development', UNGA Resolution 61/295, 2 October 2007.

Widjojo, M. S. (2009), *Papua Road Map: Negotiating the Past, Improving the Present and Securing the Future*, Jakarta: LIPI.

Wospakrik, F.A. and Apmfires (2000), 'Strategi Lembaga Pendidikan Tinggi Menyongsong Era Papua Baru', paper presented at Diskusi Panel ISTJ (1 March 2000).

Yaboisembut, F. (2010) 'Pandangan Masyarakat Adat Papua Terhadap Pelaksanaan Otsus Papua Selama 9 Tahun', Paper presented at Consultation of MRP and Papuan Indigenous People, Jayapura (June 9-10 2010).

Yoman, S.S. (2005) *Orang Papua Bukan Separatis, Makar dan OPM*. Jayapura: Lerhamkot.

Yoman, S.S. (2007) *Pemusnahan Etnis Melanesia: Memecah Kebisuan Sejarah Kekerasan di Papua Barat*. Jogjakarta: Galang Press.

Yoman, S.S. (2009) *Suara Bagi Kaum Tak Bersuara*. Jayapura: Deiyai.

Young, I.M. (2007) *Global Challenges: War, Self-Determination, and Responsibility for Justice / Iris Marion Young*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Ziai, A. (2007), 'Development Discourse and Its Critics: an Introduction to Post-development', in Ziai, A. (ed.) Exploring Post-development: Theory and Practice, Problems and Perspectives, pp. 3-17. Oxford: Routledge.