

**DEFORESTATION AS VIOLENCE TOWARD THE
ENVIRONMENT AND WIDER COMMUNITY OF PAPUA 2015-2019**

UNDERGRADUATE THESIS



**UNIVERSITAS
ISLAM
INDONESIA**

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UNIVERSITAS ISLAM INDONESIA**

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Proposed to the Department of International Relations
Faculty of Psychology and Socio-Cultural Sciences
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As a partial fulfillment of requirement to earn

Bachelor Degree in International Relations



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August 30th, 2022



Hanifa Shafak Nurfi

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ABSTRACT

The existence of forests is a natural resource potential that benefits the country's foreign exchange and has various functions that have a positive impact in overcoming the backwardness experienced by the people of Papua. Economic and infrastructure development are the cause of the large potential loss of biodiversity wealth for the implementation of government policies and community needs. Deforestation as an effort to overcome these problems. This forest change is dominated by national forces that ignore human security, this has a major impact on environmental damage and surrounding communities that depend on forests. Through this theory, the author observes how deforestation by the government unintended disturbs human security and triggers various forms of violence by using the concept of the six distinctions of violence by Johan Galtung. Thus, the wealth of natural resources does not make the community more prosperous, but instead makes the community more miserable due to the conflicts and problems that arise in the area. Although deforestation that occurs in Papua will provide high economic benefits and ease of mobilization, deprivation due to deforestation will have a bigger impact to environmental and social than positive impacts that only benefit the stakeholders.

Keywords : *violence, deforestation, papua, and conflict.*

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

The existence of forests is a potential natural resource that is useful for the country's foreign exchange and has various functions that have a positive impact on human survival that cannot be separated. The forest has a capability that can be a big trigger for strengthening peace. Therefore, the increasing number of land use changes that have occurred so far will cause various problems (Mustopa, 2011). The abundant natural resources of gas, gold, oil and marine products do not have a good impact on their economic life or welfare. Based on data from Bappeda Papua Province in 2009, natural resources in Papua Province include; 2.5 million tons of gold and copper mineral reserves, 540 million cubic meters of potential for sustainable commercial timber, and 9 million hectares of large-scale plantation conversion forest. In addition, the length of Papua's coastal area reaches 2,000 miles, water area of 228,000 km², and 1.3 million potential sustainable fisheries per year.

Changes in natural conditions will form an imbalance between the fulfillment of human needs and the ability of nature to trigger violence because of interests that can cause conflict. Current policies tend to be unable to address the problem of forest and land fires in Indonesia, especially in reducing greenhouse gas emissions (Saharjo, 2014). Increased development by opening up to changes in natural conditions will create an imbalance between meeting human needs and natural capabilities, triggering violence because of interests that can lead to

conflict. The alibi of policy makers is to say that their policies will solely improve the welfare of their citizens. In fact, many natural assets are sacrificed through deforestation, loss of biodiversity, soil degradation, and water and air pollution (Firmansyah, 2007). Forest sustainability is threatened by disturbances caused by forest conversion into non-forest areas, especially agricultural and plantation businesses due to an increase in population and their needs (Putra, 2019). The use of land for economic activities gives rise to various violations which will have an impact on the development of conflicts of interest between community groups and the interests of the state sector. Physical changes due to crucial demands will become new conflicts due to scarcity of natural resources by actors who have political power. Therefore, environmental conditions can give rise to potential actions that will oppress the weak by the strong. Prioritizing economic interests, without paying attention to environmental aspects, can raise concerns about forest scarcity, because they cannot provide the fulfillment of natural resources for the next generation (Martanto, 2009). The more physical development activities increase, the wider the need for area conversion. This is the impact, if policy motives that consider forest resources are only assessed from economic benefits, without regard to ecological benefits and the value of forest services.

International Relations deals with many cases related to conflicts and wars between countries, as well as between countries and non-states. The existence of forests has an influence as a binder of global peace which makes it balanced with the interests of nature and human life. When one of the goals of International Relations is to avoid war on a global scale. Theories in International Relations are

also useful for creating peace, both in international, national and local contexts, because Peace Studies does not limit itself to one context (Aji, 2019).

In this case, it can be stated that deforestation includes negative peace, namely conditions of peace without violence, the absence of war or conflict of interests and the loss of fear in society. Uncontrolled forest exploitation becomes a new conflict that will have a fatal impact on human life. Regardless of peace or the absence of war, Peace in Galtung's perspective is categorized into two categories either stronger or weaker. Galtung categorizes them from 'Strong, or Long-lasting Peace' to 'weak or fragile peace' (Webel & Galtung 2007: 11). On the other hand, positive or strong conditions of peace indicate a state of peace in which justice, equality and guaranteed security of society are guaranteed. Even though there is no absence of violence, this condition will be related to the problem of human security conflict. When the relation of forest degradation has a relationship with human life, this becomes an open space for violence, but does not directly hurt physically. Because of that, forests actually have enormous potential for the realization of global peace (Asmawati, 2019). Moreover, the condition in Papua is entirely social, political, economic, human security and environment issues present form a gap started from deforestation. Specifically, deforestation in 2015 was the highest deforestation occurring since the government's interest in enhancing development and infrastructure.

1.2 Research Question

How does deforestation which has been done by the Government considered as violence toward the environment and wider community of Papua in 2015-2019?

1.3 Research Objectives

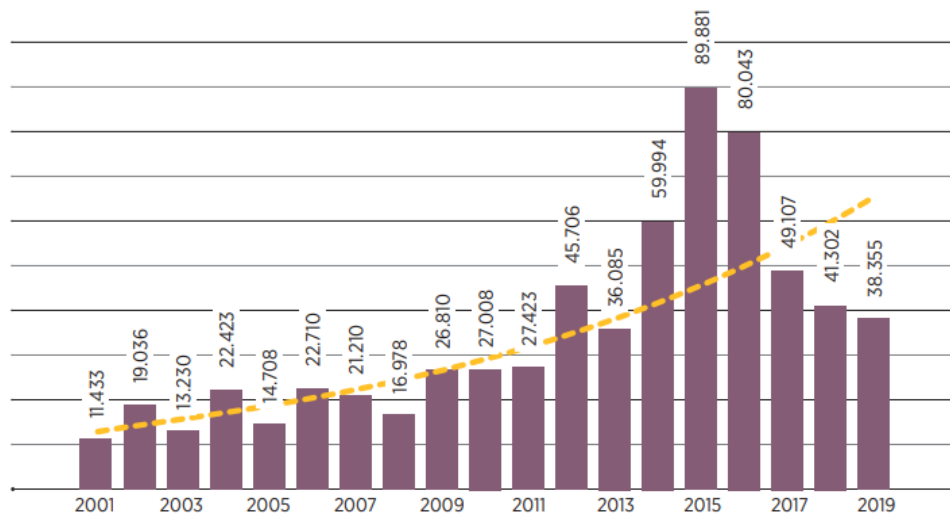
The objectives of this research are:

1. To analyze deforestation as a violence by the government in Papua
2. To explain the impact of environmental damage of deforestation in Papua
3. To identify conflicts tensions that will occur due to deforestation that has been carried out in Papua.

1.4 Research Scope

The scope of the analysis in this study is the possibility of violence and conflict in the environment and community of Papua that government actions that prioritize development will interfere with human security in the environmental, health, and social aspect. In the process of transitioning to an alternative by carrying out deforestation, according to the journal *Deforestasi and Pelepasan Kawasan Hutan di Tanah Papua*, between 2015 and 2019 deforestation graph shows that deforestation in Papua, although decreasing, is still relatively high. This period occurs with the highest deforestation in 2015 which removed 89,881 hectares of natural forest and in 2019 the last year Siti Nurbaya Bakar served as Minister of Environment and Forests who served as a minister since the first period of Joko Widodo's administration.

Graphic 1.4 Timeline deforestation in the last 20 years in tanah papua



Source: | menatap ke timur: deforestasi dan pelepasan kawasan hutan di tanah papua (2021)

1.5 Literature Review

The discussion in this aspect of research focuses on deforestation considered as peace that will disrupt security in the next generation because of the policy to carry out development in the Papua area in 2015-2019 under the government of Siti Nurbaya Bakar which needs to be considered in development, its influence and impact on society.

The First research, according to the book Legal View of Papua and West Papua Indigenous Forest by Herlambang Wiratraman, explains the national policy and legal instruments related to the recognition of Papua's forests. These dynamics in the implementation of the rule of law and what are the factors and who are the actors that influence the operation of the rule of law. As well as the legal strategy for recognizing Papua's forests to protect the rights of indigenous peoples. The mechanism discussed is an option for obtaining customary land rights. There are

many considerations to confirm how the organizers provide legal recognition. However, this study only focuses on policy and implementation without involving human security policies which should also be the subject of discussion in the application of customary forest legal views.

The second research was written by Anggy Denok, it completes an explanation of how development of the Papuan people from colonial times to the present with the title "Papua from Time to time: "Stone Age" to the Present" written by Anggy Denok, this journal highlights the complexity of the problems in Papua which are part of Indonesia's territory. So far, the image of a "stone age society" has been very attached to the people of Papua. This is what drives various efforts to bring Papuan people "to live" in "modern times". Papua has the right to get modernity and mobility that develops together with the opening of new access in the fields of travel, communication and production in the phenomenon of globalization to make Papuans active. This discussion covers mobility, religion, tradition, and the religiosity of the Papuan people and efforts to place modern Papuans in everyday life. However, the discussion widened towards the personal aspects of Papuans regarding the issue of HIV/AIDS, which should have been outside of the matters discussed regarding the underdevelopment of modernization experienced by Papuans.

The third, according to the public administration journal "Custom Law Communities and Ulayat Rights in West Papua Province As Original People Of Papua Viewed From the side of Custom and Culture; a recent Ethnographic Study". The discussion covers customary rights, which are known as two forms of

land tenure/ownership systems, namely communal ownership and individual ownership (individual ownership is hereditary). This journal discusses the cultural area of the indigenous peoples of Papua, language distribution, leadership systems and land tenure systems as indicators for assessing the customary and cultural aspects that have existed for a long time. This journal does not cover political conditions which are matters relating to the people and administration of Papuan customary law.

The fourth is the case of “Papua Conflict: The Government Needs to Change the Approach to Security with a Humane Approach” written by Tangguh Chairil. The data presented really explains the condition of cases that are unresolved, Discussions related to human rights violations, marginalization and racial discrimination that often occur against Papuan identity also continue to increase. The government's role should be to take a humanist approach as an effort to resolve conflicts that have not been resolved to date. Regarding the conflict being discussed, economic development and infrastructure in Papua, should not need to be discussed, because it is outside the humanist approach. However, there are no clear solutions and government efforts to overcome the protracted problem.

The fifth in another area according to the author's research is the Journal entitled Environmental change and violent conflict reads Papua through environmental security by Martanto. The neglected environmental aspect shows that conflict, violence and peace-building in Papua are so weak that they only pay attention to the benefits of natural resource distribution. The environmental security theory in the journal analyzes environmental relations and conflict, with

the argument being that peacebuilding efforts in Papua. However, this study focuses on Papua's demographics, conservation, and environmental scarcity. Meanwhile, based on violent conflict, it is not explored more deeply.

This research will complement previous studies, because this research will look at how the problems related to forests are carried out by the Indonesian government from a different perspective. If other research only focuses on solutions and impacts, this research complements it by involving the government as an actor in the problem. It shows that by the actions taken by some stakeholder or government it is procedurally allowed to carry out deforestation including the policy of releasing forest areas for non-forestry purposes.

1.6 Research Framework

For answering this problem formulation, the research on deforestation is related to the theory of peace and conflict which is related to human security and other forms of large scale violent conflict. This effort provides awareness of the connection between forests and peace according to the main characteristics of Webel and Galtung theory. International Relations deals with many cases related to conflicts and wars. The concept of peace is part of the Science of International Relations transformed from the general idea to stop conflict and change patterns of negative relations. Peace can be defined as a condition where people can live safely and peacefully, regardless of differences in social strata, culture, ethnicity, and others. After the development of Peace studies, forms of conflict emerged and experienced development and renewal. Deforestation is defined as a situation

where forest cover is lost and its attributes have implications for the loss of the structure and function of the forest itself. This degradation issues the deteriorating condition of the forest; it means creating conflict tensions for the community. Because the function of forests has a big capability for strengthening peace. This is one of the factors of the conflict in the natural imbalance and relevant to the facts that occur in the Papua region related to forest issues.

To discuss violence against the human security component of society due to deforestation for development purposes initiated by the government. I will use six distinctions of violence by Johan Galtung to determine and identify the condition of people of Papua experiences. The first distinction made between *physical* and *psychological* violence, mentioned concentrates on the physical point of killing which increases the constraint on human movement. The second distinction is between negative and positive approaches to influence, instead of increasing the movement that terms being manipulative and less overt about awareness of a concept of violence. The third distinction focuses on the side of the object that experienced being injured or not. The fourth distinction is the subject side, the person who commits the violence in personal or direct, and violence in structural or indirect. The fifth distinction is violence that is intended or unintended, the concept by Judeo-Christian ethics and in Roman jurisprudences, the concept of guilt has been tied more to intention to be decided. The sixth distinction is called traditional. There are two levels of violence, the manifest tends to be personal or structural which is easy to observe. While the latent is something not there but it can easily happen.

1.7 Provisional Argument

The extent of land and forest areas that have been cut and burned to date are influenced by human interests for economic and social development. The high rate of deforestation every year will have a negative impact on environmental sustainability and social life in the future. At this time, forests are able to become a binder of peace in the interests of various countries in the world. when the forest begins to give concern and various negative impacts will cause various conflicts that will threaten human life in the future. The government as a policy maker needs to pay attention to and maximize sectors that have the potential to be developed with the resources they have to increase economic growth in catching up.

Because of deforestation in Papua, the first distinction is between physical and psychological violence that the people of Papua will experience psychological violence as internal pressure, raising trauma and stress because they lose control over their land and experience physical violence which is external pressure in the form of conflict over disputes and riots. The second distinction is the negative and positive effects. If the government fails to carry out deforestation, the negative impact will cause disruption of access for isolated residents. While in the positive influence, it is increasing the welfare that provides opportunities to improve the quality of the economy and employment. The third distinction focuses on the object during the period of development and degradation of objects in deforestation toward the environment and wider community of Papua. The fourth distinction, the subject who has a role in this case, the government of Indonesia,

under the authority of the Ministry of Forestry for the purposes of maximizing development and commercial gain. The fifth distinction is categorized as intended violence, the conditions have been planned, because the government prioritizes economic interests over human security. Last, the sixth distinction between manifest and latent level, it is categorized as manifest violence, direct forest destruction through clear-cutting, burning, and illegal logging, as evidence that actions are triggering conflict.

1.8 Research Methods

1.8.1 Types of Research

The research method uses descriptive qualitatively based on existing data and describes analysis with relevant concepts. Qualitative method exploring the issues from various resources and obtaining literature as secondary data to be discussed caused by massive deforestation in Papua.

1.8.2 Research Subject and Object

In this study, the Government of Indonesia determined as a Subject in deforestation during the reign of Siti Nurbaya Bakar. The object in this study is Papua, an area that is still full of forests and far from progress, so this study considers the consequences of massive deforestation in Papua and considers the negative peace that will occur to residents and living things due to environmental degradation for economic and social interests.

1.8.3 Methods of Collection Data

This qualitative approach collects the data from literature study as secondary data to analyze based on existing data and considers the impact related

to the case. Explaining the concept of deforestation by applying the theory proposed by Galtung Weber and Green Theory about peace to answer the formulation of the problem in this research from documents, journals, articles, scientific journals, websites, official government websites that are relevant to this case.

1.9 Thesis outline

Chapter I: contains an introduction which consists of the background of the research, the formulation of the problem that shows the focus of the research, the research objectives that are intended to be in accordance with the formulation of the problem, the significance of the research which shows its relevance to international relations, the scope of the research which contains the reference limits used in the research and research method consisting of the type of research, subject and object of research, data collection methods, and data collection processes.

Chapter II: contains a description of the problem based on a framework of thought. Then, it describes the interest of deforestation and various conflict triggers. Also, clarifies how the problem is considered to answer the problem formulation.

Chapter III: contains an explanation of the argumentative framework with the support of data describe as a problem and explaining with the application of the framework.

Chapter IV: contains the conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER II

THE DEFORESTATION OF PAPUA AND THE FACTOR THAT CAUSE VIOLENCE

2.1 The Purpose of Deforestation at Papua

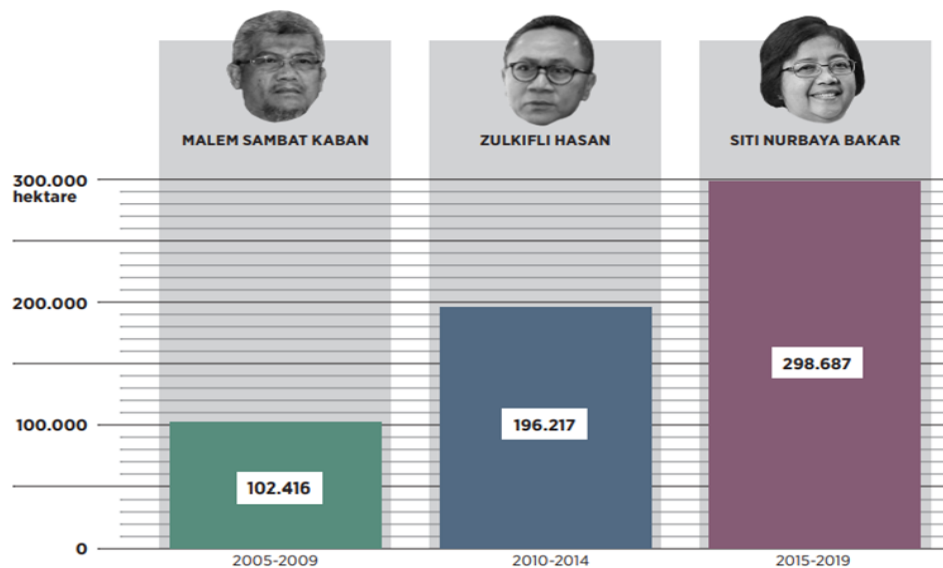
Economic development has undergone changes that include broader dimensions and are integrated and cover various aspects of life. Therefore the notion of development must be seen dynamically and not as a static concept (Surya, 2013). The issue of forest degradation to accelerate economic and social development which sacrifices the environment and ignores human security creates a gap between the environment and the violent conflict that will occur. Deforestation in Indonesia is largely the result of a corrupt political and economic system, which views natural resources, especially forests, as a source of income that can be exploited for political gain and personal gain (Arif 2016). Deforestation that occurs in Papua will produce high economic results, but this will have an impact on the sustainability of living things and biodiversity. Along with the increase in economic and transportation activities, the level of pollution will also be higher and activities that are damaging to the environment will also occur.

The forestry industry has an important role in the Indonesian economy not only as a provider of the main raw materials for downstream industries, especially logs, but also to increase economic growth through added investment value, increased export performance, state revenues through tax and non-tax, as well as creating business opportunities and absorbing manpower work (Mutaqin, Nurhayani, and Rahayu 2022). Direct economic benefits from various forms of

forest and timber entrepreneurs who provide a source of livelihood for local communities. The use of forests for economic reasons provides foreign exchange, especially for the regions, contributes to employment and increases the standard of living and regional income. Collaboration with outsiders forms the concept that forests can generate money with high offers made by investors without considering whether the forest will be damaged or not, so that the potential for forest loss as a sustainable source of life in Papua is still being neglected, and government policies that only focus commercialized forest resources.

The Ministry of Environment and Forestry of the Republic of Indonesia reported that the rate of deforestation against the distribution of natural forests. The graph below shows the trend of increasing deforestation over the last 20 years in Tanah Papua with the highest deforestation occurring in 2015.

Graphic 2.1 Deforestation in Tanah Papua per periode of the minister of forestry.



Source: Menatap ke Timur Deforestasi dan Pelepasan Kawasan Hutan di Tanah Papua (2021).

Overall, deforestation has decreased annually since the peak year of 2015, however the extent of deforestation remains relatively high. Large-scale land clearing in certain forest areas is still legal in Indonesia, although some of the land clearing activities may be illegal. The use of forests is largely dominated by economic reasons to be able to provide foreign exchange for the country, contribute to employment, improve people's living standards, increase local revenues, increase taxes to the Central Government and Regional Governments, as well as one way of fulfilling domestic industrial needs (Tando, 2019). The economic potential of Papua's deforestation is estimated at trillions of rupiah which can advance the stability of economic prosperity, but this comes at the cost of high environmental costs and long-term impacts that are not easy to recover. In the management of the economic system, mismanagement adds new reasons for the destruction of natural resources and forms a conflict that will have a serious impact on social life.

According to Forest Watch Indonesia, forest destruction is caused by forest governance policies that are influenced by global economic forces. This can be seen in the political economy policies that are pro-investment, both foreign and domestic, in the forestry, agriculture and mining sectors, which aim to increase economic development, have contributed to the destruction of forests in Indonesia. This is caused by policies on the management and utilization of forest resources that place more emphasis on economic aspects and are less pro-social and environmental (Ap, 2010). Thus, in the economic aspect, the natural resources of Papua's land are controlled by corporations and immigrants, the majority of indigenous Papuans live below the poverty line. This condition of poverty is then

exploited by irresponsible investors, who want quick profits by encouraging people to engage in illegal logging.

2.2 Factor that Lead to Violence

Deforestation or scarcity of environmental cover occurs because the government is unable to solve environmental problems effectively and fairly, this is aimed at community groups against social, political and economic factors that will weaken. Environmental resources, which should be a major manifestation of a prosperous life, have become a trigger for economic, social and conflict disparities in the Papuan people. Even though this issue sparked a conflict that did not lead to an open physical war. However, the various protests and concerns of other countries have put pressure on Indonesia as one of the countries that should have the highest investment in forest resources in the world (Asmawati et al. 2019a).

Environmental degradation is related to problems that refer to policies that are not in accordance with the local culture, unbalanced extraction of natural resources, and neglected security approaches. The socio-political conflict between the Papuan people and the Indonesian government has been going on for decades. Since Papua joined Indonesia in 1963, the Papuan people have felt unrecognized and unappreciated by the central government. injustice and disputes between community groups form the marginalization of indigenous Papuans resulting in prolonged conflicts not only losing control over their lands but also non-Papuan groups also dominate economic activities in the Land of Papua.

Conflicts and violences continue to occur in Papua between community groups, between communities and security forces, as well as between

communities and companies. This conflict and violence can have a devastating impact on human security in Papua. uncertain security conditions; lameness of development that does not reflect the principle of justice; impartiality towards indigenous Papuans, the severe level of damage to forest ecosystems and the development of a more profitable market economy for stakeholders.

This condition causes local governments to look to explore various regional potentials that have economic value available in their area, including the economic potential of forests. It is in this context that policies overlap between the central government and regional governments. Control over land economic assets in Papua still faces various challenges, such as neglecting the rights of local communities, corrupt practices and unsustainable land acquisitions. If conditions of inequality continue to grow along with unemployment and poverty in plantation business areas, this condition will encourage social conflict (Kharisma, 2018). Various projects are often carried out without the consultation and consent of indigenous peoples, giving rise to dissatisfaction and with indigenous peoples feeling unappreciated and neglected. On the other hand, the existence of indigenous peoples is increasingly dependent on subsidies given by the central government.

2.2.1 Land Confiscation

The practice of land grabbing often occurs through the mechanism of violence and land politics which marginalizes people's rights to the land. (Asy'ari, 2022). land which is a high-value commodity is used as capital interests that only benefit dominant groups such as the government and companies. The government's tendency to ignore rights and take action to grab land belonging to

the Papuan people will certainly lead to conflicts, especially political wounds that have arisen for a long time because of environmental problems and the destruction of natural resources that have occurred in Papua.

Cases of land grabbing take over areas belonging to indigenous peoples without legal permission for land development and the absence of legal approval and expropriation for economic sustainability corporations. New businesses based on existing land monopolies, for example, are conversions from production forests to plantations. The agrarian movement group and the environmental movement broadly see that there has been a shift in the function of land that has socio-economic value to become purely economic value (Asy'ari, 2022).

Based on Human Rights Watch in 2020, land grabbing in Papua has led to conflicts between indigenous peoples and companies. Indigenous peoples are often forced to leave their lands or face oppression, violence and criminalization if they try to defend their rights. The report also notes that existing laws and regulations to protect indigenous peoples' rights are often not enforced effectively.

Table 2.2.1 Cases of land grabbing in Papua that occurred between 2015 and 2019

No	Location	Years	Actor	Cases Details
1.	Distrik Dogiyai, regency Dogiyai, Papua.	2015	PT. Putra Dewa	Confiscation of land owned by local indigenous peoples for the benefit of palm oil plantations. PT. Putra

				Dewa has denied allegations of land grabbing and claims to have obtained permission from the local government. However, after pressure from various parties, the company finally signed a peace agreement
2.	Distrik Waigeo, regency Raja Ampat, Papua Barat.	2016	PT Anugerah Surya Pratama (ASP)	Confiscation of land belonging to local indigenous peoples for the benefit of gold mining. Indigenous peoples in the area feel disadvantaged because they are not given proper compensation for the confiscation of their land. They also alleged that the mining company was destroying the environment which

				damaged natural resources and biodiversity in the region.
3.	Distrik Mimika, regency Mimika, Papua.	2017	PT. Freeport Indonesia	According to a report issued by the Commission for Missing Persons and Victims of Violence (KontraS), PT. Freeport Indonesia has taken customary lands controlled by local communities without providing proper compensation. The company has also been criticized for destroying the environment and not meeting adequate safety standards for its workers.

4.	Distrik Sugapa, regency Intan Jaya, Papua.	2019	PT. Tunas Sawa Erma	<p>An oil palm plantation company operating in the area. Local indigenous peoples have made various efforts to stop the company's actions, including holding protests and peaceful demonstrations. Out of the 49 permits for the area of the oil palm plantation company, only 12 permits have realized plantation areas. However, acts of violence from security forces assigned to maintain order and security, as well as interference from irresponsible individuals, caused the conflict to escalate.</p>
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Sources: Analysis made by the author using several resources.

The Indonesian government has issued several regulations to protect the rights of indigenous peoples in Papua, such as Law Number 21 of 2001 concerning Special Autonomy for the Province of Papua, and Government Regulation Number 40 of 2007 concerning Land Rights of Indigenous Peoples in Forest Areas. However, the implementation of these regulations still faces many obstacles, including a lack of awareness and commitment from related parties.

2.2.2 Illegal Logging

Institutions that should control forest protection, in fact, are forest utilization permit holders (PBPH) as actors who carry out illegal logging activities by utilizing "Cooperation" by cutting down trees that do not have a valid permit. The high demand for wood at home and abroad is not comparable with the ability to supply the timber industry (legal logging). This imbalance between supply and demand for wood encourages illegal logging practices in national parks and conservation forests (Novita Eleanora, n.d.).

Forest Management System in Indonesia which opens space for illegal logging practices to occur. Weak government governance and lack of coordination between agencies involved in forest management, ineffective supervision and law enforcement, illegal loggers will feel safe to carry out illegal practices freely. The illegal timber industry is a timber industry that is unable to fulfill various permit administration requirements and does not have guarantees (certainty) for the

supply of legal wood raw materials, so it is not bound by timber administration administration obligations (Basuki, 2013).

Unscrupulous timber management companies carry out illegal practices by falsifying permit documents to make it easier to cut trees illegally and lack of supervision which is always increasing every year and causing various conflicts such as conflicts over forest rights, conflicts over authority to manage forests between the Central Government and Regional Governments and indigenous peoples local. Almost of the forests in Indonesia are controlled by the government and management rights are given to individuals or the private sector through a licensing mechanism; however, as a public good, the government's right to control forest resources is not absolute because of the rights of other people and incomplete ownership rights due to the high cost of maintaining the existence of these forests/enforcement (Fauzi, 2010).

Some of the things that make it difficult to deal with illegal logging in border areas, namely; considering that illegal logging is an organized crime, the involvement of intellectual actors, the involvement of law enforcement in providing food to perpetrators, weak supervision in border areas, weak public knowledge regarding forest resources that are beneficial to society apart from illegal logging (Irawan, 2020). Besides that, the high demand for wood needs is inversely proportional to the supply so that demand for wood from abroad is unable to meet the high demand for wood, causing large quantities of wood to be smuggled. Moreover, the export opportunities for logs make it difficult to detect cross-border illegal timber sales flows. In the social aspect, the pressures of life experienced by local people who live in and around the forest encourage them to

cut wood, both for their own needs and for market needs through the hands of investors.

2.2.3 Discrimination against indigenous people and activists.

A complex and ongoing problem, the people of Papua are often neglected in obtaining security and justice. Ethnic diversity has become massive racial discrimination by the Indonesian people by ignoring the essence and meaning of diversity tolerance. The social consequences were mass riots and rebellions carried out by the Papuan people in various places (Bahirah, 2022). Differences in treatment are the basis of discrimination in terms of skin color, class, ethnicity, gender, economy, religion and so on. This can trigger the sentiment of the separatist movement because they are reluctant to respect the freedom of expression of the activists which refers to the separation conflict because of the insecure situation that political activists have to face. Discrimination against Papuans by newcomers or non-Papuans is a fairly complex problem. Since the last few years, indigenous Papuans often feel discriminated against in various aspects of life, such as access to education, health, and even human rights. The researcher found that until now the racial discrimination experienced by the Papuan people is an unfinished problem in Indonesia. This is because the government and the people of Indonesia still ignore this problem (Indah Bahirah et al., n.d.).

In recent years, the efforts of activists to fight for the rights of indigenous Papuans, through courts and international campaigns to escape conflict, violence and underdevelopment. Because racism against the Papuan people is increasingly worrying, activists and the people of Papua have taken the initiative to carry out

the #PapuanLivesMatter movement with the aim of demanding justice and equality (Bahirah, 2022). However, many indigenous Papuans still face difficulties in defending their rights due to legal injustice and dominant corporate power influencing the government's exploitative policies. Moreover, the community has lost control over their land due to the domination of large numbers of newcomers, which has led to increased social tensions, exacerbating the security situation in Papua. In the future, it is feared that native Papuans will become a minority on their own land due to marginalization and weak enforcement of law and community protection.

CHAPTER III

THE SIX DISTINCTIONS OF VIOLENCE IN THE DEFORESTATION OF PAPUA

3.1 The First Distinction is between Physical and Psychological Violence

Johan Galtung, as a founder of peace studies, has explained his views on violence in the resolution of conflict. First, he explains the distinction between physical and psychological violence. The distinction is trite, but, especially with the concept of violence, it only concentrates on physical violence. When physical violence occurs, humans are somatically injured, and may even be killed. Somatic violence includes anatomical attacks, such as crushing, burning or poisoning. Psychological violence consists of lies, brainwashing, doctrination, and threats with the purpose of diminishing mental potentialities.

In the description of both physical and psychological violence, what we can see, there have been psychological and physical violations committed by the government against the people of Papua indirectly. There are several factors that lead to the conclusion violations occur. First, the Indonesian government has failed to provide a sense of security and calm to the community, it should give priority to protecting the community because of the government's development interests. Then, even though the impact of deforestation does not directly cause misery. The Indonesian government will not stop deforestation, perhaps only to reduce the scale of development.

In the form of internal pressure or psychological violence, which increases their trauma and stress because they lose control over their land. In cases of deforestation, indigenous peoples who have lived and depended on forest

ecosystems for fulfilling the economic needs of their daily lives are forced to sacrifice forest products or give up their ancestral lands so that they can be sold to stakeholders for development or other commercial matters. As a result of changing their livelihoods inadequately, the experience of dealing with outsiders who are considered to have robbed them of the peace of life so far, as a result, stress has befallen them (Safitri 2011). Those who have given up their livelihoods through the release or sale of their natural resources, will likely fall into poverty. Not only do they lose the natural resources that were the basis of their livelihoods, they also lose their cultural and psychological connection to their forests (tanah papua: perjuangan yang berlanjut untuk tanah dan penghidupan 2011).

Deforestation contributes to the triggering of riots and conflicts between Papuan people. The rate of deforestation requires Papuans to adapt quickly and forces them to become something different from their traditions. Change creates tension and conflict, especially between local residents and newly arrived outsiders. It also creates conflicts among companies and the government (“Pandangan-Hukum-Hutan-Adat-Papua” 2018). In the development conducted during this Jokowi administration era, the government has prioritized "welfare" development programs, such as the development of infrastructure and connectivity, roads, airports, ports, communication networks, markets and so on. These development programs have been increasing over the last three years; however, they have not stopped acts of violence and human rights violations. These have, in fact, increased in number during the Jokowi administration. According to research on land and deforestation in Papua in 2017, cases of demonstrations followed by bans and arbitrary arrests occurred at a number of

different times and as many as 345 people were arrested with as many as 137 being tortured. The emergence of disputes or friction due to differing interests can turn into a movement of separatism or rebellion, which then demands separation from the territory of Indonesia because of losses to one of the parties involved. This further adds to problems such as development failures, marginalization of the Papuan population, human rights violations and even abuse of natural resources in the disputed areas. Conflicts of this kind often have an impact on the security and well-being of civil society forcing people to seek protection for themselves and even flee out of fear of becoming targets of armed groups. It is important to recognize that both physical and psychological violence can have significant impacts on individuals and communities, and that these impacts are interrelated. Therefore, efforts to tackle deforestation need to incorporate efforts to reduce losses and encourage healing for affected individuals and communities.

Thus, determining the emergence of violence this deforestation categorized as physical violence occurs when there is government friction that wants to dominate control for capitalism purposes by discriminating against Papuans which results in conflicts and demonstrations. The complexity of conflict resolution in Papua is caused by the character of the conflict which is difficult to unravel from a single perspective. Aspects driving the conflict, such as: social injustice, economic inequality, political representation, respect for local culture, and environmental damage have been sublimated in the actuality of the daily lives of the Papuan people (Martanto, 2007).

3.2 The Second Distinction is between the Negative and Positive Approach to Influence

The second distinction is between the negative and positive approach to influence. In 1967, Galtung defined negative peace as the absence of war and violence and positive peace as the existence of fairness, equality and more lasting cultural development. An individual can be influenced not only by punishing him when he does what the influencer deems wrong, but also by rewarding him when he does what the influencer deems right. Instead of increasing the constraints on his movement, the constraints can be reduced, and somatic abilities can be extended rather than decreased. This may be easily agreed upon, but the question is whether or not it has anything to do with violence. It does, because the end result may still be humans who are effectively prevented from realizing their potential. Therefore, contemporary thinkers emphasize that the consumer society rewards those who consume moderately, while not positively punishing those who do not. The system can be categorized as reward-oriented, based on euphoria promises, yet reduces the range of action. It may be argued whether this is better or worse than a system that limits the range of action due to the dysphoric consequences of staying outside the allowable range. This may be better to provide pleasure than pain, worse at being more manipulative, less open. However, the important thing is that awareness of the concept of violence has become a wider topic to be discussed.

In the positive approach, if stakeholders continue to carry out deforestation successfully, it will increase welfare and provide opportunities to improve the quality of the economy and employment. Increasing deforestation is seen as a

means of creating space for infrastructure development for regional growth, which facilitates population accessibility, provides broad economic development opportunities and reduces social inequalities among people. According to Edy Priyono, the Main Expert Deputy II of the presidential staff office which regulates development in the province of Papua, socio-economic conditions in Papua improved in the 2015-2019 period. During that period, the poverty rate in Papua fell from 28.40% to 27.53%. The unemployment rate also fell from 3.99% to 3.65%. Even the Papuan Human Development Index rose from 57.25 to 60.84. So, in general, this has had a positive effect on equity in improving the economic life of the community. Taking advantage of accelerated economic development from forest products to alleviate poverty is more profitable. There will then be a domino effect in the form of increasing economic growth, employment, and people's income in the Papua region (Sianipar and Nurish 2021).

In the negative approach, if the government doesn't carry out deforestation, the negative impact will be the disruption of access for isolated residents. The image of a "stone age society" is still very much attached to the people of Papua, and this is what drives various efforts to bring the Papuan people to "live" in "modern times" (Sukmawati, 2018). Deforestation provides an easy way of access in some cases, especially if the forest land cleared is used for a transportation route or as a footpath to facilitate mobilization / facilitate community interaction. If the forest remains dense, people may have to travel longer distances to reach their destinations to meet their daily needs, which inevitably consumes more time and transportation costs. The construction of the Trans Papua road is the government's effort to reduce logistics costs and boost the

economy in areas along the main road corridor. It is hoped that the construction of the Trans Papua road will connect areas that have this far been isolated with existing centers of economic activity (Sianipar and Nurish 2021). The transportation is an easier means to reach people who are covered in forest areas as air access can only reach certain areas. The development of the Papua region provides a particularly difficult challenge as it has problems with minimal access or networks to facilitate access to community socialization with limitations.

However, this deforestation is categorized as a positive approach to influence regional and local economic growth. This condition will provide open access to increase people's income and changes in people's mobility. Infrastructure development in Papua receives special attention from the central government to open access to transportation for increasing the social and economic activities of the community to the hinterlands which were built from 2014 until now (Kambu, 2022).

3.3 The Third Distinction is the Object Side: Objects Who Were Hurt

The third distinction focuses on the side of the object and whether the objects were injured or not. Is it possible that in this case physical and biological objects were injured? When a person, a group, or even a country uses physical violence, the act of threatening violence can directly hurt the object. Such acts can include testing nuclear weapons or even just throwing stones at someone, the threat of mental violence is indirectly considered as psychological violence since it creates tension among human actions. Based on this, untruthfulness is considered violence in any condition. The destruction of the individual and as

threats of possible destruction of people, and the destruction of something considered valuable to consumers or owners.

In line with physical violence that reaches an object, namely civil society. This deforestation leads to violence, clashes and disturb human security although the government has no intention to harm society. This case shows how large-scale natural resource utilization and development projects in Papua have caused various socio-cultural, economic, legal and environmental problems, making the environment and people the objects and even victims in this case. Economic development is the reason for the large potential loss of biodiversity wealth as it occurs to meet infrastructure development and housing needs. This has been done under the pretext of supporting the economy, but in fact the government did not consider or implement the applicable laws, resulting in the Papuan people becoming victims. Various policies that have been set show that the protection of Papua is not a priority for the government. In addition, there are no regulations to prevent cases of illegal logging or indiscriminate forest burning which affects the quality of life of Papuans due to the uncontrolled environmental damage and pollution. Seeing that there is still pressure, threats, cases of violence, persecution, and violations of human rights in Papua, it can be said that the Indonesian side is still more concerned with national security than human security (Yonatan and Jurusan 2018). In this case, the security of the community's right to life is threatened because of the government's anticipatory policies regarding the negative impacts of deforestation. Prohibition of freedom of expression in cases of deforestation is considered criminal silencing of rights and limiting space for movement. According to internal data from the Papua National Committee, during

the April-May 2015 period there were acts of suppression of freedom of expression and violence by the police during which around 82 Papuan activists and people were arrested, and then questioned by the Jayapura police.

The ecological impacts of forest degradation due to burning, illegal logging and deforestation have caused loss of biodiversity and destruction of habitats and have driven very significant long-term carbon emissions for ecosystems. Tropical forests as a storehouse of biodiversity are thought to have shrunk by more than half, and even agricultural land has experienced degradation, both in quality and quantity (Anonymous, 2006). Deforestation produces emissions because the trees that are cut release carbon stored in the trees' biomass. This increases the amount of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere, which has an impact on global climate change, including increasing the Earth's average temperature, causing unstable weather patterns, and increasing the occurrence of natural disasters. These impacts can have significant and long-term consequences for ecosystems and the resources they provide, such as fresh water, air and soil.

Overall, deforestation that raises violence will further strengthen the resistance of indigenous peoples as a victim. Papuan environmental activists are often silenced when trying to voice their rights to protect and preserve the environment. They are the target of intimidation, threats and repressive actions from those in power.

3.4 The Fourth Distinction is on the Subject Side: Subjects Who Acted

The fourth distinction, the most important one, is on the subject side: (person) who acted and as a subject. The type of violence that the subject commits

can be personal or direct, but there is also violence that is not structural or has indirect actors. In the first type, consequences can be tracked to concrete people as actors, there may not be any individual who directly hurt another person in a structured way. The violence is developed from structure and occurs as unequal power and consequently unequal life opportunities.

The government has the authority to regulate and maintain everything related to forest resources, both forest areas and forest products. The government also has the authority to establish forest legal relations with people and regulate legal actions regarding forestry (Fatimah 2018). As already mentioned, the government and even private companies are among the actors involved and have roles in establishing policies and regulations related to forest and natural resource management. The Minister of Environment and Forestry Siti Nurbaya Bakar made a statement at the end of January 2018 which sparked controversy. She stated that development under President Joko Widodo should not stop in the name of carbon emissions or deforestation. Of course, the government, as a stakeholder, is aware of the decisions it is making and that they are contradictory to Indonesia's goal of reducing emissions by 2030. The government's role in maximizing the use of resources is considered to be supportive of the country's economy and thus the people's welfare, but, in the process, a lot of environmental burdens impact the welfare of society. However, the considerations used are no longer objective when it comes to overcoming poverty, but are more likely to be motivated by the political interests of the authorities to maintain their power (Zaini 2010).

It is important for actors to consider the potential consequences of their actions and take steps to reduce the negative impacts of deforestation. Thus, the

challenges for the timber industry are getting tougher and tougher with time. Even so, the government continues to encourage the forestry industry in Indonesia to continue to develop (Mutaqin, Nurhayani, and Rahayu 2022).

3.5 The Fifth Distinction is between Violence that is Intended or Unintended

The fifth distinction is between violence that is intended or unintended. This distinction is necessary when guilt needs to be decided. The concept of guilt is tied more to intention, not only in Judeo-Christian ethics but also in Roman jurisprudence, than to consequence (however, the present definition of violence is completely located on the consequence side). This connection is important because it brings into focus a bias present in so much thinking about violence, peace, and related concepts: ethical systems directed against intended violence will easily fail to capture structural violence in their nets - and may hence be catching the small fry and letting the big fish loose. From this fallacy it does not follow, in our minds, that the opposite fallacy of directing all attention against structural violence is elevated into wisdom. If the concern is with peace, and peace is absence of violence, then action should be directed against personal as well as structural violence.

Forests that have been converted to other land uses owned by Papua generate greater regional income or at least become a source of income for the people who live around the forest. There is an impact on forest destruction by forestry governance policies that are influenced by economic power. Various conflicts that arise due to the environment, require Papuans to adapt to the tension of conflicts between residents from outside and within and even conflicts with companies and the government. However, this is categorized as an unintended

violation, the causes of deforestation are based on economic power and government policies for the overcoming of backwardness and lack of infrastructure development experienced by the people of Papua. Even though there is no intention to damage the environment or disturb human security, environmental policy and control factors have not been able to overcome the destruction of the forest.

The power of national forces by the government as drivers of forest loss due to policies and abuse of authority form serious violations of human rights and environmental sustainability. Development policies that are implemented should be made to ensure synchronization of meeting economic and political interests in the region. The groups of people are becoming marginalized because their rights and obligations to live safely and peacefully are being disturbed. Social facts show that poverty is also not a new thing and is proof that the government has not been able to properly handle the welfare of the people of Papua. In the end, the policies set have created a conflict of authority between the central and regional governments in managing forest resources (Sudiyono, 2007). The lack of understanding of the regional situation by stakeholders in designing policies actually adds new problems. This is what is meant by the resource curse: natural resource wealth does not make the community more prosperous, but on the contrary makes the community more miserable due to conflicts and problems that arise in the area (Zaini 2010). Thus, the unintended deforestation to harm society, damage the environment and cause conflict because of the policy and decision making have significant impacts to society and environmental sustainability.

3.6 The Sixth Distinction is the Traditional Distinction between the Two Levels of Violence: Manifest and Latent

In the sixth distinction, there are two levels of violence: *manifest* and *latent*. Manifest violence has a personal and structural aspect that is observable, although can be indirect since the theoretical entity of ‘potential realization’. While, latent violence is something that doesn’t exist, but can arise easily. According to Galtung, the understanding of the basics of conflict starts from the ABC triangle, which consists of attitudes that refer to the psychological condition of actors. Behavior includes actions that are positive or negative. Also, the contradiction refers to the general situation in political, economic, and social terms, such as allocating scarce resources, land disputes, or unequal political representation.

In this case, the stakeholder’s attitude of conducting deforestation in Papua has a broad impact in commercial terms, and doesn’t consider the negative impacts on social and environmental stability. Deforestation is included in manifest violence where perpetrators are seen and have an indirect impact on communities/people who live in forests or whose lives depend on forests. This manifest conflict occurs and is realized by individuals or groups who are in the conflict. It can be seen in the attitude of the Indonesian government when making decisions as an actor. The government regulates its projects with a focus on only development elements and does not attempt to find out whether deforestation has a negative impact on environmental damage or if there is a guarantee of human security that is accepted by the community. Facts and data show that there is an increasing concentration of land tenure for capital accumulation by certain groups,

which is carried out by seizing people's rights to land and other natural resources, including water, forests, mineral mines, garden land, and so on. This land grabbing is followed by violence, criminalization, and violations of human rights (HAM) that is experienced by the poor, sharecroppers, farm laborers, indigenous peoples, and human rights defenders (Samperante 2020).

This is evidence of manifest violence in this case; they lost natural resources, including food, clean water, and the right to a decent life through threats to their livelihoods through food shortages and structural poverty, which ultimately creates serious social inequality and tension. They are victims of an economic system that tends to be impartial to the limitations of the poor (Zaini 2010).

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

4.1 Conclusion

The forest ecosystem owned by Papua is considered the cultural identity of the people. Various interests carried out by stakeholders and even the government to achieve the goals of realizing economic development in the Papua region have made deforestation an ecosystem signal with the information in the form of critical ecological changes that have a major impact on human relations. Exploitation of Papua's forests on a large scale raises various problems and has made Papuans a marginalized group. Social injustices and economic oppression that remain unresolved include recognizing the rights of indigenous peoples, stopping human rights violations, building infrastructure with the involvement of local communities, and managing natural resources in a sustainable way.

High dependency on forests by several ethnic groups on this Earth, forms practices that are detrimental to many parties, such as illegal logging, land confiscation, discrimination against indigenous people, and causes various forms of violence. This incident is also proof that the people in Papua live under pressure and are far from safe, because the Indonesian government is still focused on improving the economy and development without considering environmental security and the wider community. The deforestation that has occurred in Papua has produced high economic results, but will also have an impact on the sustainability of living things and biodiversity. As a result, the socio-economic conditions in Papua improved in the 2015-2019 period. The poverty rate in Papua fell from 28.40% to 27.53% and the unemployment rate from 3.99% to 3.65%.

Even the Papuan Human Development Index rose from 57.25 to 60.84. In general, this has had a positive effect on equity in improving the economic life of the community, by taking advantage of accelerated economic development from forest products to alleviate poverty.

How is the deforestation which was done by the Government considered violence towards the environment and wider community of Papua in 2015-2019? The *first* distinction is between physical and psychological violence. The Papuan environment and wider community experienced physical violence in the form of external pressure has arisen as conflicts because of friction between the interests of the government and the community, causing riots and disputes. The interests of the government are prioritizing "welfare" development programs has not stopped the acts of violence and human rights violations, which are increasing in number. On the other hand, psychological violence in the form of internal pressure due to loss of control of their land, causing trauma and stress because they lose resources, the basis of their livelihoods for development progress or other commercial matters.

Second is the distinction between negative and positive approaches. Deforestation has a bigger positive impact that increases welfare by providing opportunities to improve the quality of the economy. This will lead to a domino effect in the form of reduced unemployment and accelerated infrastructure development in the Papua region. On the other hand, for negative approaches, the government doesn't carry out deforestation, it will disrupt access for isolated residents. The development of the Papua region has difficult challenges to deal with, including problems related to each region having minimal access. It is hoped

that the construction of the Trans Papua road will connect areas that have been isolated so far to connect with existing centers of economic activity.

Third, for objects who are hurt, the community has been threatened with the security of their right to life because of the government's anticipatory policies from the negative impacts of deforestation. There is still pressure, threats, cases of violence, persecution, and violations of human rights in Papua, and it can be said that the Indonesian side is still more concerned with national security than human security. In addition, the ecological impacts of forest degradation due to burning, illegal logging and deforestation have caused loss of biodiversity, destruction of habitats and driven very significant long-term carbon emissions for ecosystems. *Fourth*, the role of the government and private companies are as the subjects who are given the authority to regulate and maintain everything related to forest resources, both forest areas and forest products. The role of government is to maximize resources as a support for economic and socio-political interests. *Fifth*, there is an unintended violation in the context of deforestation based on economic strength and government policies in overcoming backwardness. Even though there is no intention to damage the environment or disturb human security, the environmental policy and control factors actually make society increasingly miserable due to the conflicts and problems that arise.

Sixth, between the two levels of traditional violence, manifest or latent, deforestation is manifest violence as the perpetrators are seen and have an direct impact on the communities/people living in the forests or whose lives depend on the forests. There is an increasing concentration of land ownership for capital accumulation by certain groups, which is done by seizing people's rights to land

and other natural resources, including water, forests, mineral mines, garden land, and so on. This land grabbing is followed by violence, criminalization, and human rights violations experienced by the community.

4.2 Recommendations

Based on the results of the research and the various explanations that have been presented, the author realizes that there are still many deficiencies and limitations of this research. These limitations include:

1. A focus on the context of the environment, wider community and forests of Papua although other regions of Indonesia may be experiencing the impacts of deforestation.
2. The object of research is Papua and the years of research are only from 2015-2019. Further research should consider using research objects in countries other than Indonesia and other years.

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