

PAPUA'S DEVELOPMENT PRIORITIES AND SENSE OF NATIONALISM AS INDONESIANS

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Abstract

Papua's issue is like never finished to peel. Papuan community effort to catch up with other regions in Indonesia seems to face deadlock. Granting them special autonomy also cannot provide significant results. The poverty rate in Papua is still high and the value of the Human Development Index (HDI) is still low, it even stays at the bottom of the chart when compared with other areas whose also has special autonomy, those are authentic proof that the development in Papua has not succeeded or failed. This paper tries to find development priorities to be implemented in Papua, in the hope that the dreams of Papuans to become prosperous and economically independent can be achieved. By using Analytical Hierarchy Process (AHP) and the respondents are Papuans who live in Jakarta, with the five criteria drawn from the theory, namely: income distribution, human quality, poverty, environmental quality and sense of nationalism as Indonesians, eventually it can be concluded that the sense of nationalism is the most important criteria for determining the priority development programs in Papua. Meanwhile, from the five development programs that are mandated by the central government, finally recommended that the development priority to be implemented is the development of indigenous Papuans.

Key Words: *Analytical Hierarchy Process (AHP), the criteria development, resource development of indigenous Papuans, priority development programs, sense of nationalism.*

Backgrounds

Compared to other regions in Indonesia Papua is one of the region which development is lagging behind. Development has a broad dimension, as the opinion of Tikson Deddy T. (2005) which defines development as the transformation of economic, social and cultural deliberately through policies and strategies towards the desired direction. Economic transformation, which occurs as a result of growth in the production of a sector to another, for example, rapid growth in production in the industrial and service sectors led to its contribution to the national income increases. By contrast, the contribution of the agricultural sector will become increasingly smaller and inversely proportional to the growth of industrialization and economic modernization. Social transformation can be seen through the distribution of wealth

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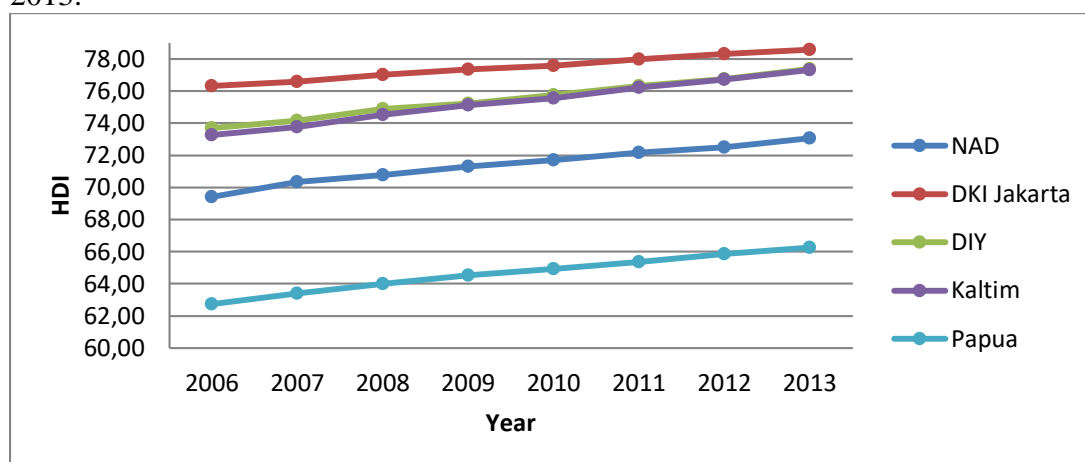
(income) in equity of access to socio-economic resources, such as education, health, housing, clean water, recreation facilities, and participation in political decision-making process. While the cultural transformation often associated with the rise of the national spirit and nationalism. Another examples of cultural transformation is the changes in values and norms adopted by society such as change from spiritualism to materialism/secularism, marked by shifting from high value to the mastery of the material, from traditional institutions into modern and rational organization.

If we analyze, the three transformations are actually interrelated to one another, for example in case of economic transformation where the dominant sector having transition from agriculture to services, it will affect the social transformation from traditional to modern public life. These changes will be followed by a cultural transformation, where the national spirit and nationalism will rise because the people feels that they need as a part of the country is concerned. So there will be no desire to change their nationality or secede from the country. This process has not occurred in Papua, the failure of economic transformation because it does not followed by social transformation such as equality of income distribution causes the cultural transformation has also failed, it showed by the lack of love for their country and the sense of unity of the people of Papua as part of Indonesia is still low.

To accelerate development in Papua, the Indonesian government has made some policies such as the provision of Special Autonomy (Act No. 21 of 2001) for Papua, followed by Presidential Decree No. 5 of 2007 which introduces a new policy direction for Papua (the new deal policy for Papua) to give on five policy priorities: 1) strengthening food security and poverty reduction; 2) improving the quality of education; 3) improving the quality of health services; 4) The improvement of basic infrastructure to increase accessibility in remote areas, inland and border areas; and 5) special treatment (affirmative action) for development of native sons and daughters of Papua (Wanggai: 2009).

However, these steps have not been able to significantly spur development in Papua. In addition to the high percentage of poor people in Papua who occupy the highest rate in Indonesia (1996 - 2013) development in Papua can be said to fail viewed from the Human Development Index (HDI), which is one indicator of the success of development (Deddy T. Tikson: 2005). Where HDI Papua for 13 years (1996-2013) sits at the bottom compared to other regions in Indonesia (source bps.go.id). As can be seen from Figure 1 that compares the HDI in Papua with other regions that also have special autonomy.

Figure 1. HDI Comparison of Different Areas With Special Autonomy Year 2006 – 2013.



Source: www.bps.go.id

Such failures show that to accelerate development in Papua is not enough with just impose special autonomy policy. Policies are made to Papua should also be adjusted to the actual needs of the community, not what the people of Papua need based of central government assumption. Development priorities should also be determined by filtering out the aspirations of the people of Papua so that the benefits are more pronounced.

Based on those ideas, this paper is made to answer few questions; what criteria are most expected by the people of Papua in Papua development; what kind of development priorities should be implemented in accordance with the wishes of Papua people of Papua and how to implement an ideal development in Papua?

Conceptual Framework

Economic Development

In addition to the definition of development by Deddy T. Tikson (2005) related to economic transformation, social transformation and cultural transformation. Economic development has a very broad sense. According to academics in economics; traditionally, economic development seen as a phenomenon of development economics as measured by the rate of economic growth. Perspectives on the purpose and meaning of development later become more broadly. Essentially, development should reflect the total change in a society or adjusted with social system overall, without ignoring the diversity of basic needs and desires of the individual and social groups in it to move forward towards a better-paced life materially and spiritually.

Therefore, an indicator of economic development is not only measured by GDP growth and GDP per capita but also other indicators such as: employment, education, income distribution, the number of poor. This is consistent with modern development paradigm that began to prioritize poverty alleviation, reduction in inequality of income distribution, as well as a decrease in the unemployment rate (Todaro and Smith, 2006).

According to Rostow economic development is a multidimensional process that causes changes in important characteristics of a community, such as changes in the state of the political system, social structure, system of values in society and economic structure. Rostow distinguishes the development process into five stages: the traditional society, preconditions for takeoff, takeoff, toward maturity and a high consumption. (Arsyad, 1999).

Jhinghan (2010) proposed some requirements of economic development, namely:

1. On the basis of its own strength, development must rely on the ability of the economy in the country /region. The desire to improve the lot and the initiative to create the material progress must come from the community.
2. Eliminating market imperfections. Market imperfections lead to immobility of factors and inhibit expansion and the construction sector.
3. Structural changes, meaning the transition from a traditional agricultural society into an industrial economy characterized by widespread secondary and tertiary sectors as well as the narrowing of the primary sector.
4. The formation of capital, is an important and strategic factor in economic development, even referred to as the main key towards economic development
5. Criteria for the right investment, has a goal to make the most profitable investment community but still consider the dynamics of the economy.
6. The socio-cultural conditions. Socio-cultural insights and organization must be modified so in tune with the development.

7. Administration. It takes administrative fittings for economic planning and Development.

Criteria for determining the type of development priority in Papua

Based on several theories above, it is concluded some criteria for choosing the type of development priority in Papua, namely: distribution of income, poverty, quality of human, quality of Environment and sense of nasionalis as Indonesians.

A. Distribution of Income

Economic development is not feature gross national product as development target, but it is more focusing on quality of development process. According to Kuncoro (2010:3), during 1970s, redefinition of economic development is realized in decreasing of poverty, jobless and gap. Besides that, Siagian (2009:90) says that “economic development is in the top scale from whole wisdom and national development activity. Actually implicitly, economic development of state should succeed in order to poverty alleviating, eliminating of social gap and availability of budget for another development”.

Income distribution is one of importance development indicators because after achieving high gross national product, if it is not followed with good income distribution will cause development gap and potentially make social conflict as an impact of low-class society unsatisfied such as Papua’s society.

Income and development gap between regions in Indonesia where West-Indonesia is more developed with available facilities than East-Indonesia which more lagging where Papua’s locate. Beside that, unequal of income distribution in Papua itself as an impact of Freeport usually make social conflict.

B. Poverty

As stated by Kuncoro (2010) and Siagian (2009) talking about poverty, it is always linked with social gap because poverty is happened as bad result of income distribution. So that, poverty alleviating is one of development goals. Poverty is the effect of human development fail.

It’s similar with Nafziger in his book *Economic Development* (2012:14) says that:

Economic development refers to economic growth accompanied by changes in output distribution and economic structure. These changes may include an improvement in the material well-being of the poorer half of the population, a decline in agriculture’s share and an increase in services and industry’s share of GNP, an increase in the education and skills of the labor force and substantial technical advances originating within the country.

Percentage of poor people in Papua can quite high. In 2013, poor people Papua in 31,53% and 2014 it decreasing in 27,80%. Although decrease, but it still the highest point if compare with other poor people in Indonesia (www.bps.go.id). These data be the reason why poverty is suitable to be criteria for choosing the type of priority development in Papua.

C. Quality of Human

Human quality is measured with Human Development Index (HDI). HDI point also be an indicator of state development is success or not. Human Development Index (HDI) measures human development based on a number of the basic components of

life quality. As a measure of life quality, Indonesia's Center of Statistic Agency (BPS) measures HDI through 3 (three) basic dimension approach. These dimension include longevity and healthy; knowledge and worthy life. Those dimensions has wide definition because it linked with many factors.

To measure healthy dimension, used life expectancy in born. Next, to measure knowledge dimension, used the combined literacy rates indicator and school average length. Worthy life dimension is measured with society purchasing power indicator for basic needs that seen from average of expenditure as income approach which represent development gains for worthy life.

In last decades, Papua's HDI is in lowest position compare with other province in Indonesia, as seen in Table 1.

Table 1. Papua's Human Development Index and Average Indonesia

Province	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
West Papua	63,7	64,83	66,08	67,28	67,95	68,58	69,15	69,65	70,22	70,62
Papua	60,9	62,08	62,75	63,41	64,00	64,53	64,94	65,36	65,86	66,25
Indonesia	68,7	69,57	70,1	70,59	71,17	71,76	72,27	72,77	73,29	73,81

Sources: www.bps.go.id

Table 1 shows that Human Development Index in Papua always increasing every year but it still in below of average Indonesia's Human Development Index. So that, it can be concluded that human quality in Papua still behind if compare with other province in Indonesia, this is the reason human quality important to be criteria for determining type of priority development in Papua.

D. Quality of Environment

PBB conference in Rio de Janeiro 2012 establish green economy concept in sustainable development context and poverty eradication. Green economy concept is more prioritize environment sustainability over only economic advantage consideration. Environment sustainability or this environment quality will be the foundation of economic sustainability and social. For example factory building with waste, it potentially can damage the environment should follow with best factory waste processing technology. If it is not happen, environment crash in long-term will made higher social cost than the advantage of the factory.

Freeport building in Papua has established problems in Papua society. Papua society is not feel the maximum advantage of Freeport, it also cause environment damage as stated by Indonesia Life Environment Agency in kompasiana.com. Formally, government says that Freeport-Rio Tinto:

1. It was negligent in waste rock management, responsible on continuous landslide of Wanagon Lake's waste rock which led the fatal accident and the rise of uncontrolled toxic waste (In 2000).
2. It should build the tailing dam reservoir which suitable with technically legal standard for dam and not in accordance with the present system which uses the levee are not strong enough (in 2001)
3. Counting on flawed legal permission from local government officials to use the river system to move the tailings plateau. The company was asked to bild a tailings pipeline to the lowlands (in 2001 and 2006).
4. Polluting the river system and estuaries environment, thus it is violating water quality standars (in 2004 and 2006).

5. Disposing acid rock drainage without has dangerous waste permission letter, till at levels that violated the standards of industrial waste water and failed to build control post as ordered (in 2006).

Resistance and damage above has made decrease the quality of Papua environment. In long-term, those damage can establish bigger problem like healthy problem even natural disaster.

E. Sense of Nationalism as Indonesians

Deddy T. Tikson (2005) who define development as economic, social and culture transformation intentionally through decision and strategy to the right direction. Economic transformation which happen as a result of production development from one sector to other, such as highly industry development production and service causing to the national income bigger. Otherwise, contribution of agriculture sector to national income is smaller and inversely with industrial development and economic modernization. Social transformation can be seen through welfare (income) distribution through equality of access to social-economic resources such as education, healthy, housing, clean water, vacation facility and participation in decision making process. While cultural transformation is linked with spirit rising of unity and nationalism beside there are value and custom change which is adopted by society, such as change and spiritualism to materialism/secularism. Shifting from high measure to the material own, from traditional institutional to be modern and rational organization.

If analyzed, actually those transformation have link each other, for example if economic transformation happen like dominant sector shifting from agriculture to service, so it will affecting social transformation where society life will be modern which followed with cultural transformation where sense of nation and unity will raise because the society feel they are being a part of the state. So that, they do not have an idea to change their nationality or separate their self from their country.

This case is happened in Papua, empirical proof shows that fails of economic transformation because it is not followed with social transformation like equality of income. So that, cultural transformation is not happen also where sense of nation and unity from Papua society as part of Indonesia still low.

Research Method

The design used in this study was exploratory case study. Through exploratory, then it can develop the concept more clearly and priorities. Some of the tools used in the exploratory study were: literature searches, experience surveys, focus groups, and a two-stage approach. While case studies can be used for policy research, political science, communications, public administration, and urban planning management. This method is well suited to answer the question how and why.

There are three principles that must be observed in collecting the evidence of case study (Yin, 2003):

1. The use of sources of evidence from two or more sources, but unify with a set of facts or the same findings.
2. The use of basic data and a set of formal collection of evidence that was different from the final report of the relevant case studies.
3. The use of a range of evidence and explicit link between the questions posed, the data collected and conclusions drawn

Sources of data used in this study were as follows:

1. Primary data; i.e. data obtained directly from the original source, namely the respondent. In this study, the respondents are: Papuans who live in Jakarta, whether temporary or permanent living.
2. Secondary data; i.e. data obtained from the earlier data source that has been collected and reported by others outside the researcher, such as: Data on the results of the development in Papua, macro-economic conditions, and the results of previous relevant studies.

Based on the data needed, data collection techniques used in this study were:

- a. Interviews; conducted with respondents to gain an overview of their expectations about the condition of Papua in the future.
- b. Documentation; made to the documents relevant to research such as: the results of previous research, historical data, images, maps, regulations, and also the writings of the relevant media related to development in Papua.

To determine the criteria and type of development in accordance with the public perception of Papua used ordinal scale, then is used as a data source in the technique AHP (Analytical Hierarchy Process).

The stages in the AHP process were to identify, to understand and to assess the interactions of the existing system. Assessment was done by using pairwise comparisons of the elements at a level hierarchical decision making by using a value scale of measurement that can distinguish the transformation in the form of opinions (qualitative) into a numeric value (quantitative). Level of opinions validity was depending on the consistency and accuracy of opinions. AHP general hierarchical model can be seen in Figure 2 below.

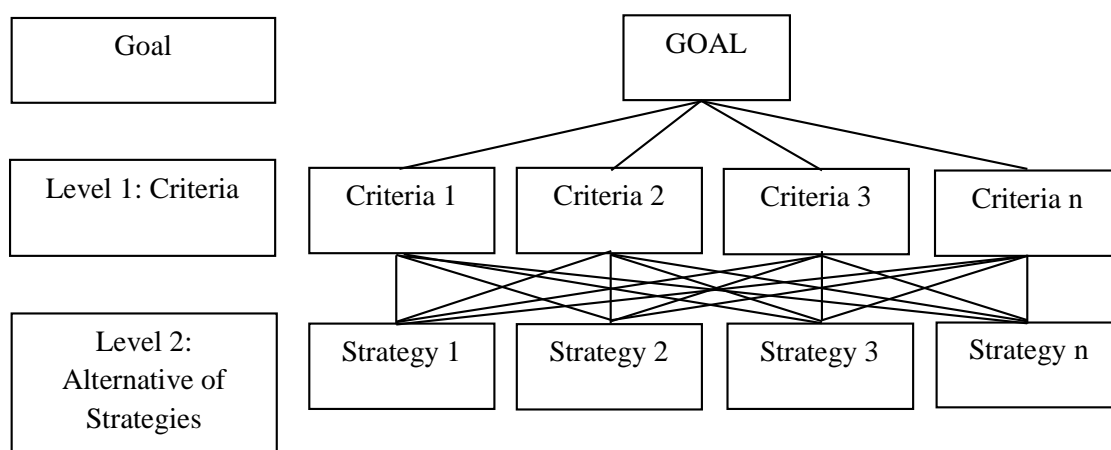


Figure 2. AHP Hierarchy Model (Saaty, 1993)

In this study the assessment criteria and alternative were to compare each of the criteria and alternative types of development that exist in pairs. According to Saaty in Marimin (2004) scale of 1 to 9 is the best scale to express their opinions. Values and definitions of qualitative opinion Saaty scale comparisons can be seen in Table 1 below.

Table 2. Comparison Scale in Pairs

Scale	Meaning	Description
1	equal importance	Criteria/Alternative A is as important as the criteria/alternative B
3	moderate importance	A slightly more important than B
5	essential/strong importance	A clearly more important than B
7	very strong importance	A very obviously more important than B
9	extreme importance	A is absolutely more important than B
2,4,6,8	It is a compromise between the above assessment	If in doubt between two adjacent values

The values of the pairwise comparisons in the AHP are determined according to the scale introduced by Saaty (1980). According to this scale, the available values for the pairwise comparisons are members of the set: {9, 8, 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1, 1/2, 1/3, 1/4, 1/5, 1/6, 1/7, 1/8, 1/9} (see also table 2).

However, perfect consistency rarely occurs in practice. In the AHP the pairwise comparisons in a judgment matrix are considered to be adequately consistent if the corresponding consistency ratio (CR) is less than 10% (Saaty, 1980). The CR coefficient is calculated as follows. First, the consistency index (CI) needs to be estimated. This is done by adding the columns in the judgment matrix and multiply the resulting vector by the vector of priorities (i.e., the approximated eigenvector) obtained earlier. This yields an approximation of the maximum eigenvalue, denoted by λ_{max} . Then, the CI value is calculated by using the formula: $CI = (\lambda_{max} - n)/(n - 1)$. Next the consistency ratio CR is obtained by dividing the CI value by the Random Consistency index (RCI) as given in table 3.

Table 3. RCI values for different values of n

N	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
RCI	0	0	0,58	0,90	1,12	1,24	1,32	1,41	1,45

The Priority of Development in Papua

As explained in the previous section, to determine the priority development programs to be implemented in Papua will be used Analytical Hierarchy Process (AHP) model. AHP model structure to be used requires goal, criteria, and alternative development programs to be selected as a priority. Based on the study of alternative theories about the election and the results of discussions with respondents, it can be determined that the three aspects related to the selection of development programs priorities in Papua are as follow:

- Goal : Determining of Development Program Priorities in Papua
- Criteria : Distribution of Income, Quality of Human Resources, Poverty, Quality of Environment, and also Sense of Nationalism as Indonesian.
- Alternatives :

- Program 1: Strengthening of food security and poverty reduction;
- Program 2: Improving of education quality;
- Program 3: Improving of health service quality;
- Program 4: Improving of basic infrastructure; and
- Program 5: Development of indigenous Papuans

Alternative development programs were taken from Presidential Instruction No. 5 of 2007 which introduces the new deal policy for Papua. Furthermore, the complete structure of the model can be seen in Figure 3 below.

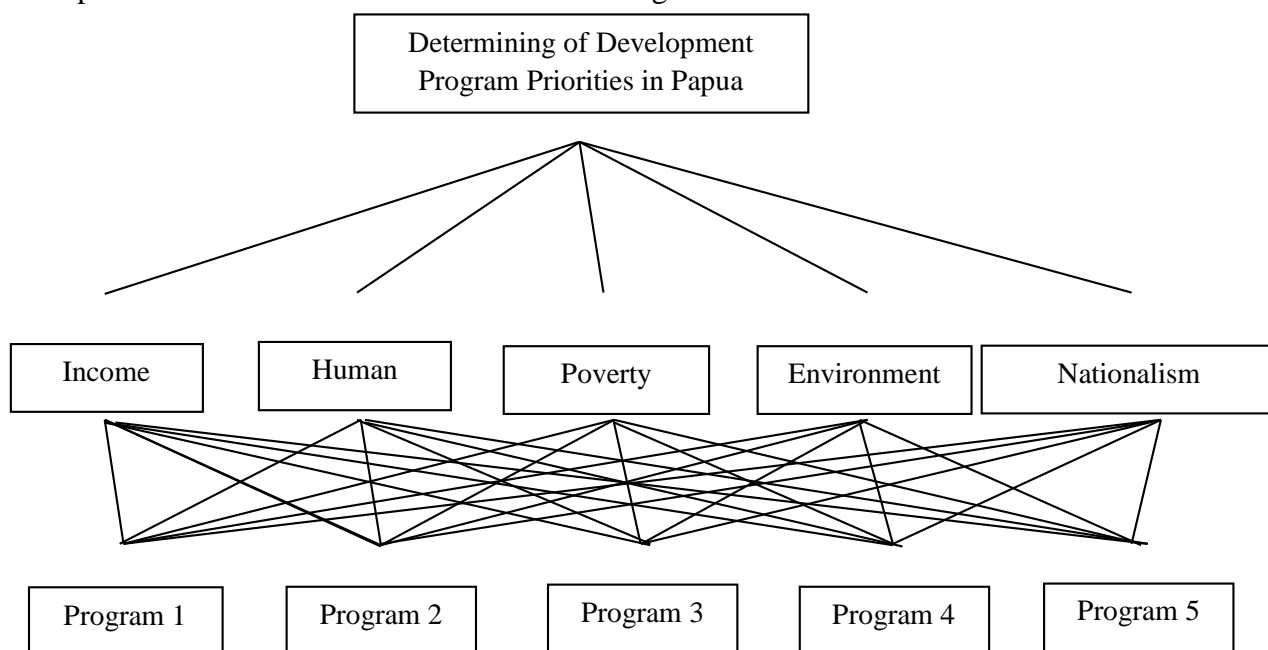


Figure 3. Hierarchy Model of Development Program in Papua

The next step is to create a matrix of pairwise for each criteria and alternatives based on certain criteria. Based on detailed calculations on attachment, it can be determined eigenvector value of each criterion. This value indicates the ranking of importance of each criterion with consistency index of 0.04. Thus, the data is considered consistent because consistency index values less than 0.1. Here is the sequence of criteria with eigenvector value respectively.

Table 4. Order of Criteria

Order	Criteria	Eigenvector
1	Sense of Nationalism	0,413
2	Poverty	0,261
3	Quality of Human Resources	0,148
4	Distribution of Income	0,116
5	Quality of Environment	0,062

Source: Result of Calculation

From the table it can be concluded that the sense of nationalism as Indonesian was the most preferred criteria in order to determine the priority of development programs in Papua. But to determine the order of priority development programs in Papua should be compared of each alternative development program based on five

criteria. The following table shows the development programs in Papua that priority should be implemented based on any criteria.

Table 5. The Priority of Development Program Based on Each Criterion

Criteria	Development Program
Sense of Nationalism as Indonesian	Program 5: Development of indigenous Papuans
Poverty	Program 1: Strengthening of food security and poverty reduction
Quality of Human Resources	Program 5: Development of indigenous Papuans
Distribution of Income	Program 5: Development of indigenous Papuans
Quality of Environment	Program 5: Development of indigenous Papuans

Based on the table above, it can be concluded that the development of indigenous Papuans was the most priority development programs based on four of the five existing criteria. This was in line with the results of calculations using five criteria simultaneously, as can be seen in the table below.

Table 6. The Priority of Development Program in Papua

Order	Development Program	Eigenvector
1	Program 5: Development of indigenous Papuans	0,342
2	Program 1: Strengthening of food security and poverty reduction	0,244
3	Program 2: Improving of education quality	0,219
4	Program 3: Improving of health service quality	0,120
5	Program 4: Improving of basic infrastructure	0,075

From the table above, it can be seen that the development of indigenous Papuans was the most priority development programs to be implemented in Papua. If the program is implemented properly and seriously, then all of the criteria can be represented.

Analysis

Based on calculations using AHP, it can be seen that the sense of nationalism as Indonesian was considered to be the most important criteria to determine the priority of development programs to be implemented in Papua. This was in line with the theory that the rise of nationalism can lead to public trust in government is getting stronger, and in the long term fears of disintegration will decrease. Development programs undertaken for the advancement of Papua if it is accompanied by a strong sense of nationalism as Indonesian, then it would be expected to produce outputs and outcomes are in line with expectations of all parties. Papua community can catch up with other provinces in terms of welfare, and even it can exceed the other provinces, because the natural resources owned by Papua are very abundant.

The priority of development program should be implemented immediately was the development of indigenous Papuans. It was make sense, because local resources have a very important role in building Papua. Trust and togetherness that appear in the people of Papua was the basic capital that is very important in development. Papua's future is in the hands of the indigenous Papuans, and the people of Papua were the most entitled to enjoy the fruits of development in Papua. Moreover, abundant natural resources should be able to improve the welfare of the Papuan people, not vice versa.

Other development programs did not mean to be abandoned, but it should be made gradually planning so the achievement was clear. But, the development of

indigenous Papuans was a priority because it was the key and the trigger for other programs. It would be useless, if the indigenous Papuans only act as viewers in the development of Papua. The results are enjoyed by outsiders, even strangers from other countries, while the suffering charged to the people of Papua. Look at how the development impact of foreign companies that ignore environmental sustainability can lead to flooding and landslides. Even worse, economically and socially the people of Papua will become increasingly worse. The next expectation, if the indigenous Papuans have been successfully developed well, then they will be the subject of development, and Papua is no longer like a fairy tale, but be a determinant of the success of Indonesia in general in a global world.

Of course, the development of indigenous Papuans is not a program that is easy to implement. It needs supporting of synergistic and integrated policies so that the program can run well. In addition, this large program needs to be broken down into programs that are smaller by scheduling a clear each stage. Thus the success rate can be measured as an evaluation of the implementation of the next program.

Conclusion

Here are some of the conclusions obtained from the research and the answers to the research questions in the previous section.

- (1) The criteria that most important for the people of Papua in determining the type of development was a sense of nationalism as Indonesian.
- (2) Type of priorities development offered by the central government to implement was the development of indigenous Papuans.

The implementation of priority development programs, namely the development of the indigenous Papua, in practice it requires policy support synergistic and integrated with other programs of the Development, and also details activities that accompanied by a schedule of all activities, so the level of its success as can be measured as an input to the implementation of subsequent programs.

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