

IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION OF THE MINORITY PAPUAN MUSLIM A Study on The Majelis Muslim Papua

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Abstract

This article explores contemporary development of a minority of Muslim in the largest Muslim country Indonesia. It closely examines the minority Muslim Papuan and looks at the construction and the institutionalisation of Muslim identity in post-special autonomy (otonomi khusus) of Papua. Through a series of fieldwork in Jayapura, the capital of the Papua Province, in 2016 and reviews of documents, the article argues that the Council of Papuan Muslim (Majelis Muslim Papua/MMP) serves not only as the association of minority Muslim Papuan but also as a political instrument for the minority to fight for equality in Papuan public sphere. Importantly, the Muslim Papuan try reconcile the popular, but contradicted, notion of Muslim -and Islam- as newcomer -if not to mention as the colonial- in Papua and the presence of Muslim as a symbolic expectation for progress of the Papuan in general. Thus, the institutionalization of Islam, through the establishment of The Majelis Muslim Papua in Papua resorts as an ample case where multiculturalism is tested in contemporary Indonesia.

[Tulisan ini mengeksplorasi isu tentang konstruksi identitas Muslim di Papua. Tulisan ini merupakan bagian dari penelitian yang dilakukan di Kota Jayapura sejak tahun 2016. Data yang digunakan sebagai basis analisis tulisan ini diperoleh melalui observasi, wawancara, dan studi literatur. Artikel ini menemukan bahwa Majelis Muslim Papua hadir tidak hanya sebagai media komunikasi bagi umat Islam, tetapi juga merupakan wadah perjuangan Muslim Papua atas keterpinggiran pada pemberlakuan otonomi khusus. Serta, Muslim di Papuan berupaya untuk menengahi konstruksi populer, namun bertentangan, mengenai Muslim -dan Islam- sebagai pendatang -jika tidak disebut kolonial- dan Muslim sebagai simbol harapan untuk kemajuan masyarakat Papua pada umumnya. Karena itu, institusionalisasi Islam melalui pendirian Majelis Muslim Papua merupakan ujian untuk penerapan multikulturalisme di Indonesia kontemporer.]

Keywords: *Identity, Majelis Muslim Papua, Construction*

Introduction

Identity is an important element in a group, including religious communities. From its identity, religious communities can be understood if it exists. With this identity as well, not rarely happens friction among of those religions. Generally, identity matter has invited interest of specialists to discuss it. Martijn van Beek¹, John Rachman², Thomas H. Eriksen³, Ade Yamin⁴, Yance Z. Rumahuru⁵, and the others have a consent in this identity matter. There are among of them putting identity as a form of “*belonging*” or ownership related to similarity at the number of people and what distinguishing with the other people. In fact, identity can be a trigger

¹ Martijn Van Beek, “Beyond Identity Fetishism: Communal Conflict in Ladakh and the Limits of Autonomy”, *Cultural Anthropology* 15, 1996. p. 525-569.

² John Racjhmaan, *The Identity in Question* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

³ Thomas H. Eriksen, *Ethnicity and Nationalism* (London: Pluto Press, 2002).

⁴ Ade Yamin, “Menjadi Muslim Tetap Dani: Potret Kehidupan Orang Dani Islam di Kampung Walesi Papua,” *Thesis* (Yogyakarta: Program Pascasarjana, Fakultas Ilmu Budaya UGM, 2012), not published.

⁵ Yance Zadrak Rumahuru, *Islam Syariah dan Islam Adat: Konstestasi Identitas Keagamaan dan Perubahan Sosial di Kalangan Komunitas Muslim Hatuhaba di Negeri Pelauw* (Jakarta: Kementerian Agama RI, 2012).

of conflict⁶ happening as consequence of strengthening group identity excessively so that fanaticism can trigger the other group's reaction.

In Indonesia with residents who have differential faith (religion), appearing with each identity. Religionists present themselves at various kinds like name, practice/ritual, place of worship, visual group and etcetera. They also never escape from the fluctuating relationship; harmony and conflict. Harmonical relationship of religionists appears many things, for example at daily relationship which is awakened and not including each confident sentiment.

Not only harmony awakened among of groups or religionists in Indonesia, but also conflict accompanies those group (religionists) existence. Ambon conflict, Poso, Papua and Sampit West Borneo are the examples of bad portrait religionist happened. That dark memory moreover still often colour the journey of religious relationship in Indonesia, especially Islam-Christianity. This example can be seen directly in Papua where Muslim-Christian are often problematic, the one caused the dark history of the past. Papua which some people called as "Blessed Land" indicates the claim made by certain religious group. This claim also got suit when many people entered to Papua in 1970s because of transmigration program. Generally, the majority transmigrants are Muslim, and this thing slowly changes Papua demographic condition, especially composition or quantity of Muslim and Christian.

Muslim presence is not only just the presence of group which is reputed "new", but also as the new conflict lighter because it relates to rivalry among religion groups to get influence and power. Papuan Muslim who has existed and lived since a long time marks the fierce competition among religious groups especially between Islam and Christian in various spaces and opportunities, the other terminology called that it has happened "racing" religion.⁷ The racing happened is

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁷ Azyumardi Azra, "Merajut Kerukunan Hidup Beragama antara Cita dan Fakta", *Harmoni: Jurnal Multikultural dan Multireligius*, Vol. 2, No. 7, 2003. p. 8 .

not only about getting mass or follower, but also relating to claim the ownership of Papua and the power. The study of Idrus Al Hamid⁸ and Hasse Jubba⁹ for example, shows that between Islam and Christian fight over the ownership of Papua which manifests in the form of religious symbolization at public space.

The Muslim existence greatly influences politic life, social, and religion in Jayapura. At politic matter, both the provincial level and regency/city level are not balanced. The positional majority or main position in bureaucracy is occupied by Papuan non-Muslim. In every regency and city, all of it is led by the Muslim. In Jayapura self, deputy mayor is from Muslim, but the role is very limited even limited.

In economic sector, it happens instead where economic center majority is controlled by Muslim majority. These mastery of economic centers also causes diverse opinions in Papuan. Even there is one claiming that thing as the shape or the effort of Papuan islamization because almost the entire needs of Papuan in Jayapura are controlled by Muslim comer majority. This matter causes new concept with the born of typology society: comer (Muslim) vs native (Christian) which is now still saving potential tension relatively able to change constellation and relation both religious groups. Because of that, Muslim is perceived as a group trying to “rob” even doing islamization to Papuan marked by the emergence of various organizations, associations, and other social groups expressing Muslim group in Papua.

This study discusses the matter how Muslim identity construction of post special autonomy in Jayapura Papua. This thing is important to do because of Muslim presence, especially from gathering like Majelis Muslim Papua (MMP) directly not only changing demographic condition, but also changing society perception to Islam in Papua. Before coming to

⁸ Idrus Al Hamid, *Jalan Panjang Perdamaian Papua: Sejarah dan Peradaban* (Yogyakarta: The Phinisi Press, 2016).

⁹ Hasse Jubba, *Kontestasi Identitas Agama: Lokalitas Spiritual di Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: The Phinisi Press, 2018).

the main matter, the writer outlines briefly MMP portrait during becoming an institution of Papuan Muslim which has a lot of role especially post special autonomy.

Majelis Muslim Papua: Medium of Papuan Muslim's Struggle

Majelis Muslim Papua (MMP), established in 2007, has played key roles not only friendship medium, but also the instrument to fight for Papuan Muslim's interest which unites religious members in Papua land. As consolidated media, MMP regularly organizes various meetings and annual meeting to discuss various problems in Muslim's internal. Annual meeting like congress, can unite Muslim from various areas in Papua. This discussion happened well because the representative of various areas conveyed the main issue and each need. The each area issues are different but the principal becomes MMP consensus to involve every issue faced Muslim in areas.

In other hand, MMP is also seen as the instrument of Papuan Muslim's struggle to acquire their rights. Lately, MMP even considered will do politic to accommodate Papuan Muslim's aspiration. MMP as identity also has a good role to do every politic activity by prioritizing of struggle part. Post special autonomy, Papua is given the authority to establish Papuan's assembly occupied by the various elements of society especially ethnic and religion. MMP has a good role here to recommend a person or figure who will represent Muslim. Although there are also NU and Muhammadiyah in Papua, MMP has the strong enough legitimation because it was born from "the womb" of Papuan Muslim which certainly has the similarities and differences than Muslim condition in other regions.

MMP as the means of struggle has vision: "Majelis Muslim Papua becomes *"rahmatan lil alamin"*. This vision is later revealed to be *"rahmatan lil Papua"* contained in the mission of (1) the best people, (2) the witness of humanity, and the *khalifah fil ardhi*. Those vision and mission are inspired

by QS. Al Anbiyaa 107 about Prophet Muhammad status, “*And we have not sent you (Muhammad) except (become) as a mercy to the world*”. Those vision and mission are formulated first at the first congress on 13th of April 2007 in Jayapura Papua. It also becomes the forerunner of the massing muslim groups in Papua to be one organization.

MMP is Muslim representation in Papua now. This organization is a continuation of Solidaritas Muslim Papua (SMP) founded by 47 Papua figures from various parts on 21st of November 1999. The establishing organization is not apart of the emerged context of some local organization and Christianist when the issue and the separatist movement happened in 1999.¹⁰ MMP cannot also be released and separated from big Papua matter, including very dynamic politics. Similarly, the relationship of Christian-Muslim often experiences a “critical” phase triggered by many factors, including Muslim often related to a comer and Christian reputed by internal as the first religion and principal in Papua.

Majelis Muslim Papua formulation wants to show and reject the notion that Islam closely was synonymous with Indonesia, and show that not all Papuan are Christian. MMP also wants to bridge communication between Muslim immigrant and Papuan Christian. MMP also aims to introduce more about Islam among Papuan native. MMP actually does not want Muslim organizations from the outside which does not have strong roots in Papuan to give effect. Especially, Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI) which is reputed empower influence of Muslim comer. MMP also participates as Muslim organization in the maintenance of the struggle human rights in Papua, reducing poverty and economic inequality.¹¹

Thoha Al Hamid, one of Papuan Muslim figure said that, Islamic propagation in Papua actually has begun so far before two Christian

¹⁰ Idrus Al Hamid, “Jayapura dalam Transformasi Agama dan Budaya: Memahami Akar Konflik Kristen-Islam di Papua”, *Dissertation* (Yogyakarta: Agama dan Lintas Budaya, Sekolah Pascasarjana UGM, 2013), p. 452-453, not published.

¹¹ Cahyo Pamungkas, ‘Muslim Papua and Special Autonomy: The Identity Contest in Papua’. *Journal of Indonesian Social Sciences and Humanities* 4, 2011, p. 133–155.

figures, Ottow and Geisler, landing on Mansiman island. The reference data is found at occurred event in Manokwari 5th of February 1855. Various notes sourced on the hereditary story from the old said that Islamic religion has entered since 1600s in the west coastal area of south Papua land. In Sorong regency of Raja Ampat Archipelagic, around Berau Gulf, and Bintuni Gulf, Babo, Kokas, Fak-Fak, Kaimana, Arguni Gulf, and Kayu Merah Teluk Etna district. In the coastal area of Vogelkop to south Papua recognizably known native Papua areas (from Melanesia clump) are Muslims.

In the 80 years ago, Papua society (ethnic) entered Islam increasing with the entry of hundred society from Dani tribe, in Kampong Walesi, Mega Pura, Hitigima, Gurima, Yuarima, Air Garam, Pasema and Aradaba in Baliem valley (Jaya Wijaya), also in Asmat and Okaba (Merauke). While the growth Muslim numbers in Papua, the most striking are from national program transmigration and spontaneous migration.

Parts of Papua population who are Muslims are from generally scattered in coastal areas and upstream river, except in Jaya Wijaya regions where Papuan Muslim villages there stretches in Baliem valley, central mountains. Social economic condition and welfare condition are same like other Papuan. Chain life is firmly rooted in subsystem economic pattern (both farmer and fisherman) depended on the nature supplies and still in the alarming poverty level. Infrastructure service education, health or community access and transport are still very limited.

For the political aspect and local culture perception, the Muslim's position is very weak. They does not have a good bargaining position in making decision both in political issue and development. Because they are Muslim, their cultural role does not protrude. Oftentimes, they are connoted as "outsiders". Islam and Papua, seem have not been accepted as reality. Even until 1977 and 1978, when the children of native Papuan Muslim from Fak-Fak and Kaimana wavy entered to Cendrawasih University clearly "shocking" among lecturers and students, because

there are Children in Papua who have black-skinned, curly haired but the religion is Islam. This is caused the assumption that Papua is Christian.¹²

In 2002,¹² the number of Muslim are 642.545 people. Christian Protestan; 1.235.670 people; Catholic; 543.030 people, from the total of 642.545, the Muslim of native Papua are only about 150-200.000 people. For the rest of the gain consists of Muslim population from Bugis ethnic, Buton, Makassar, Jawa, Padang, Seram, Ternate and the others. Currently, demographic change in Papua has increased along with Muslim development in Papua and the presence of hundred Muslims (comer) who come from various regions in Indonesia. In detail, here is shown Muslim population in Papua by district or city and only focused on the religious devision of Islam and Christian (Protestan and Catholic), because both religions are excessively followed in Papua. In 2016, the composition of the population based on religion still has the same role. It can be seen in the following table.

NO	REGENCY/CITY	ISLAM	PROTESTAN	CATHOLIC
1	Merauke	131.115	44.407	95.146
2	Jayawijaya	12.882	107.535	34.127
3	Jayapura	16.105	210.421	82.771
4	Nabire	56.896	59.572	26.083
5	Kep. Yapen	10.773	81.821	754
6	Biak Numfor	29.987	118.501	3.456
7	Paniai	3.473	112.038	40.106
8	Puncak Jaya	6.303	190.000	23.000
9	Mimika	1.686	142.387	60.277
10	Boven Digoel	19.240	23.613	44.570
11	Mappi	11.328	19.595	84.825
12	Asmat	8.998	37.456	61.316
13	Yakuhimo	5.056	271.192	13.876
14	Mount. Bintang	222	57.522	22.772
15	Tolikara	720	296.858	590
16	Sarmi	6.345	30.625	1.139
17	Keerom	26.833	20.784	15.281

¹² It is said by an informant of Thoha Alhamid at interview in Jayapura May 2015. He is clearly said that there is a worry some groups about Muslim presence and progress in Papua nowadays dominating economics matters.

18	Waropen	8.500	23.878	1731
19	Supiori	760	2.174	217
20	Membramo Raya	1.842	36.390	264
21	Nduga	-	79.053	-
22	Lanny Jaya	127	148.282	113
23	Central Membramo	20	45.370	1.075
24	Yalimo	64	50.663	35
25	Puncak	293	92.758	165
26	Dogiyai	500	12.350	37.378
27	Intan Jaya	61	26.956	13.473
29	Deiyai	455	38.478	23.162
29	Jayapura City	254.100	283.493	84.474
TOTAL		614.684	2.664.172	772.176

Source: Papua BPS office, 2016

At first glance, the data above gives a hint that the Muslim exists in almost all districts of Papua, although with a little amount. If looking at society condition in the city, so it can be known that the total between Christian and Muslim has striking difference. It caused by relationship of Christian and Muslim in Jayapura city is very dynamic. Likewise in Merauke, Muslim there even becomes the majority. This is caused the high inflow of people from various region in Indonesia, then settle at there.

MMP and the Construction to Muslim in Papua

In 13th of April 2007, MMP is founded in Jayapura as Papuan Muslim organization which has commitment to erect Papua cultural identity and universal Islamic values. This organization is a development of Solidaritas Muslim Papua, the group formed in 1999 which its founders include several Muslim who are pro-independence. MMP announces in its founding congress that the organization includes Muslim “from seven Papua cultural regions” committed to the principal moderation, tolerance, balance and dialogue, as well as committed to democracy, the rule of law and human rights. MMP organization specifically clarifies that its purposes are “not exclusive, not promoting islamization, moreover fundamentalism which can cause the emergence of radical groups but

lending a help to local government for justice and prosperity”¹³

The MMP existent in addition is a response to the Christian domination like stated by Cahyo Pamungkas, Muslim also consciousness to what has been done by other people, especially Christian. OW (33) said:

“...firstly person looked at gait figures of other religions, the religions which had worked even told farther and more about matter in Papua. While Islam was like apathetic or lazy to know once they hoped MUI. But MUI did not suit running tradition so MMP is actually presented to fill that void”¹⁴

In other hand, MMP also expected becomes the balance of various perceptions which present nowadays. Muslim almost considered is not in Papua. SI (42) in interview said that:

“MMP is our balance. MMP also shows that we exist. Well, I think this is an institution which is able to show all of us at once ignoring their minds which do not acknowledge slightly. Well, with our presence it was enough dominated by friends surely we all are Papuan who occupies the important position exactly the political purpose also so that we can accommodate there. This I think that we become balance of issue presence whatever I believe about religious matter or ethnic surely they ask for information to MMP about this matter they see in Papua”.¹⁵

Enforcement of special autonomy since 2001 had impact to many live aspects for society especially Muslim in Papua. One of impact appearing the post special autonomy are position and response to Muslim. In some literatures, like written by Cahyo Pamungkas¹⁶ and Idrus Al Hamadi, explained that Muslim is often positioned as the second society after Papuan native. Such as in politic opportune aspect, Muslim does not have space like in the main point of special autonomy to be a leader (Governor and Regent/Mayor) in Papua. In fact, Muslim is reputed comer group so that only becoming “complement” in Papua. Especially

¹³ See, www.papua.go.id.

¹⁴ Interview with OW (33), 11th of December 2017.

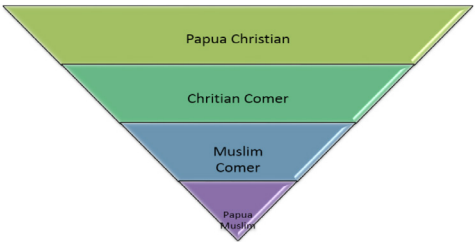
¹⁵ Interview with SI (42), 11th of December 2017 in Jayapura.

¹⁶ See Cahyo Pamungkas, “Muslim Papua...; Idrus Al Hamid, “Jayapura dalam Transformasi...

in Jayapura. Informant said that:

“Here has assumption that Papuan has the right for everything. So not surprised if in Muslim government functionary is only a little. If it is noted surely there is no rule written about Papuan has the right to be functionary in Jayapura but practicely it happens”.¹⁷

The meaning is, Muslim has a very little opportunity to occupy the important position especially in government scope of Jayapura. Even, according to scholar observation, the mapping about ruler group in Jayapura can be mapped to be four groups like what outlined in this picture.



Picture: Mapping of society groups in Jayapura Papua
Resource: Processed by researchers from several interviews with informant, 2017.

In that picture above is seen that Papuan Muslim position in the bottom of the blog, so every opportunity will be obtained them in the last opportunity, including the position in the local government.

MMP is like disclosed by informant to be a marker that Muslim is in Papua. Muslims before indeed have a very good position because of occupying the important position in the government. But, post Papua special autonomy, everything is changed. Even, it can be said that Muslims are considered as a trigger tension and a part of Papua conflict. It becomes a concern MMP elite and continuing to express MMP purpose for Papua. MMP beside as a Muslim forum also serves as a medium struggle and shows that Islam is *rahmatan lil alamin*.

¹⁷ Interview with PRT the (65), 2nd of May 2017 in Jayapura.

Not like various Muslim groups dominated by comers, MMP said that the Papua special autonomy in 2001 is monumental event and the history although the law has not been held effectively. Because of it, MMP pushes the central government, the local government, representative of Papua province, Papua's council, to protect Papua's culture, to do the best by changing special autonomy to be a blessing and not a curse. Papua's council is very criticized by MMP because it has been very politically and tendentious regardless of the fact that the general chairman itself, Arobi Achmad Airtuarauw, is a member of Papua's council.

Special autonomy era is also marked with the phenomal rise of the political practice representation conducted by elite politics in Papua. This politics refers to political practice naming society by elite politics actually their own interest. Elite politics impressed easy submit a statement that they want to struggle for people's interest, but in the fact struggling for their own interests. Now, that political practice representation is so rife in Papua.

Political representation of post special autonomy in a form "papuanization" together with stigma in a part of Papua region, especially in the place of Christian majority, that Papua land is only for native Papua Christian. The fact shows that beside the sentiment of ethnic group-native and comer, there is also religious sentiment in Papuan, especially native Papua. This ethno-religion becomes a struggle in public space between Christianist of native Papuan and Muslim of native Papuan, moreover with Muslim comer society. This fact triggers some regulations more reflecting one religion, for example the legislation charged certain religion rejecting about the worship reconstruction and etcetera. A bandaged ethno-centrism by a religious sentiment uncommon triggers politic, both in small scale and large scall. Based on research has been done revealed a statement from some respondents that Papua land is indeed only for Christian. Muslims become a threat for Christian existent in Papua land. Thus, there is discourse construction growing in Papua, that Christianity is

a native religion of Papuan. It certainly ignores the existence of the other religions especially Islam which also has long enough entrenched and be a part of native Papua veins. This religious politic identity later becomes the war arena between native Muslim group and native Christianist group.

The struggle for religious public space in Jayapura happens in variety shapes, from symbolic until politic practice like the struggle for the government or official in area between Christianity and Islam.¹⁸ Religious public sphere is one of arena representing religion bravely in pluralistic society. Public sphere becomes a fighting arena between the same Abraham religion in Jayapura city with the strength which can be said the same great.

The struggling influence in public sphere by both religions actually influenced by 'threatened syndrome by the existence of the other party. Widjojo¹⁹ mentioned that in 2011, the comer composition has been more than native Papua. This condition appears the worry especially native Papuan who are majority Christian about the existence of islamization. Adherent quantity in Papua, like in Jayapura, becomes the main problem of contestation in public sphere. Certain religion feels threatened with a flood of Muslim comer in Papua land. Because of that, this concern becomes a reason why it can threaten the existence of Christian in Papua land. Moreover, most of the migrants are Muslim from Java, Sumatera, Celebes, Borneo and Maluku.

Muslim in Post-Special Autonomy Papua

Since the enforcement of special autonomy in Papua, the discourse of Papua is land devoted to the Christian increasingly. Simultaneously, appears also assumption that the native Papua indeed has one religious beliefs, that is Christianity. These discourse and opinion surely deny other

¹⁸ Zuly Qodir, "Kontestasi Penyiaran Agama di Ruang Publik: Relasi Kristen dan Islam di Kota Jayapura", *Harmoni Jurnal Multikultural & Multireligius*, Vol. 14, No. I, 2015, p. 51.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

religious identities which have been long enough to inhabit the Papua land. In fact, not only Christianity has been so long showing its existence, but also Islam has been long enough showing its existence in “the piece of paradise falling to the earth”.²⁰

After falldropping of new orde rezim, reformation era has begun with rolling on the disource of decentralization and local autonomy implemented until now. The policy about local autonomy, gives very large autonomy to the local government, especially city and regency. Regional autonomy is implemented in order to restor the dignity of the people in region, provides opportunities for political education in order to increase the quality of democracy in the region, increases efficiency of public services in the region, increases the acceleration of development in the region and finally is expected the patterned creation how to be a good governance.²¹ Granting authority and responsibility as regulated in the law, must be balanced with the satisfying income source division which is able and supporting authority implementation and responsibility given. In this autonomy era, efforts to rely on central government support or higher level government cannot be maintained again. The autonomy demands region independent in varios fields, including independence in funding and implementation of development in the region. Therefore, local government is required in order to increase revenue to reduce dependence on the central government.

The enactment of the law adds to the authority possessed by the region, so the responsibility carried out by local government will also increase. About this, Mahfud MD argues that authority implication's

²⁰ This terminology is inspired by the entitled song “Aku Papua” sung by Edo Kondologit, Papua son, implying the beautiful of Papua land, so it is supposed like “the piece of paradise falling to the Earth”. The fact is indeed it, the landscape, mountain, many natural resources actually imply the beauty and interest the outsider to come in this land.

²¹ Muhammad Mujtaba Habibi, “Analisis Pelaksanaan Desentralisasi dalam Otonomi Daerah Kota/Kabupaten”, *Jurnal Pendidikan Pancasila dan Kewarganegaraan*, Vol. 28, No. 2, 2015, p. 117-124.

government widely given the region in order that autonomy area, can be blessed for the region, but on the other side increasing region's authority at once is also load demanding local readiness to do, because of more government business which becomes local government responsibility.²²

There are several aspects to be prepared, those are human resource, financial resource, facility, and infrastructure. Decentralized discourse and autonomy enforced in Indonesia are still in the unitary state of Indonesia republic. In this context,²³ mentions that unitary state is country whose power are dispersed to regions by the granting autonomy or authorization to manage their own house hold with decentralization and deconcentration. It means that the areas get the right from, or given by central government according to the law and constitution. According to Jimly Asshiddiqie in harmony with the nature of legal politics paragraph 18 the basic law of unitary state of Indonesian republic, that unitary state of Indonesia republic guarantees decentralization and broad autonomy for the regions by Indonesia.²⁴

Special autonomy for Papua province basically is special authority avowed and given for province and Papuan to manage and organize themselves in the framework of unitary state of Indonesia republic. Special authority means giving larger responsibility for province and Papuan to organize government and manage utilization of natural resource in Papua province which is the magnitude for Papuan prosperity as a part of Indonesian according to the law. This authority means also the authority for empower of cultural social potention and Papuan economy including to give the same role for native Papua by indigenous deputy, religion, and women created in Papuan council.

²² Mahfud MD, *Demokrasi dan Konstitusi di Indonesia: Studi Tentang Interaksi Politik dan Kehidupan Ketatanegaraan* (Jakarta: Rineka Cipta, 2000), p. 49.

²³ Mahfud MD, *Membangun Politik Hukum, Menegakkan Konstitusi* (Jakarta: LP3ES Indonesia, 2006), p. 221.

²⁴ Jimly Asshiddiqie, *Konstitusi dan Konstitusionalisme Indonesia* (Jakarta: Konstitusi Press, 2005), p. 262.

Papuan special autonomy authority has also given opportunity for native Papua to actualize themselves by cultural symbols as grandeur identity formula, admitting the right, native, native society, indigenous law, and the others. Beside it, the law of special autonomy has the spirit of finishing problem and reconsiliation to finish various problems happening in the past purposely to consolidate unity and Indonesia national totality in Papua province.²⁵

The policy implementation of Papua special autonomy is judged according to effective summary of the law no. 22 2001 to solve the basic problems. The regulation of the law is intended to solve national disintegration in Papua. In other word, if Papua special autonomy applies correctly, pure and consequent data it becomes a very powerful instrument and the best solution for the threat of national disintegration in Papua.²⁶

The policy of special autonomy for Papua, in decentralization theory is called asymmetric decentralization. According to Joachim Wehner in Djojosoekarto,²⁷ the granting different autonomy of territory or region of several areas is the government practice which is enough common found in politic setting experience of many countries. This experience occurs well in a form of national unity which is decentralized, or in a federative setting. In the repertoire of politics and government, setting pattern not balanced is called as asymmetrical decentralization, asymmetrical devolution or asymmetrical federalis, or generally asymmetrical intergovernmental arrangements.

In special autonomy era is also marked the emergence of political practice representation by some elite politic in Papua. Politic

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ JP Salossa, *Otonomi Khusus Papua* (Jayapura: Biro Hukum SETDA Prov. Papua, 2005), p. 53.

²⁷ Agung Djojosoekarto, *Nilai-Nilai Dasar Orang Papua dalam Mengelola Tata Pemerintahan (Governance) Studi Refleksi Antropologis* (Yogyakarta: Partnership for Governance Reform Centre for Learning and Advancing Experimental Democracy Indonesia Forestry and Governance Institute, 2012), p. 10.

representation refers to politic practice named society by themselves. Elite politic is often impressed easy to give an expression that they want to struggle for interest society. In this democracy era even that politic practice representation is very glow in Papua.

The authority of special autonomy together with jargon “papuanization” actually leaves the basic problem, that is actually not all Papuan getting the same opportunity to come in bureaucracy. In this context, “papuanization” even leaves an injustice for work of Papuan. Politic representation as consequence of special autonomy authority only adds turbidity in Papua. According to Lefaan, Nugroho and Mudiyo, politic practice representation is often done by all Papua politic elite in local politic dynamics.²⁸ This naming politics directly becomes blomed indication by political language game by local politic elite. Consequently, those populist words do not have meaning and it is very loaded with rhetorical charge and only cliché. Political language of society only shows in political stages, but empirically society’s fate still does not change, still poor and so far from prosperous. This indication includes political practice representation in general election. Because of the word of prosperous and independent are more political elite jargon, so the society lose the trust to politic elite. Deligitimated process of politic party and politic elite are actually as logical consequence of political practice representation blooming.

This thing shows that the representation of papuanization exactly more widen economic disparity between the rich and the poor, city people and Papuan insider. In the middle of hope that is soared when they are given special autonomy, but the society has not felt the benefit. Papuan knows that development fund in special autonomy era is very much, but why not changing their fate.²⁹ In the past and now they are still poor and

²⁸ Lefaan, dkk, ‘Etnosentrisme dan Politik Representasi di Era Otonomi Khusus Papua’, *Jurnal Majalah Ilmiah Pembelajaran* (Yogyakarta: Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta, 2013), p. 13.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

stayed behind. This fact is more painful, because precisely in the middle of much development fund increases sharply, but not improve the fate to prosperous. It is better not listening to big fund like what heralded in special autonomy era nowadays, then listening the fact that they are still poor. That is Papuan clarification generally like recorded in daily activity. Those complaints can be understood if it becomes demand source in order that special autonomy is returned to central government.

Politic representation of post special autonomy in the form of “papuanization” is together with stigma in several areas of Papua, especially in Christian majority place, that Papua land is only for Christian native Papua. This fact shows that beside the race sentiment or ethnic-native and comer. It is founded also religious sentiment in Papua society, especially native Papua.

This fact triggers some regulations which symbolizes one religion colour, especially for example about local regulation charged certain religion, the rejection about worship construction (mosque). Even, in the first of March, some religious figures protest mosque construction in Sentani Jayapura because it is considered to violate the existing rule. This matter is still discussed by the sides including Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI) involving religious figure, ethnic figure, and the government. Ethno-centrism bandaged by this religious sentiment does not rarely trigger the conflict, both in small scale and big scall.

According to the conducted research, revealed some statements from respondents, Papua is actually for Christian Papua only. Muslims precisely become a threat of Christian existent in Papua land. In Papua, there is developing discourse construction, that Christianity is native religion for Papuan. This matter of course ignores the other religious existence, especially Islam which also long enough entrenched and being the veins of Papuan native. This political religious identity later becomes the struggle arena between Muslim native group and Christian native group. This is Muslim’s challenge in Papua now and in the future which

must be responded overall including MMP role to communicate with various groups especially with other religious group.

Conclusion

The above discussion unveils contemporary development of a minority of Muslim in the largest Muslim country Indonesia and their efforts to define Muslim identity in a majority Christian Papuan. The Papuan Muslim finds the institutionalisation of Islam through establishing a Muslim association of the Majelis Muslim Papua/MMP as a strategic attempt to define the Papuan Muslim identity as well as a political institution to demand for equality in the Papuan public sphere. The presence of Papuan Muslim particularly develops through the massive Muslim immigration to the island particularly for job opportunities and religious conversion of the native Papuans. The position of Papuan Muslim in Papua public sphere is noteworthy as Papuan Muslim are particularly portrayed as the new comers (*pendatang*) and their religion is alien to the majority Christian Papuan. Nevertheless, the Papuan Muslim have enjoyed an important position for being the dominant group in economy and the state bureaucracy as they serve as government officials. Also, the establishment of Majelis Muslim Papua in 2007 has cornered the needs of Muslim Papuan to define their identity and to demand for equality in a minority setting of the majority Christian Papuan. This Muslim association has played essential roles not only to consolidate Muslim identity but also their political aspiration following the enactment of special autonomy (*otonomi khusus*) for the Papuan province. It represents a non-government organisation that struggles for Muslim group interests in Papua. The MMP indeed serves an important political force in the Papuan political sphere as building networks and alliances with many political leaders in Papua. Thus, it is not surprising that the institutionalisation of Islam in Papua through the MMP demonstrates a test for contemporary Indonesian multiculturalism.

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