

# Tracing the Sources of Inter-Ethnic Conflict in Mimika Regency, Papua Province

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**Abstract**— Conflict for the people in the Mimika area is a common thing, which is indicated by the habit of tribal wars and frequent changes of leadership. The presence of the Freeport Indonesia Limited Liability Company can be said to be a source of new conflicts, because old conflicts still color the social life of the community and Freeport adds to the complexity of conflicts in this area. The activities of the Freeport Indonesia Limited Liability Company, which is a multinational company with very modern equipment, has caused rapid social changes in the Mimika Regency area. This means that material factors appear to have a more pronounced effect on social change, because the use of sophisticated tools requires adequate infrastructure and adjustments to human mental attitudes. Moreover, with changes in the environment that directly affect the livelihoods of the population, a significant change in values is needed so that the community can survive. The purpose of this research is to understand the process of inter-tribal war and conflict resolution in Mimika Regency. While the research procedures in this study are research methods, research focus, research subjects, data sources, time and place of research, data collection techniques, data analysis techniques, and data validity checking techniques. The stronger the parties who take advantage of existing conflicts to fulfill personal and group interests, both for political and economic interests, the greater and longer the conflict between ethnic groups. This condition can occur if: (1) In the implementation of the Regional Head General Election, the candidate conducts many politics on each of the warring factions, (2) the security forces, regional governments, and international foreign companies only assist one of the warring factions, and (3) There are security personnel who prefer tribal wars because they can get more security money from the local government.

**Keywords**— Conflict, Ethnic and Interethnic Conflict.

## I. INTRODUCTION

Such rapid changes gave birth to increasingly sharp social conflicts, as tensions increased. The increase in tension is due to the existing social situation which already contains the potential for conflict in the form of competition and the tradition of war between tribes. As a modern company, Freeport Indonesia Limited Liability Company is required to act rationally, while the surrounding community is very traditional. Meanwhile, changes are inevitable so that indigenous peoples find it increasingly difficult to adapt to new situations and values. Finally, change and conflict go hand in hand as an unavoidable reality, triggered by the presence of the Freeport Indonesia Limited Liability Company.

According to Freeport, this fund has long been planned as a contribution from the company to build the community around the Freeport Indonesia Limited Liability Company area and the people of Irian Jaya in general. In particular, the people around Freeport who are the main targets are the Amungme tribe whose land is used for Freeport's operations.

The Freeport leadership also emphasized that in the use of these funds, the community must be fully involved, starting from the planning, implementation to evaluation processes. Use and determined through business groups or village community institutions. It is also outlined that the funds that are issued each year do not have to be spent, but partially saved as a reserve for future generations (as an endowment fund).

Conflict is actually functional to make social change, to encourage dynamics in society. However, if the conflict takes place with the authorities, in an unequal position, then the disclosure is done by protesting. In Mimika's case, conflict is not easily resolved because apart from the enormous potential stored in the community, Freeport's policies which were

intended to reduce conflict have turned into a new conflict, because they put more emphasis on the economic approach (1% funding). This policy also gave birth to new demands because many parties were dissatisfied with the way it was managed. In addition, there is one tribe, namely the Amungme tribe, which still refuses 1% funding. This refusal is based on two reasons. First, because only the Amungme and Kamoro are entitled to receive 1% of the funds. Second, giving funds is like "throwing a bone" up for grabs (Ngadisah, 2003).

In his book Ikhsan (2015), that in order to avoid the escalation of horizontal and vertical conflicts related to lands of ex-plantation concessions and other structural land cases in the regions, it is necessary for local governments to coordinate with the central government in planning a comprehensive program for resolving land cases. with the involvement of key elements of government, related community groups, and other stakeholders in a planned and participatory manner (Ikhsan, 2015: 510-511).

The wars between clans or between tribes that often occur in Mimika Regency regarding women's property or the infidelity of their ancestors have existed until now. The issue of infidelity is strictly prohibited because according to the community it is an adultery. Therefore, it is strictly forbidden to have an affair with another person's wife, if there is an affair or it is known that there is an affair with another person's wife, then in that case there is no compromise directly throwing arrows, even though the perpetrator is an elder or occurs in the family itself.

## II. RESEARCH METHOD

The research approach that has been used to achieve the research objectives is qualitative with the type of phenomenological research. The researcher chose the type of

phenomenological research, because he wanted to examine public awareness both individually and in groups towards the attitudes and behavior of inter-tribal wars and also the understanding of the community in interpreting tribal wars themselves.

In this writing, the author tries to collect data from various sources, including conducting interviews with the community, library books, reports, results of previous research, statements, experiences both seen, heard, and felt, print and electronic media, and other sources related to inter-tribal wars and conflict resolution in Mimika Regency, Papua Province.

Qualitative data collection is by focusing on the actual types of data and the collection procedures. However, data collection involves much more than that. Data collection includes seeking permission, implementing sound qualitative sampling strategies, developing ways to record information, both digitally and on paper, storing data, and anticipating ethical issues that may arise.

In this study, the researcher also used an unstructured interview technique, because according to the researcher this technique was very easy and free or not strict in conducting a dialogue between the researcher and the key informants and the subjects, then writing things related to the research problem and analyzing the data. By using an interview guide like this, it is possible to find out the thoughts of the actor or key informant and the subjects and the underlying reasons according to the problem of inter-tribal wars that often occur in Mimika Regency.

### III. RESEARCH RESULTS

#### 1. One Percent Fund (1%)

In his book Omaleng (2015), that the riots that occurred on March 10-12, 1996, were the biggest riots ever. The three-day riot involved many people, not only from the Amungme tribe, but also from other tribes around the Freeport concession area, even some Freeport employees themselves. This riot then invited the Director of Freeport McMoran Copper and Gold, James Moffet, to come to Timika and Tembagapura. It was from his visit that the idea of disbursing a trust fund of 1% was initiated. This 1% trust fund then invites many problems and conflicts between tribes and between residents (Omaleng, 2015: 130-131).

After the riots, in July 1996 the Freeport Indonesia Limited Company issued a policy, by providing 1% of the company's gross profit. At the beginning of the issuance of this policy, and available up to Rp. 35 billion and in 2000 it reached 88 billion rupiah. Since the initial launch of this fund, there have been issues concerning: the background to which the funds were issued, who has the right to receive it, for what purpose, who has the right to manage and so on. The status of these funds is considered to cause problems or become a source of conflict because there are many interpretations from various parties, where the interpretation depends on the interests of each.

The controversy over this first fund is about the background to the issuance of the 1% fund. Freeport said that this fund had been planned for a long time, there was no pressure from anyone, while certain ethnic groups and non-governmental organizations considered the fund as "blood money", the result

of the struggle through the March 1996 riots. became a driving factor for accelerating the disbursement of 1% funds, but not because of the riots, a development fund policy was issued, and the allocation was clear. Meanwhile, community leaders who were active in the riots and their continued struggle to Jakarta considered that they were the ones most entitled to the funds. Only the Amungme tribe refused to give these funds through the Amungme Tribe Traditional Consultative Institution, because they think this tribe is the most entitled. In addition, Lemasa also saw the misuse of funds and unclear procedures so that only certain figures enjoyed it.

The launch of the 1% fund turned out to be less beneficial for the general public in the first years. In fact, it has become a major conflict in 1996 and 1997. At that time there have been several inter-tribal riots that stem from the struggle over the use of funds, not only between the tribes living in Mimika, but also interference from people outside the Regency. on behalf of the indigenous people of Irian Jaya. One of the difficulties in resolving the conflict in Mimika was this factor, so that the Amungme community opposed any form of "representation" on behalf of the local community. For the Amungme tribe, Lemasa is a forum that can represent their tribe on every occasion, no need to be represented by other people/organizations. Meanwhile, other tribes feel entitled to receive assistance and welfare improvements from Freeport. The groups in question are ethnic groups in the Mimika area and outside the Mimika Regency. For this reason, various sporadic movements have arisen demanding that the Freeport Indonesia Limited Liability Company improve their fate, and even directives to manage their funds.

In 1996/1997, the management of funds was carried out through the Integrated Timika Regional Development Program which was later changed to a model for the Community Development Institution. However, every management model always brings dissatisfaction to certain parties, so that social conflicts still occur. Even with the addition of funds beyond the 1%, namely recognition funds, it does not reduce conflict but becomes a source of new conflicts (Ngadisah, 2003: 104-107).

#### 2. Liquor (Alcohol)

Liquor is one of the people's favorites, especially among young people, various types of drinks, both produced by the state through companies or coming from outside the city, as well as local drinks produced by the local community, then consuming these alcoholic beverages makes people drunk. Have mastered drinking (alcohol) or alcohol but still carry a vehicle, which results in crashing or being hit and then killed. In fact, conditions like this are humans who must affect the environment (alcohol), not the environment that affects humans. If humans are easily influenced by the environment, the impact is quite large and afflicts various problems in human life.

With the death of a person, the victim's family begins to react to find out who invited and invited to go for a walk together and drink alcohol, for example two people A and B are driving a drunk vehicle, then Person A dies, because they hit or were hit, then The family of victim A considers that party B is the only perpetrator for the death of person A, so that between

party A and party B there is a war, even though they already know authentic evidence from the hospital or from the police but still insist for war.

It is seen more deeply that the drink and the seller are not blaming it, but the problem is the users or consumers of the liquor, because after drinking they are unconscious, they go wandering in the midst of the residents, crossing bars and asking for money for public transportation that is passing by, bringing a vehicle so that crashing and being hit, disturbing people who are on the move and so on. However, after consuming alcoholic beverages and then resting, things like that will not happen. Some examples of inter-tribal wars or customary wars that occurred because of the actions of drunk people or problems from drunken people, can be seen in the table below.

TABLE 1. Number of Tribal Wars Due to Alcohol

No	Event Date	Tribal War Between	Number of Deaths
1	8 Maret-15 Mei 1997	Damal-Dani	6 orang
2	5-17 Juni 2004	Damal-Nduga	7 orang
3	16-10-2007 s/d 8-1-2008	Dani & Damal-Amungme	14 orang
4	20 Mei-5 Oktober 2012	Ongomang-Komangal	16 orang
5	28 Agustus 2015	Oknum TNI-Kamoro	2 orang
6	20 Februari 2017	Jawame-Kum	2 orang

Source: Interview results, local newspapers, reports and personal observations, 2015

The fact in Mimika is that the intensity of accidents is very high and many people are killed, because drunk people hit people walking and also hit other vehicles, eventually killing other people as well as themselves. As a result, the victim's family demanded billions of rupiah in head payments and ended in war, although not all tribes did this, but only certain tribes did such things.

By looking at the condition of this social fact, various elements of society, including the church, government (executive, legislative and judicial), non-governmental organizations and other elements of society have voiced their voice to destroy and eradicate alcohol because its impact is very detrimental to society in general. But until now it still exists. Although the Regional People's Representative Council has issued a Regional Regulation (Perda) to prohibit the sale of liquor in Mimika Regency. In 2017, the regent of Mimika together with the police had done swiping and closed places that were targeted for selling liquor. Doing this, because on orders from the governor of Papua Province. In relation to this, in 2018 people did swiping and burning the stalls that were still selling liquor. Therefore, liquor is one of the sources of inter-tribal conflict in Mimika.

On August 21, 2015, the researcher conducted an interview with Mr. Lukas Hagabal, as a church leader, he explained:

The main source of tribal war conflicts in this area is liquor (alcohol), because since 1996 the tribal war has been introduced to this day. Some tribal war conflicts, most of the wars occur only because they started from liquor. Therefore, we are one of the people who are trying hard to eradicate or eliminate alcohol in this district.

### 3. Land Problem

The land problem in Mimika Regency is customary land which is hereditary in nature which has the Amungme and Kamoro tribes, only the problem in Mimika Regency is the problem of land ownership in essence about the status of land ownership, in Mimika Regency there is no clarity regarding land so that the local government in this case the Land Agency and other related institutions are confused because there are customary institutions that talk about customary land rights in Mimika Regency, then the problem again is institutions that are still talking about customary land rights, hamlets, forests and others. -other things have not been organized, regulated and mapped, so that the recognition of ulayat land has not been recognized by the local government in Mimika Regency.

There are two land statuses in Mimika Regency, namely free State land and non-free State land. Free State land is State land that has been released by the State, therefore anyone may cultivate it as long as he cultivates the vacant land after which he must have or take care of the release of land and land certificates. In Mimika Regency, which includes free State land is from kilo 11 to mile 50, approximately 52000 hectares. While non-free State land is land with customary rights, if the land is not the owner of customary rights, it is not permitted to cultivate it. Therefore, those who have the right to cultivate the land are the ulayat rights owners, if anyone who wants to work on this land has the same permission as the ulayat rights owners. The owners of customary land rights in Mimika Regency are the Amungme and Kamoro tribes.

The conflict arose because there were actually differences in the understanding of perceptions between the two conflicting tribes. As an example of the case, in 2010 the conflict between the Amungme tribe and the Kei tribe over land in the Petrosea area, this land is included as free State land. concerned, but the Kei tribe without asking permission from the first party who owns the land. However, the Kei tribe cultivates it without the permission of the land owner because the Kei tribe considers that this land is free land so that the Kei tribe is free to cultivate. With this kind of misunderstanding of perception, a conflict arose between the two tribes.

On June 31, 2019 the researcher conducted an interview with Mr. Pantoan Tambunan as the head of the land office in Mimika Regency, he explained

Regarding the handling of land problems in this district, the officers faced difficulties in managing the Complete Systematic Land Registration in Mimika, namely the absence of rights such as land titles, unclear land boundaries and even claims by other parties on the land for which Complete Systematic Land Registration was to be made.

Conflict events in the economic field in Mimika Regency, which often arise in society, be it between Mimika Regency indigenous tribes and sub-tribes from other districts, between indigenous tribes and tribes from outside Papua as well as between indigenous tribes and others. These conflict events can be seen in the following table.

In 2010 there was a conflict between the Amungme tribe and the Kei tribe related to land issues in Petrosea to Irrigation, that in fact the owner of this land was Mr. Dominggus Beanal (deceased) who first opened or cut down trees then he invited



the Mee tribe to clear land together to build houses, make gardens and so on, then part of the land is plotted and then sold to the Kei, Toraja and other tribes. Then Mr. Dominggus (deceased) he made a sale and purchase transaction at a very cheap price or sold it for Rp. 500,000; up to 2,000,000; and an alcoholic drink cartoon because Mr. Dominggus also likes to drink alcohol.

TABLE 2. Land Conflict Events in Mimika Regency

No	Years of Conflict	Conflict Between Tribes	Main problem
1	1994	Amungme-PTFI	Hak Ulayat Land
2	1996	Amungme-PTFI	Hak Ulayat Land
3	2004	Nduga-Damal	Tanah
4	2009	Mee-Amungme	Tanah
5	2008-2011	Amungme-Batak	Tanah
6	2010	Amungme-Kei	Tanah
7	2010-2011	Kamoro-Pemerintah	Tanah
8	2014	Dani-Moni/Amungme	Tanah

Source: results of interviews with community leaders and own observations

In the same year, the family of Mr. Dominggus Beanal (deceased) with other Amungme tribes carried out the installation of stakes so that they could not cross the boundary, but made the Kei tribe angry over the installation of the stakes, with anger the Kei tribe immediately attacked the Amungme tribe, Finally, there was a clash between the two tribes. The second party is like the Kei tribe with the Toraja tribe, they buy this land from the first party or ulayat owner at a very cheap price, namely five hundred to two million rupiah and one alcoholic drink cartoon, then the second party sells it again to a third party at a higher price. expensive tens to hundreds of millions, and also build a permanent building. Such actions caused the two tribes to give birth to a conflict which resulted in dozens of people being injured and not being killed in this conflict.

On July 24, 2019, the researcher conducted an interview with Mr. Arianus Katagame as a civil servant in Mimika Regency, he explained:

That many cases of economic conflict occurred in Mimika Regency, for example in 2010 the land conflict between the Kei tribe and the Amungme tribe in Petrosea, in 2013 the traditional miners between the Kei tribe and the Damal tribe on mile 39, in 2014 the land conflict between the Dani tribe and the Moni tribe in Jayanti, and others. All of this happened because of the weakness of community institutions. The purpose of establishing this community institution was to regulate and map customary land, but this institution became a leadership dualism so that it was difficult for the community to trust which institution governed the land. And the local government also finds it difficult to provide recommendations to community institutions in Mimika Regency.

Lack of public understanding about land, which often occurs in this area, for example, people who like to drink alcohol, usually their land is released in exchange for alcoholic beverages to immigrant communities, then the immigrant community takes care of certificates at the National Land Agency and becomes theirs and then sells them to other people. other things up to hundreds of rupiah even though previously he only exchanged it for alcoholic drinks, so that one day the

land owner wanted to take back his land but it was difficult later in court he lost, because he did not have a land certificate even though it was his own land.

On November 13, 2018, the researcher interviewed Mr. Done as the head of the land division at the Land Agency in Mimika Regency, he explained:

That the conflict arose because of the difference in understanding of perception between the two conflicting tribes. As an example of the case, in 2010 the conflict between the Amungme tribe and the Kei tribe over land in the Petrosea area, this land is included as free State land. concerned, but the Kei tribe without asking permission from the first party who owns the land. However, the Kei tribe cultivates it without the permission of the land owner because the Kei tribe considers this land to be free land so that the Kei tribe is free to cultivate. With this misunderstanding of perception, then a conflict arose between the two tribes

#### 4. Revenge

There are many conflicts that occur in Mimika Regency, because there are conflicts between tribes and relatives which are conflicts that previously could not be resolved. There is no process of forgiving and forgiving each other. In tribal wars there are winners and losers, for those who lose usually hold grudges because the losing party feels aggrieved and falls victim to more, unbalanced than the opponent. Certain tribes who then often lose in wars, they make special strategies other than competing on the battlefield or open field, to reduce their revenge in a certain way secretly carried out through poisoning, when the thing / action is known by the opposing party, the circumstances this is like a fire in the husk, which at any moment can arise and result in a bigger conflict. One example of a vengeful conflict was on July 21, 2006, a tribal war between the Dani tribe and the Damal tribe, in Mimika Regency, resulting in 10 deaths and 300 injuries. The war ended on 3 August 2006 (Kum, 2009).

Some of these observations hold true in Papua, but in general and broadly speaking, no single theory can be applied to warfare. The only common reason that war is told about war is that war is needed as revenge and so that a small number of men can accumulate power and prestige that brings them to leadership status (Muller, 2009: 152).

The existence of PTFI in Mimika Regency, tribes from outside Mimika and from outside Papua come to Mimika to look for work at Freeport, especially neighboring tribes for example from Intan Jaya Regency, Puncak Regency, Puncak Jaya Regency, Tolikara Regency, Yahukimo Regency, Jayawi Jaya, Ndugama Regency, and others. Crowds came to Mimika Regency, then there was a war between tribes, because of old grudges that were still unresolved, but because of the opportunity to live together in the Regency so that the prolonged war broke out.

In connection with the frequent occurrence of wars between tribes in Mimika Regency, on June 2 2018, the researcher conducted an interview with Mr. Jompis Tabuni as a community leader, he explained:

That the wars between tribes that often occur in Mimika Regency are actually because the tribes in Ilaga, Beoga,

Sugapa, Sinaga, Puncak Jaya and other areas came to Timika and there was a war there. The old wars that had occurred in their respective areas were revenge but later came to wreak war on Mimika, because of the standard opportunity to meet and live together there. Actually this all happened because of interest.

### 5. Women's Assets (Infidelity)

According to the Amungme and other central highland tribes, customs are very strong, especially regarding the prohibition of adultery and women's infidelity. So, of course, there is great suspicion if someone's wife or is married when traveling together or meeting each other with suspected people, whether they are people who already know or don't know. If you know that a woman is already married and has an affair or adultery with anyone, whether it is someone she knows or doesn't know, war usually occurs. Therefore, tribal wars or prolonged civil wars in the Amungsa region and the central highlands are usually due to women's property problems that have not been paid off, vengeance issues that have not been resolved previously, territorial boundaries issues, land problems, and garden/land problems, even unresolved war victims.

One concrete example that then creates conflict is disturbing or coveting someone's wife, in the Amungme language it is called Emekme nain dai-dai. Emekme nain dai-dai or coveting someone's wife in the holy book output chapter 20 verse 17, explains:

Do not covet your neighbor's house; do not covet his wife, or his male servant, or his female servant, or his ox or his donkey, or anything that belongs to your neighbor.

Even though there are clear statements in the scriptures, people's lives are always ignored, eventually conflicts often occur in Mimika Regency.

TABLE 3. Inter-tribal or inter-clan wars from the 1900s-2010 in Mimika Kabupaten District

No	Year	War Between Clans / Tribes	Problem	Era
1	2010	Damal-Nduga	Affair	Reformasi
2	2006	Dani-Damal	girl's treasure	Reformasi
3	1997	Amungme-Dani	Affair	Orde Baru
4	1980-an	Kelabetme-Egatmang	girl's treasure	Orde Baru
5	1970-an	Jangkup-Jawame	girl's treasure	Orde Baru
6	1940-an	Kemong-Katagame	girl's treasure	Kolonial
7	1930-an	Tsunme-Jawame	girl's treasure	Kolonial
8	1920-an	Amungme-Dani	Misunderstanding	Kolonial
9	1910-an	Uamang-Kum/Jawame	girl's treasure	Kolonial
10	1900-an	Onime-Ninume	girl's treasure	Kolonial

Source: See, Kum, 2012, *Ethnic Conflict: A Critical and Constructive Study of Ethnic Conflict in Papua. Direct reports of war participants from the 2014 Mimika District war site and the results of interviews with traditional elders*

Women as a symbol of tribal pride. Of course, there will be consequences, if self-esteem is damaged, especially in inappropriate ways, they will not immediately report to the

police, but (agreed) to wage war with various forms of traditional weapons. Indeed, there are other instruments that are generally considered more civilized, such as dialogue to reach consensus or reporting to the police for action according to the related positive law. Positive law (national) and formal police are products of modern society (complex), while they are still classified as simple people whose lives are clustered so that effective laws are used of course their laws.

According to other tribes or modern society, war is judged because of infidelity and wealth or women's dowry is something strange or personal or trivial things that can resolve itself but involve other tribes, eventually it becomes a big problem and war ensues, even take human life.

On October 12 2018, the researcher conducted an interview with Mr. Idris as Ustad in Mimika Regency, he explained:

That the background of the tribal war in Mimika, that there are often tribal wars in this area are only small problems or trivial problems, namely the problem of misunderstanding and women's problems can be solved as a family but spread to other people or tell here and there, finally the problem became large and there was a war between tribes in this area. Therefore, to solve the problem was just custom. Or solve it in that tribe, don't take it to other tribes, otherwise the problem will get bigger.

## IV. CONCLUSION

The presence of the Freeport Indonesia Limited Liability Company can be said to be a source of new conflicts, because old conflicts still color the social life of the community and Freeport adds to the complexity of conflicts in this area. The activities of the Freeport Indonesia Limited Liability Company, which is a multinational company with very modern equipment, has caused rapid social changes in the Mimika Regency area. This means that material factors appear to have a more pronounced effect on social change, because the use of sophisticated tools requires adequate infrastructure and adjustments to human mental attitudes. Moreover, with changes in the environment that directly affect the livelihoods of the population, a significant change in values is needed so that the community can survive.

In this regard, the sources of inter-tribal war conflicts in Mimika Regency include one percent of funds (1%), land issues, liquor, revenge, traditional panning, women's assets, power of position or office and so on. so.

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