

IMPLEMENTATION OF SPECIAL AUTONOMY POLICY TOWARDS CIVIL SOCIETY IN PAPUA PROVINCE

Muhammad Rusdianto Abu^{1*}
Muhammad Hakimi Mohd. Shafiai²
Abdul Ghafar Ismail³

¹ Institut Islam Hadhari, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, Bangi Malaysia,
(E-mail: p142809@siswa.ukm.edu.my)

² Faculty of Economics and Management, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, Bangi, Malaysia,
(E-mail: hakimi@ukm.edu.my)

³ Faculty of Economics and Management, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, Bangi, Malaysia,
(E-mail: agibab62@gmail.com)

*Corresponding author: p142809@siswa.ukm.edu.my

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Abstract: *The Special Autonomy Policy in Papua Province is a strategic step by the Indonesian government to give greater authority to the regions in order to manage resources, culture, and local development that are more in line with the needs of the Papuan people. The phenomenon that is used as the object of research is the implementation of special autonomy policies in increasing the Human Development Index (HDI) in realizing civil society in Papua Province. This study aims to analyze the implementation of the Special Autonomy policy towards civil society in Papua, namely a participatory, independent, fair, and prosperous society. The research uses a qualitative research approach. Secondary data collection using literature studies; Primary data collection uses interview and observation techniques. Through qualitative analysis with a descriptive approach, this study explores the impact of Special Autonomy policies on the social, economic, and political sectors in Papua. The results show that although special autonomy provides space for improving people's welfare and political participation, there are still various challenges, such as corruption, weak infrastructure, and human resource gaps that hinder the achievement of special autonomy goals. The implementation of the special autonomy policy towards civil society in Papua Province has not been optimal, because theoretically, it shows the limitations of policy implementation in fulfilling the interests of affected parties; types of benefits received; the expected rate of change; decision-making positions; program implementers; and resource commitment; as well as weaknesses in anticipating the strengths of the actors involved; the interests of the actors involved; the strategies of the actors involved; characteristics of regimes and institutions; Compliance; and responsiveness. Practically, the implementation of special autonomy policies in increasing the Human Development Index in Papua Province has not been optimal, because data shows that the Papuan Human Development Index is still low.*

Keywords: *Special Autonomy, civil society, Papua, policy implementation, development*

Introduction

Papua Island is one of the 5 (five) largest islands in Indonesia with an area of 412,215 ^{KM}², based on the results of the current division of Papua Island is divided into 6 (six) Provinces namely: (1) West Papua Province; (2) Papua Province; (3) Central Papua Province; (4) Papua Mountain Province; (5) South Papua Province; and (6) Southwest Papua Province (Daniswari, 2023). Along with the development of democracy in this reform era and in accordance with the development of political dynamics in Indonesia, the Central Government provides Special Autonomy for provinces on the island of Papua which is regulated in Law Number 21 of 2001 which was later amended to Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 2 of 2021 concerning the Second Amendment to Law Number 21 of 2001 concerning Special Autonomy for Papua Province. It should be noted that in the course of the Special Autonomy given to Papua, it has not been able to boost the poverty rate in Papua, for example:

- The percentage of poor people in Papua over the past six months has increased by 0.09 percentage points, from 26.55 percent in September 2019 to 26.64 percent in March 2020.
- The percentage of poor people in Papua for urban areas decreased by 0.06 percentage points to 4.47 percent (4.53 percent in September 2019) while rural areas increased by 0.14 percentage points to 35.50 percent (35.36 percent in September 2019).
- The role of food commodities in the Poverty Line is much greater than the role of non-food commodities, both urban and rural. In March 2020, the contribution of the Food Poverty Line to the Poverty Line in urban areas was 66.82 percent, while in rural areas it was 78.89 percent.
- Food commodities that have a large effect on the Poverty Line of Papua Province in urban areas are rice, filter clove cigarettes, broiler eggs, mackerel, and broiler chicken meat. Meanwhile, food commodities that have a major influence on the GK in rural areas are cassava, rice, filter clove cigarettes, pork, and purebred chicken meat.
- In the September 2019-March 2020 period, the Poverty Depth Index (P1) and Poverty Severity Index (P2) showed an upward trend. This indicates that the average expenditure of the poor tends to move away from the poverty line and the inequality among the poor is increasing compared to the previous period (BPS, 2020).

Meanwhile, the results of the 2020 Population Census show that the population of Papua Province is 4.30 million people. The percentage of poor people in Papua Province reached 26.64 percent. The poor are people who have an average monthly per capita expenditure below the Poverty Line. The Poverty Line in Papua Province is IDR 562,992 (BPS, 2020). The number of poor people in Papua Province in 2020, which reached 26.64 percent of the population of 4.30 million people, is a logical consequence of limited human resources, especially limited human resources living in rural areas. The number of poor people also shows the achievement of economic development in Papua Province.

The achievement of economic development in a region is influenced by the process of human development. This achievement is inseparable from how much human quality is in a region. An indicator that can measure human quality in a region is the Human Development Index (HDI). HDI is an indicator used to measure one of the important aspects related to the quality of the results of economic development, namely the degree of human development. HDI has three elements, namely health, education achieved, and living standards or often called the economy. So, these three elements are very important in determining the level of a province's ability to increase its HDI. These three elements do not stand alone but rather influence each other. It is also influenced by other factors, such as the availability of employment opportunities, which in turn are determined by economic growth, infrastructure and government policies. So the HDI

in a region will increase if these three elements can be improved, a high HDI value indicates the success of economic development in the area.

As a special autonomy region, Papua Province is allocated the Special Autonomy Fund (Dana Otsus). The special autonomy fund was allocated to Papua Province starting in 2002. The following data shows the allocation of the Special Autonomy Fund for Papua Province, from 2002 to 2020.

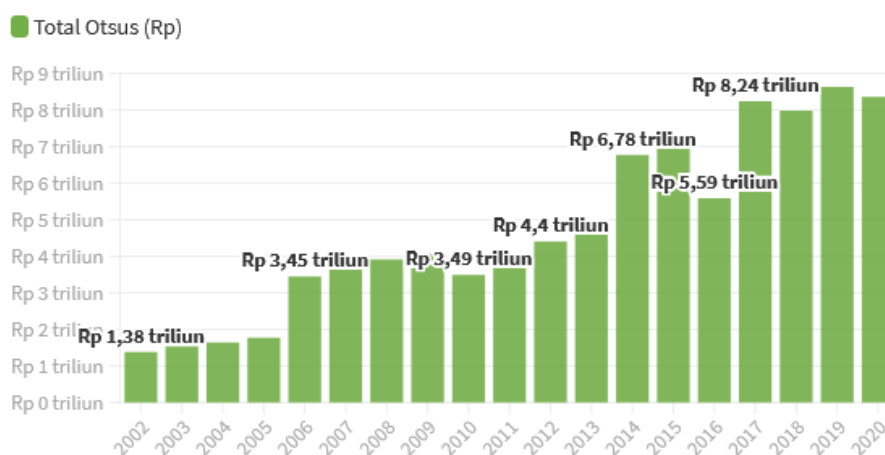


Figure 1 Papua Province Special Autonomy Fund Revenue 2002-2020

Source: Kementerian Keuangan Indonesia (2021)

The analysis of BPK's findings in the first semester of fiscal year 2010 on the Special Autonomy Fund for Fiscal Year 2009 explains that the granting of the Special Autonomy Fund is basically intended to support the acceleration of the implementation of Special Autonomy for the Papua Province, in order to realize justice, uphold the rule of law, respect for human rights, accelerate economic development, improve the welfare and progress of the Papuan people, in the context of equality and balance with the progress of other provinces in Indonesia. With such objectives for the Special Autonomy Fund, the number of poor people and the percentage of people living below the poverty line in Papua Province should be decreasing from year to year. However, the reality shows that according to the World Bank, Papua Province is still listed as the region with the highest poverty rate, where there are still 27.5 percent of people in Papua Province living below the poverty line.

Ideally, the management of the Special Autonomy Fund can further accelerate economic development to improve the welfare and progress of the Papuan people, so that there is equality and balance between Papua Province and the progress of other provinces in Indonesia. However, development in Papua has been observed to be very slow. One of the triggers for the slow development in Papua, especially human development, is the lack of effective implementation of policies in the form of the Papua Special Autonomy Law, as well as the implementation of civil society.

Basically, the spread of social welfare is the main objective of public policy. Social welfare describes the quality of life and basic satisfaction experienced by individuals and groups within a community or society (Romich & Rodriguez, 2021). As a multidimensional concept, welfare encompasses economic, social, political, physical and psychological aspects whose interactions affect the extent to which individuals or groups feel that their basic needs are met and can lead

fulfilling lives. To achieve welfare, several basic needs need to be accommodated, including 1) Physical needs: Such as adequate food, shelter, and health; 2) Security needs: Includes protection from violence and crime and economic and political stability; 3) Social needs: such as education, social inclusion, and participation in community life; 4) Personal development needs: Opportunities for personal and professional growth, and realization of individual and group potential (McNutt & Hoefer, 2020). Improving social welfare refers to efforts to provide equal rights and opportunities to every individual in society, for a better and more dignified quality of life. A good quality of life is a condition in which every individual in a society can fulfill his or her basic needs, have equal access to opportunities and facilities, and feels satisfied and happy with his or her life (Lu et al., 2020). The key indicators of a good quality of life in a society are Physical well-being and health, Security, Education and opportunity, social well-being, Environmental quality, and Freedom and dignity. Achieving a Good Quality of Life requires collaborative efforts from individuals, communities, governments and other organizations. Public policies and programs should be designed and implemented with the aim of promoting well-being and a better quality of life for all (Sapiro, 2020).

Public policy is a series of decisions made by the government or other policymakers to address several problems facing society. The process of making public policy usually involves problem identification, agenda setting, policy formulation, adoption (or decision making), implementation, and evaluation. The policies may take the form of laws, regulations, decrees, or other types of government interventions (Handoyo, 2012). Creating effective public policy requires a good understanding of the complexity of social issues, cooperation public policy is a set of decisions made by government or other policymakers to address several problems facing society. The process of making public policy usually involves problem identification, agenda setting, policy formulation, adoption (or decision making), implementation, and evaluation. The policies may take the form of laws, regulations, decrees, or other types of government interventions. Creating effective public policies requires a good understanding of the complexity of social issues, cooperation among various stakeholders, and adaptation to changing political, social, and economic conditions (Nugroho, 2004).

Meanwhile, in the welfare of society in the 1990s, there was a civil society “fever”. This civil society fever complemented other fevers in the country, both those that occurred before or after civil society, including postmodernism, feminism, left Islam, liberal Islam, neo-liberalism to name just a few of the most famous. It is less clear whether the fever of these discourses has made an impression on the consciousness base, the way citizens think and act. Or it could just be a fad. It appears for a moment, becomes a trend, is ganged up on and then disappears without a trace. The concept of “civil society” is a translation or Islamicization of the concept of “civil society”. The first person to express this term was Anwar Ibrahim, Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia, at the Istiqlal Festival in Jakarta in 1995 and it was developed in Indonesia by Nurcholish Madjid (Zamharir, 2004). The interpretation of civil society as a civil society refers to the concept and form of Medina society built by the Prophet Muhammad. The society of Medina is considered as a historical legitimization of the innocence of the formation of civil society in modern Muslim societies. Civil society is the translation of civil society. The concept of civil society was born and developed from the history of societal struggles. Cicero was the first Westerner to use the word societies civilis in his political philosophy. The concept of civil society was first understood as the state. Historically, the term civil society has its roots in the thinkers Montesque, J.J. Rousseau, John Locke and Hubbes. These three men began to organize a civil society building that was able to dilute the authoritarian power of absolute monarchy and church orthodoxy (Diamond, 2003). Currently, this symptom already exists, so the need to

make this discourse more open is very important in the framework of political education for the wider community. Therefore, the purpose of this research is to analyze the concept of civil society in shaping public policy.

Methods

This study employs a Systematic Literature Review (SLR) approach to analyze research on halal standards and the competitiveness of the halal food industry. The SLR follows the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA) guidelines, ensuring a structured and transparent process. The review is complemented by bibliometric analysis using the VOSviewer software to identify key themes, research clusters, and trends over the past decade (2013–2024). Bibliometric analysis is a common technique used to This research uses a qualitative research approach. The research informants were 4 people who were determined by snowball technique. Secondary data collection used literature study; primary data collection used interview and observation techniques. Data analysis uses descriptive analysis developed with observer triangulation analysis. And with a library research approach with a qualitative approach. Data was obtained through documentation activities. Documentation is carried out on literature and is not only limited to books, but also on several research and debates related to the theme of this study. The analysis in this study is inductive, beginning with the presentation of specific statements and then drawing a generalized conclusion.

Literature Review and Results

Implementation of Special Autonomy Policy in Papua Province in Improving Human Development Index

During the nearly two decades of implementation of the special autonomy for Papua from the period 2002 to 2020 there has been a significant decline in the poverty rate, although there has been a temporary increase in groups of people who are vulnerable to poverty. In 2002, the number of poor people in Papua Province still reached 41 percent of the total population or reached a figure of 984.00 people, this figure was still two times greater than the percentage of poor people in Indonesia that year which was only 16.58 percent. In 2019, the percentage of poor people in Papua Province decreased significantly to 27.53 percent. However, this figure is not good enough and is still very high when compared to the proportion of the national poverty rate which only reaches 9.22 percent of the total population.

The high level of poverty in Papua Province deserves attention, considering that the Special Autonomy Fund and the Additional Infrastructure Fund (DTI) disbursed to develop this area are also quite large. If the percentage of poor people and the amount of Special Autonomy and DTI funds during the 2002-2019 period are correlated, the correlation coefficient value reaches -0.896. This finding is quite interesting and has implications for two things: First, it could be that the amount of Special Autonomy and DTI funds that have been disbursed is insufficient, or the management of these funds is still not good so that the poverty reduction output is not optimal. In fact, in response to the disbursement of Special Autonomy funds, the Provincial Government of Papua is not standing still. One of the initiatives in the context of alleviating poverty in Papua Province is the Village Development Strategic Plan (RESPEK) which was introduced by Governor Barnabas Suebu in 2007 (Resosudarmo et al. 2014). This program began with a World Bank pilot project (Bertrand, 2014). This policy aims to develop the local economy with Rp 100 million to each village in Papua and West Papua Provinces. The funds are intended to improve nutrition, basic education, basic health services, infrastructure and

community livelihoods (Resosudarmo et al., 2014). However, these funds constitute only a small part of the Special Autonomy fund and there is little evidence of the impact of this distribution (Bertrand, 2014). To increase the effectiveness of this program, in 2008 Respect was merged with the National Community Empowerment Program (PNPM). In 2013, the name was changed to the Village Economic and Institutional Development Strategic Program (PROSPEK), which places greater emphasis on developing village institutions.

In 2020, the Human Development Index (IPM) for Papua Province reached 60.44. The achievements of human development at the district/city level in Papua Province in 2020 are quite varied. Nduga Regency is the district with the lowest HDI in Papua Province. Meanwhile, Jayapura City has the highest HDI in Papua Province. With such HDI achievements, the implementation of the Papua Special Autonomy policy has not been followed by repositioning, reorientation, restructuring, refunctionalization and revitalization of the Government in Papua. It is this condition that causes the Papua Special Autonomy policy to experience obstacles/stagnation in its implementation stages. As a result, there has been a skewed assessment of the Papua Special Autonomy policy. There are even elements of society who are intensively making efforts to restore Papua's Special Autonomy because they are deemed to have "failed" to become a locomotive for change. It must be admitted that along with the increasing escalation of socio-political dynamics in Papua today, it turns out that it is not able to be accommodated by existing statutory provisions, in particular the Papua Special Autonomy Law. Because of this condition, in administering government and implementing development, there tends to be violations of various applicable laws and regulations. If this is not anticipated, it is feared that what will apply is the principle of "power" (organization of government based on the will of the authorities) not the principle of "law" (organization of government based on applicable rules) (Musa'ad, 2012).

Even though the implementation of the Papua Special Autonomy policy has experienced distortions in several dimensions, which has resulted in the policy being considered incapable of being an alternative in solving various problems in Papua, the discourse on returning Otsus which has recently been voiced by several parties, including the MRP, is also not a viable solution. best. "Otsus", as the embodiment of asymmetric decentralization (asymmetric decentralization) or "ordinary Otda" as the embodiment of symmetric decentralization (symmetric decentralization) is essentially a strategic choice in governance (government management), for every country that adheres to decentralization. Rejection of Otsus means choosing an ordinary Otda. Even the rejection of decentralization means the choice of centralization, because political facts show that until now the Papua region is an integral part of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (Musa'ad, 2012).

Based on these considerations, carrying out "reconstruction" of the Papua Special Autonomy Law is considered the best alternative at this time, and is a solution in order to organize governance and development in Papua in a more aspirational, accommodative manner. effective, efficient, just and democratic within the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. In addition, the "reconstruction" of the Papua Special Autonomy Law is also seen as an activity with relatively small risks and burdens (Musa'ad, 2012).

The "reconstruction" of the Papua Special Autonomy Law must be laid down in 5 (five) basic foundations, as prerequisites, namely: (1) "reconstruction" of the Papua Special Autonomy Law must be based on a spirit of mutual trust between the Center and the regions (Jakarta & Papua); (2) "reconstruction" of the Papua Special Autonomy Law must be based on a commitment to

provide reinforcement of pre-existing content material; (3) "reconstruction" of the Papua Special Autonomy Law, must ensure the effectiveness of its implementation in a strong and comprehensive legal system ; (4) "reconstruction" of the Papua Special Autonomy Law must be placed within the framework of actualizing good governance; (5) "reconstruction" of the Papua Special Autonomy Law must take seriously the aspirations of the Regions, and is a joint program between the Center and the Regions (Musa'ad, 2012).

Obstacles to the Implementation of the Special Autonomy Policy in Papua Province in Improving the Human Development Index

Obstacles to the implementation of the special autonomy policy in increasing the Human Development Index in Papua Province include structural constraints, cultural constraints and conditional constraints. Each obstacle has its own complexity. Structural constraints are obstacles that arise from the behavior of political elite power as well as work culture, leadership and the mental attitude of the bureaucratic apparatus which tends to be KKN. This structural obstacle occurs because of the weak commitment and integrity of political elites and bureaucratic officials. Conditions that occur and become obstacles to achieving HDI are weak coordination, transparency and accountability for performance management of resources for the implementation of programs and activities related to the basic needs of the community and increasing HDI.

Cultural obstacles are obstacles that arise from limited human resources, social resources and local wisdom which are closely embedded in the daily lives of indigenous Papuans in the interior. Conditional constraints are constraints that arise from conditions of ignorance and poverty caused by geographical remoteness, sociological backwardness and limited individualistic resources among indigenous Papuans. The conditions that occur and become obstacles to achieving the HDI are the very limited provision of regional infrastructure, health infrastructure and education infrastructure as well as the high prices of basic commodities.

With such constraints, the Social Indicators in Papua Province are indicated as follows:

Education: In 2020, the percentage of the population aged 7-24 years in Papua Province who are still in school is 61.68 percent. Meanwhile, the remaining 13.80 percent and 24.52 percent are residents who have never/never attended school and are not attending school anymore. During the same period, the Net Enrollment Rate (APM) in Papua Province for the Elementary School (SD)/Madrasah Ibtidiah (MI)/equivalent level was 79.27 percent. This percentage decreased at each level of education so that the lowest APM was at the level of Senior High School (SMA)/Vocational High School (SMK)/Madrasah Aliyah (MA)/equivalent at 44.73 percent. The same pattern also occurred for the gross enrollment rate (APK) where the GER for SD/MI/equivalent was 91.27 percent and decreased to GER for SMA/SMK/MA/equivalent by 76.55 percent.

Health: In 2018, Health Facilities in Papua Province were dominated by Community Health Centers with 1,568 units. Meanwhile, the number of hospitals in Papua Province is 41 units. The Papua Provincial Health Office also noted that the highest number of hospitals was found in Jayapura City, with seven units. In addition, during the same time period, health workers in Papua Province in 2020 were dominated by 5,512 nursing staff. In 2020, as many as 68.49 percent of ever-married women aged 15-49 who gave birth to live births were assisted in the birth process by health personnel. Based on data from the Papua Provincial Health Office, the number of pregnant women in Papua Province in 2016 was 78,157 people. This number has

increased compared to previous years. Regarding visits by pregnant women to health workers, as many as 65.66 percent of pregnant women made K1 visits but this percentage decreased in K4 visits to 38.06 percent. As many as 7.34 percent of pregnant women were declared Chronic Energy Deficiency (KEK) and 26.88 percent received iron intake. The number of couples of childbearing age (PUS) in Papua Province in 2020 is 176,496 couples. Furthermore, the number of active Family Planning (KB) participants was 159,727 people where most of the KB participants used injection devices, namely 90,342 people. On the other hand, the Male Operation Method (MOP) is the least used family planning method by 417 participants.

Housing and Environment: In 2020, 14.60 percent of households in Papua Province will occupy buildings with a floor area of 19 m² or less. In contrast, only 6.64 percent of households occupy buildings with a floor area of more than 100 m². If reviewed based on drinking water sources, in the same year, as many as 27.57 percent of households in Papua Province were still using bottled water. Furthermore, the National Socioeconomic Survey in 2020 recorded that 43.14 percent of households had used PLN electricity. On the other hand, there are still 27.17 percent of households that do not use electricity at home.

Crime: The Papua Regional Police in 2019 recorded 3,735 crimes in Papua Province. This number has decreased compared to the last three years. Furthermore, 2019 was the year with the highest number of settlements, namely 50.41 percent in the last three years.

Religion and Other Social Affairs: In 2019, the Indonesian Ministry of Religion recorded that there were 1,377 pilgrims departing from Papua Province. This number has increased compared to 2018 and 2017, where the increase reached up to 30.27 percent compared to 2018. The Indonesian Ministry of Religion also noted that in 2019 there were 4,463 marriages. However, in the same year, the Supreme Court noted that there were 1,326 divorces and divorces in Papua Province. Meanwhile, the population structure according to religion in Papua Province shows that the majority of the Papuan population adheres to Protestant Christianity. This has an effect on the number of Protestant churches that can be found in Papua Province, namely 6,223 buildings.

Poverty and Human Development: In September 2020, the poverty line (GK) for urban areas in Papua Province is Rp. 622,346/capita/month, which means that if an individual who lives in an urban area has a month's income of under Rp. 662,346 are categorized as poor. Meanwhile, GK in rural areas in Papua province is Rp. 562,412/capita/month. The percentage of poor people in Papua Province in September 2020 has increased compared to March 2020 of 0.16 percent. When compared to the conditions of the last five years, namely in March 2016, the percentage of poor people in Papua Province has decreased significantly, namely by 1.74 percent.

Data shows that among 34 provinces in Indonesia; Papua province is in the lowest position in terms of the distribution of the percentage of poor people. In 2018 the number of poor people in Papua Province reached 26.64 percent, in 2019 it reached 26.80 percent. Meanwhile, Bali occupied the top position with 3.78 percent in 2018 and 4.45 percent in 2019.

Civil Society Thought

Civil Society is a construct of society based on Islamic values (religiosity) that has a very advanced civilization (civilis) that nurtures its different (racial) / plural citizens by upholding the values of truth and justice in that society (Efrinaldi, 2013). While civil society refers to the

Western tradition of thought, the construction of society is not based on religious values. This is where civil society and civil society differ substantively. When referring to the model of society in the perspective of civil society and society in the perspective of civil society is actually the same because it is an educational people, meaning a society that has a high civilization. Among the characteristics of civil society according to Efrinaldi are:

1. Society: a broad scope empirically not just normatively.
2. Equality before the law
3. Educated or educated society.

According to A. Syafii Maarif's observations, the civil society that developed in Western societies was theoretically characterized as egalitarian, tolerant, and open values that were also possessed by the Medina society formed by the Prophet. Civil society was born and developed in the care of liberalism so that the resulting society emphasizes the role and freedom of individuals, the issue of social and economic justice is still a question mark. Whereas in civil society, justice is one of its main pillars (Ahmad, 2004).

Another difference between civil society and civil society is that civil society is the fruit of modernity, while modernity is the fruit of the Renaissance movement; a secular society movement that marginalizes God. As such, civil society has a fragile moral-transcendental foundation because it abandons God. Meanwhile, civil society was born from the cradle and nurture of God's guidance. From this reason, Maarif (2004) defines civil society as an open, egalitarian, and tolerant society based on transcendental ethical-moral values derived from God's revelation.

The society of Medina, which Cak Nur uses as a typology of civil society, is a democratic society. In the sense that the relationship between community groups, as contained in the points of the Medina Charter, reflects egalitarianism (every group has the same rights and position), respect for other groups, policies are taken by involving community groups (such as determining war strategies), and perpetrators of injustice, from any group, are rewarded with applicable penalties.

Robert N. Bellah, former Professor of Sociology at the University of California, Berkeley, USA, states that the early Muslim community was a democratic society for its time. The indication, according to Bellah, is the high level of commitment, involvement and participation of the community in making public policy as well as the openness of the position of leaders symbolized by the appointment of leaders not based on heredities, but abilities (Zamharir, 2004).

Referring to the community of Medina as a frame of reference in building a modern Muslim society is a must. The reason is that the people of Medina are the best people in the sight of Allah. His words, "You are the best people born for mankind, enjoying what is ma'ruf, and forbidding what is munkar, and believing in Allah." (QS Ali Imran [3]: 110). According to Quraish Shibab, the early Muslim community was called the best ummah because of the characteristics that adorned them, namely not getting tired of calling on things that are considered good by the community as long as they are in line with Allah's values (al-ma'ruf) and preventing evil. Shihab further explained that the early Muslims became "khairu ummah" because they practiced amar ma'ruf in line with the guidance of Allah and His messenger. The reference to the society of Medina as typical of the ideal society is not in imitation of its societal structure, but in the traits that adorn this ideal society. Such as, the implementation of amar

ma'ruf nahi munkar in line with Divine guidance, as well as the unity that the previous verse refers to (see, QS. Ali Imran [3]: 105). The way to implement the Divinely sanctioned amar ma'ruf nahi munkar is with wisdom, advice, and good speech as reflected in QS an-Nahl [16]: 125.

In order to build a “modern civil society”, imitating the Prophet is not just a physical appearance, but the attitude he demonstrated when dealing with fellow Muslims or with other communities, such as maintaining the unity of Muslims, respecting and not underestimating other groups, being fair to anyone, not imposing religion, and other noble traits. Exemplifying the attitude of the early Muslims who did not dichotomize between the life of the world and the hereafter. They did not leave the world for the afterlife and did not leave the afterlife for the world. They were balanced (tawassuth) in pursuing the happiness of the world and the hereafter. If the attitude inherent in the people of Medina can be emulated by Muslims today, then the rise of Islam is only a matter of time.

Among Indonesian Muslims, two conceptions of Masyarakat Madani have been identified – at least simply viewed in relation to the state. First, Masyarakat Madani that is "anti-state" and "anti-politics." This is especially adhered to among progressive NU members (Purwoko et al., 2001). The second is the idea of a civil society, which prioritizes community independence and plurality while being somewhat tied to and accepting the presence of the state and political parties proportionately (Hikam). A civil society is essentially a social community where justice and equality are its foundations. The culmination of this is in democratization, which is formed as a result of the genuine participation of community group members. Meanwhile, the law is positioned as the only tool for controlling and supervising societal behavior. From that definition, the characteristics of a civil society are the presence of phenomena such as (a) democratization, (b) social participation, and (c) the supremacy of law within the society.

Thus, it becomes increasingly clear that a civil society is a form of synergy from the recognition of rights to develop democracy, based on readiness and acknowledgment of people's participation, where in the implementation of life, the role of law is strategic as a tool for control and supervision in society. Sociedad Civil. In various Indonesian language literature, there are at least four models of translating the term civil society: (1) *masyarakat sipil* (2) *masyarakat madani* (3) *masyarakat kewargaan/warga* (4) still using the term civil society because the existing translations are inadequate (Karni, 1999).

Various thoughts recently expressed around civil society, which in Indonesia have been translated as "*masyarakat sipil*" or "*masyarakat madani*" are actually a reflection of the intellectual developments occurring in the Western world, particularly in the advanced industrial countries of Western Europe and the United States, in their attention to the economic, political, and socio-cultural developments in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. However, in the former Socialist Bloc region that is being swept by the storm of liberalization and democratization, various academic circles are also starting to take an interest in discussing this old concept. In Indonesia, -- in relation to the concept of civil society --, we talk more about political democratization or economic liberalization, like glasnost and perestroika that spread in Russia in the '80s. The concept of civil society itself in Indonesia is a foreign or new term, which is met with full suspicion; the understanding of "civil" is perceived as related to and in opposition to "military," which in society is manifested in the dual function of the Indonesian National Armed Forces (ABRI) (Hikam, 1996).

In Western society, civil society is an old concept that has been forgotten. It began to rise or was revealed again in relation to the development of society in Eastern Europe under the socialist regime. Scholars in the West initially saw the concept in the phenomenon of the Solidarity Trade Union movement rising against the state. In a socialist system, the presence and role of the state are very strong. Where the state is very strong and dominates the lives of individuals and society, it is difficult to imagine the existence of what is called civil society. But labor unions turned out to be quite strong and played the role of civil society facing the state. And in the end, the labor union was able to topple such a powerful regime. After the government fell, Lech Wałęsa, the leader of the Solidarity Trade Union, was even appointed as the new Head of State.

As a concept, civil society originates from the historical process of Western society. Cicero was the one who began using the term *societis civilis* in his political philosophy (Edwards, 1972). In European tradition until the 18th century, the concept of civil society was considered synonymous with the concept of the state, meaning a group that dominated all other groups. It was only in the second half of the 18th century that this term underwent a shift in meaning. State and civil society are then understood as two different entities. Political thinkers who pioneered that distinction include Thomas Paine.

In modern times, the term was adopted and revived by John Locke (1632-1704) and Rousseau (1712-1778) to express their thoughts on society and politics. Locke, for example, defines civil society as a political society. (political society). The understanding of that phenomenon is contrasted with the understanding of the phenomenon of "paternal authority" or the "state of nature" of a group of people. The characteristics of a civil society, in addition to the existence of a political life governed by law, also include an economic life based on a monetary system as a medium of exchange, the occurrence of barter or trade activities in a free market, as well as the development of technology used to improve and dignify life, which are hallmarks of a civilized society.

The political society itself is the result of a social contract, a concept proposed by Rousseau, an 18th-century French social philosopher. In the social agreement, the community members have accepted a pattern of relationships and interactions together. A society like this distinguishes itself from the natural state of society. In the concepts of Locke and Rousseau, the distinction between civil society and the state was not yet recognized. Because the state, more specifically, the government, is a part and one of the forms of civil society. In fact, both believe that civil society is civil governance, which distinguishes itself from natural society or the natural state. The distinction between civil society and the state arises from the views of Hegel (1770-1831), the German thinker who attracted much attention, opposed and simultaneously followed by Marx. Just like Locke and Rousseau, Hegel viewed civil society as the realm of life for people who have left the unity of the family and entered competitive economic life. This is an arena where certain or specific needs and various individual interests compete, causing divisions, so that civil society has great potential to destroy itself. But here, civil society, unlike the views of the two earlier English and French thinkers, is not a political society. What is viewed as a political society is the state. By Hegel, civil society is confronted with the state. Apparently, it is from Hegel's theory that the dichotomy between the state and society is known (Rasyid, 1997). The understanding of civil society above is reversed by Hegel from the views of Locke and Rousseau. For him, civil society is not the only one formed in social contract. (social contract). In other words, civil society is just one part of the overall political order. Part of the political order is the state. (state). Here, what is meant by civil society is the independent

association among individuals that forms what is called burgerliche gesellschaft or bourgeois society (bourgeois society).

Hegel and his followers distinguish civil society from and confront it with the state. The first is a form of association that is spontaneous and based on customs within society but does not rely on the law. The second is a legal and political institution that oversees society. From the various perspectives above, we can also distinguish between the symptoms of civil society and society itself. The first are associations that contain political aspects. Meanwhile, society encompasses all associations, both those articulated in a legal-political manner and those that are not, but are protected, meaning their presence is recognized and they are safeguarded by the state. Even the principle of non-intervention that minimizes the role of the state in economic life, such as *laissez faire*, as stated by the Italian Marxist thinker Gramsci, requires legality from or created by the state itself.

With Hegel's theory, which also has many followers, including Marx, although he also twisted the Hegelian theory he followed, we can depict the outcome of the social contract from natural life, in a dichotomous form, between civil society and natural life on one side and between civil society and the state on the other side. In Marx's theory of class struggle, workers and the unemployed will revolt against the dominance of the bourgeoisie. But in the case of Poland, the socialist regime actually faced resistance from the working class. In fact, the socialist regime ruled in the name of the working class, and the bourgeoisie were considered nonexistent.

The thinkers base John Locke's theory of the State of Nature and Rousseau's Social Contract. The difference is that the two thinkers define civil society as both an economic and political society, while Hegel, Marx, and Gramsci consider civil society solely as an economic society, separating political society as the state.

The above social philosophers differ in evaluating the spaces of activities mentioned above. Locke, Rousseau, and Adam Smith tend to idealize civil society as the result of societal development at a more advanced stage, possessing an inner strength in the form of rationality that will guide its members towards the common good. But Hegel had the opposite view. Civil society contains the potential for conflict among different and even conflicting individual interests. For Hegel, only through the state can the universal interests of humanity be preserved and achieved. Thus, Hegel idealized the state as the cultivation of all values of goodness.

Marx, seemingly following Hegel's view, sees civil society as bourgeois society. For Marx, bourgeois society reflects a modern system of ownership imbued with the value of crude materialism, where everyone is self-interested (egoism) and where everyone struggles against each other. In bourgeois society, the position of the individual is prioritized. Both Marx and Hegel viewed civil society as a much more advanced stage in the development of human life. Nevertheless, civil society has some negative traits such as everyone pursuing their own interests, being greedy, and the relationships between people not being warm, because everyone is trying to maintain their personal security. Such civil society tends to move towards a social order that independently follows its own principles and distances itself from the ethical values demanded by law and political associations.

Viewing civil society as a bourgeois society does not mean that Marx idealized the state. For Marx, the state is nothing more than an agency implementing the interests of the bourgeoisie. It is an irony, said Marx, that the state, which was idealized as a container for universal values,

morals and social ideals, turns out to only serve human interests partially, namely individuals who pursue their own interests greedily and separately from the public interest. Therefore, according to Marx, the state must be abolished, or it will be overthrown by the working class. When the state eventually disappears by itself (withering away from the state), what remains is just a classless society. This vision is the opposite of Hegel's vision, because in the future it will be civil society that will collapse from within, if the state is able to protect all of society's interests.

However, Gramsci, the Italian beginner of European communism, had a different view from Marx and Hegel. For him, civil society does not merely accommodate individual interests, but within it there are also organizations that try to serve the interests of the people at large. Civil society also has the potential to be able to regulate itself rationally and contains elements of freedom. Gramsci, unlike Marx, emphasized the interconnectedness between civil society and the state. Indeed, civil society can be a fortress against the hegemony of the bourgeois class and ultimately become a supporter of the state. But the state also has an ethical function, for example in educating society and directing economic development for the benefit of society. In his view, the state can have various elements of civil society (Fakih, 1995).

Thus we have three visions regarding civil society and the state. First, the presence of civil society is only temporary in the development of society. Because of its tendency to be corrupted from within, civil society will eventually be swallowed up by the state, namely an ideal state, which is the highest level of societal development. Second, because the state is only a reflection of civil society and functions to serve greedy individuals, the state will be destroyed or collapsed by itself in a proletarian revolution. If the state disappears, then only society will remain, namely a classless society. And third, the vision that sees that civil society can not only be a fortress for the class that holds hegemony, in this case the bourgeoisie, but can also carry out ethical functions in educating society and directing economic development that serves the interests of society. On the other hand, civil society itself also consists of organizations that serve the public interest or have rationality and are able to regulate themselves freely. It can happen that both support each other, in a bad or good sense in terms of public interest.

Social movements are an essential part and a sign of the presence of civil society. Therefore, we can conclude that even in a communist system, a civil society can grow, even though it grows as a reactionary force or antithesis to state domination. The totalitarian government seems to be unable to recognize the growth of civil society as can be seen in liberal democratic countries. The labor unions, which were expected to support the government, developed into civil society. In the case of Poland, civil consciousness grew from a strong Catholic society. The Catholic Church also turned out to be able to articulate the interests and aspirations of the people and therefore became an institution in civil society.

In Poland, we can look to the church and religious communities. But what if we look at other countries, for example in the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia or the PRC? Was the role of the Greek Orthodox Church as strong as the Catholic Church in Poland? It turns out that the process of economic liberalization and political democratization that occurred in Russia was quite strong too. If the driving force was civil society, what would be the form and structure of that civil society? Civil society in the PRC might be weak or invisible. That is why the process of political democratization there failed, at least far behind compared to the process of economic liberalization.

In the case of Poland, religion became the mother of or at least fostered the birth of civil society. In other countries, the position and role of religion are less visible. In the case of other socialist countries, religion is marginalized. However, civil society may also grow. The question is, does the presence of religion make a difference in the degree of strength of a civil society? The practical experience of civil society in Poland, the Philippines and Latin America has taught how great and strategic the role of Catholicism is in strengthening civil society in areas with a Catholic majority. So, it is not unreasonable to expect Islam to also play a major role in the growth of civil society in this largest Muslim country. However, the question arises to what extent is the Indonesian nation ready to enter such a society?

Civil Society Vs Military

In practical terms, civil society is considered a social institution capable of correcting the authoritarian "military" power. In other words, civil society has the connotation of being the antithesis of military society. Therefore, the existence of civil society is always considered to run linearly with the lawsuit of the Dual Function of ABRI. Thus, according to those who are pro this idea, the concept of the new Indonesia that is aspired to is a society without the influence and dominance of military power. Thus, the dynamics of social and political life must have a clear dividing line with the dynamics of defense and security.

Critical correction of ABRI's social role for some people is a historical necessity after seeing how the old regime positioned ABRI as a "backing" to protect the interests of certain strong economic groups who had access to strengthen Soeharto's political legitimacy. While they did not see a comparable commitment to its substantial function, namely defense and security. The continuing riots in several places and the threat to the public's sense of security, as well as the lack of professionalism in handling techniques in certain political cases are strong evidence that the military does not have sufficient skills in its main function. So, it is very reasonable if military cadres are invited to leave the executive and legislative positions, to more functional places.

Civil Society and the State

Civil society or civil society in the standard discourse of social science is basically understood as the antithesis of "political society" or the state. This idea can be traced from the opinions of Hobbes, Locke, Montesquieu, Hegel, Marx, Gramsci and others. The idea of civil society grew and developed as a form of radical correction to the existence of the state because of its role which tends to be a tool of capitalism. The substance of the discussion lies in the lawsuit against state hegemony in perpetuating the power of capitalist groups by marginalizing the role of society in general. Therefore, a non-governmental force is needed that is able to balance and prevent state power from reducing unfair pressures on its people. However, on the other hand, it supports the role of the government in becoming a peacemaker and security guard from possible conflicts between interests in society.

In other words, there needs to be a structural and cultural repositioning between components in society, simply put, "leave the people's affairs to the people, and position the government as a night watchman". The people's challenge of the government's role in the social constellation in Indonesia is not at all new. Hadiwinata (1999) noted the long history of social movements in Indonesia, namely from the 19th century to the New Order era. According to him, the New Order government, Soeharto, had "successfully" trampled on civil rights for 32 years, with what he called "three main strategies". And during that time, the process of marginalizing people's

rights continued, for the benefit of a group of crony businessmen, using the slogan and jargon of “development”.

Unfortunately, the seepage of his enthusiasm reached the lowest levels of government. Sub-district heads, village heads, and even RT heads were more fluent in chanting slogans and jargon that had been patterned for strong economic interests. But in the meantime, they started stuttering in accentuating the interests of their own people. So, what happened was that the market that had traditionally supported thousands of small communities was dismantled to be made into a mall or supermarket. Likewise, farmers' rice fields and gardens were converted into golf courses. The changes that occurred were beyond the reach of the needs and thoughts of the community because the deliberation mechanism was more often echoed in the training room than in social communication.

Civilized Society Vs Jahiliyah

Muslims have introduced the concept of civil society, civil society, or civil society, the Prophet Muhammad, the Messenger of Allah s.a.w himself who gave an example towards the formation of this civilized society. After the struggle in the city of Mecca did not show significant results, Allah appointed a small city, which we later know as Medina, to be used as a base for the struggle. Unfortunately, the speed of his spirit reached the lowest levels of government. Sub-district heads, village heads, and even RT heads were more fluent in chanting slogans and jargon that had been patterned for strong economic interests. But in the meantime, they started stuttering in accentuating the interests of their own people. So, what happened, the market that had traditionally supported thousands of small communities been dismantled to be used as a mall or supermarket. Likewise, farmers' rice fields and gardens changed function to become golf courses. The changes that occurred were beyond the reach of the needs and thoughts of the community because the deliberation mechanism was more echoed in the training room than in social communication. Civilized Society vs. Jahiliyah Muslims have introduced the concept of a civilized society, a civil society, or civil society, it was the Prophet Muhammad, the Messenger of Allah himself who provided an example towards the formation of this civilized society. After the struggle in the city of Mecca did not show significant results, Allah appointed a small city, which we later know as Medina, to be used as a base for the struggle towards the civilized society that was aspired to. In that city the Prophet laid the foundations of a civil society, namely freedom. To achieve freedom, especially in the fields of religion, economy, society and politics, the Prophet was allowed to strengthen himself by building armed forces to fight the enemies of civilization. The result of this process in ten years, he succeeded in building a just, open and democratic social order based on piety and obedience to Islamic teachings. One of the main things in this social order is the emphasis on communication patterns that rely on the concept of egalitarianism at the horizontal level and the concept of piety at the vertical level. Nurcholis Madjid (civil society) refers to the spirit of rabbaniyah or ribbiyah as the vertical foundation, while the spirit of *insyanyah* or *basyariah* underlies horizontal communication.

Conclusions

The conclusions drawn from discussing the implementation of the special autonomy policy in Papua Province in increasing the Human Development Index are as follows: First, the implementation of the special autonomy policy in increasing the Human Development Index in Papua Province is not optimal, because theoretically, it shows the limitations of policy implementation in fulfilling the interests of the affected parties; types of benefits received; expected rate of change; decision-making position; program executor; and resource commitment; as well as weaknesses in anticipating the strengths of the actors involved; the

interests of the actors involved; the strategy of the actors involved; regime and institutional characteristics; obedience; and responsiveness. Practically speaking, the implementation of the special autonomy policy in increasing the Human Development Index in Papua Province has not been optimal, because the data shows that the Human Development Index (IPM) for Papua is still low. Practically speaking, the implementation of the special autonomy policy in increasing the Human Development Index in Papua Province has not been optimal, because the data shows that the Human Development Index (IPM) for Papua is still low. The low achievement of HDI in Papua Province is caused by the not optimal achievement of health, education, community income, and provision of environmental infrastructure. Of the four HDI indicators, the Education Index is a problem that needs to be prioritized for handling. Second, the obstacles to implementing the special autonomy policy in increasing the Human Development Index in Papua Province include structural constraints, cultural constraints and conditional constraints. Structural constraints are obstacles that arise from the behavior of political elite power as well as work culture, leadership and the mental attitude of the bureaucratic apparatus which tends to be KKN. Cultural obstacles are obstacles that arise from limited human resources, social resources and local wisdom which are closely embedded in the daily life of indigenous Papuans in the interior. Conditional constraints are obstacles that arise from conditions of poverty caused by geographical remoteness, sociological underdevelopment and limitations individualist resources.

The civil social system ala the Prophet s.a.w has superior characteristics, namely equality, istiqomah, prioritizing participation, and democratization. The essence of superior characteristics remains relevant in the context of different times and places, so basically the principle is worthy of being applied especially in Indonesia which is predominantly Muslim without disturbing the interests and beliefs of minority groups. Regarding the latter, the Prophet s.a.w has given the right example, how to treat this minority group. To realize a civil society, the wisdom of everyone is needed so that they can behave and play a role in respecting plurality, differences, and mutual trust between people. This awareness will emerge if everyone has a vision and mission as a caliph on this earth or in other words, is able to ground the values of divinity in everyday life. However, the vision and role as a caliph will not just be born. This is where the role of various elements of civil society (community leaders, religious leaders, Student Movement) in providing enlightenment and awareness to the community, about the importance of respecting differences and mutual trust. So that with it, it is hoped that it will be able to create a civilized social order, namely a society that upholds the values of humanity and universal truth. Civil society requires independent social, non-governmental institutions that are a balancing force for the state. This position can be filled by community organizations, or socio-political organizations that are not election winners, or other organized forces in society. However, during the New Order, these institutions were relatively dwarfed in the sense that they were more often positioned as mouthpieces for the interests of power rather than becoming a self-reliant force for society.

Religion in Indonesia plays an important role in forming civil society, especially as a political society. The development of civil society is apparently faster than the development of economic society. As a result, the role of the state is more prominent and takes on the role of an agent of social change that has an impact on the formation of civil society, from the meaning of encompassing both political and economic society. The dominant tendency in Indonesia is the idealization of the state, as a container of the highest values. The struggle of security organizations also encouraged the formation of an Ideal State, or Integralistic State as a compromise of the conflict between secularism and theocracy. In this Ideal State, religion is

prevented from being dominant in coloring the character of the state but is given the opportunity to enter and form these ideal values into the container of the state. However, idealistic and integralistic tendencies can marginalize the role of religion. Marginalization of religion means drying up sources of values. Therefore, religious values need to be developed by strengthening civil society, as a bastion of the interests and aspirations of society, including religious society, which has a dominant position in Indonesian society. To eliminate misunderstandings of various parties about civil society, for example interpreted as the opposite of the military government or as a bourgeois society, what is meant by civil society here is civil society, namely a progressive ethical society towards the formation of a superior civilization.

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