

## Noken and corruption: Degradation of cultural anti-corruption values in the era of special autonomy in Papua

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**Abstract:** In the past, Indigenous Papuans had a unique way of teaching their cultural values of hard work, honesty, openness, and authority. These values are contained in the *Noken*. Noken is a handicraft product made from natural materials which has the same function as a bag. It is used to fill crops, groceries, and personal items and is used in ceremonies as a souvenir and an accessory for women. The philosophy of the Noken is full of values, including transparency and integrity, wherein Papuans were taught an anti-corruption culture from their early life. This contradicts the current situation, where corruption practices are increasing, especially among public officeholders. This study aims to analyse the degradation of Papua's anti-corruption culture after the implementation of special autonomy by using a qualitative perspective, namely gathering information from selected informants through focus group discussions and in-depth interviews. The results of this study indicate that the causes of the degradation of the anti-corruption culture are due to changes in consumptive lifestyles and weak supervision, a high-cost political system, and convoluted bureaucratic flows. The consequence of this degradation is the fading of Noken-based anti-corruption culture, dependence on special autonomy funds, and the sharpening of social conflicts. For this reason, political action and goodwill from stakeholders are needed to revitalise Noken's noble values through internalising said values in social life.

**Keywords:** Corruption; Culture; Noken; Integrity; Transparency; Papuan.

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### Introduction

The Papuan ruling class has exhibited massive and rampant corruption behaviour since the implementation of Papua's Special Autonomy Law. The distribution of political authority – government followed by fiscal decentralisation - has created cultural shock and has become the main trigger for corruption. The culture shock occurred as a result of an imbalance between cognitive aspects and legal practices after Papua's change of economic status. In this case, the cultural heritage of Noken, which contains the values of honesty and transparency, becomes powerless in the face of political changes. This research is multidisciplinary, using anthropological, sociological, and psycho-social approaches.

So far, the focus of attention of researchers and academics on issues of corruption and transparency in Papua has not been encouraging. In his book, La Pona openly accuses academics of not seeing corruption as the main source of Papua's developmental problems. Indeed, our media is flooded with up-to-date news regarding allegations of corruption and the arrests of those who steal state funds (Pona, 2016). However, efforts to find the root causes of this behaviour have not been taken seriously, as evidenced by the inadequate academic literature that examines the potential root causes and consequences of corrupt behaviour in Papua. Suharyo's research indicates that corruption in Papua is rife largely due to selective document logging in law enforcement due to political considerations (Suharyo, 2018).

In the past, Indigenous Papuans had a way of life that prioritised a sense of togetherness, harmony with nature and with each other. This way of life is now implemented less commonly due to the restrictions of special autonomy and its government. Papuan customary law, for

example, normatively qualifies acts of theft as far more despicable and undignified compared to other violations of customary law, such as murder or the worship of ancestral spirits (killing in certain situations is sometimes even considered a chivalrous act). The act of stealing is considered shameful, damaging, insulting, and even degrading to the dignity of the family. The perpetrators of theft must be held accountable for their actions through punishment, such as in the customary law of “shooting arrows” (Muhlizi, 2014).

This study poses the question of how noble values of honesty and openness, common in the Noken philosophy, may be applied in contemporary Papuan society? This study is not intended to measure the degree of individual integrity of a particular ethnic group. However, it will explore the connection between the philosophical values of Noken and changes which occurred and are occurring in Papua due since the implementation of special autonomy more than 20 years ago.

The uncontrolled flow of special autonomy funds is considered to play the greatest role in obscuring transparency for the Papuan people. This causes the community to experience symptoms of “culture shock” in which elites and the wider community suddenly receive large amounts of autonomy funds which they are not prepared for nor do they have sufficient knowledge to use effectively. This culture shock occurs when people who previously lived a natural subsistence lifestyle suddenly shift to urban environments with consumptive characteristics. It also occurs when people who have lived a simple, homogeneous life in their respective communities start to experience an urban life that tends to be more individualistic, consumptive, and hedonic. The negative effects of these values are caused by the lack of attention from the government, religious institutions such as churches, and even the traditional institutions themselves (Ayomi & Paramma, 2021).

Pragmatism has become the political culture of contemporary society in Papua, with individual and group interests being the source of every aspiration that grows in society. This study aims to explain why there has been a decline in the noble values of Noken. In the future, this study aims to revitalise these values and help implement them into practical life, the ultimate goal being to eradicate the root cause of the decline in Papua’s development, namely corruption.

The noble anti-corruption values contained in Noken philosophy, namely transparency and honesty, began to be seriously tested when the special autonomy was granted to the Papuan people. It became unclear whether Noken values, maintained in the practice of social and formal life, would have positive implications for the implementation of special autonomy, or if they would become degraded by it. This study focuses on observing the practice of Noken values by tracing implementation of special autonomy from 2001 until 2022. This was a critical period for Papua, where the authority to manage regional policies and fiscal powers fell to the Papuan people as a logical consequence of decentralisation, with political special autonomy being a bonus. This period would become the determining era for Papuan economic and social development. Another reason behind choosing this special autonomy era for this study was the abundance of government funds during that time.

## **Methods**

This study uses a qualitative approach in the phenomenological paradigm to explore the understanding of research informants regarding their experience and its meaning (Pujileksono, 2015). The critical paradigm in this study is used to see the reality of the Papuan people in general, who have experienced a degradation of cultural values in the Noken philosophy. The phenomena observed are inequality, injustice, oppression, and marginalisation, resulting from corruption. This reality is the object of critical paradigm research (Kriyantono, 2020).

All participants received an informed consent form to fill in manually to disclose their willingness or unwillingness to be involved as a participant in this study. This form contained the research background and a brief research guide so that the participants could understand the direction of this study, participant demographic data, and confirmation that this research would remain confidential. Recruitment for IDI and FGD participants was carried out through the agreements laid out by the research team when establishing basic criteria, namely: participants are considered to understand issues related to corruption and Papuan culture and are willing to

be interviewed or actively involved in FGDs. The FGD was conducted three times with the Table 2.

**Table 1.** In-depth Interview (IDI) Participants

No.	Informant Type	Total
1.	Local Government	4
2.	Religious Leaders	1
3.	Non-Government Organisation	10
4.	Young Leader	2
5.	Academic	2
6.	Indigenous Leader	2
Total Amount	21 people	

**Table 2.** Participants in the Focus Group Discussion (FGD)

No.	FGD	Participants	Criteria
1	Group 1	7	Mix Students (OAP+General)
2	Group 2	7	Students from 7 regions in indigenous Papuan areas
3	Group 3	7	Leaders ORMAWA (Activists)
Total Amount	21		

This study used open-ended questions that were asked of key informants through In-depth Interviews (IDI) and Focus Group Discussions (FGD) for a maximum of 60 minutes. All FGD participants had the same opportunity to speak. Written guidelines were given to the FGD guides. The recording process that was carried out was known to the interviewees and FGD participants, after which the results of the recording were transcribed and coded accordingly (Kriyantono, 2020).

The results of the interviews were processed into text format in the form of transcripts, with additional notes from the interviewers added as part of the data analysis. The next researcher conducted data analysis by reducing the collected data. After the necessary data was gathered, the next process was displaying the data in the form of quotations and narratives. Thus the purpose of this study was achieved through data analysis.

## Results and Discussion

### Causes of Corruption

The legal basis for implementing special autonomy in Papua is Article 18B of the 1945 Constitution, which explicitly states that the state recognises and respects special regional government units regulated by law (Undang-Undang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 1945, 1945). This has become the constitutional basis for the special autonomy of the Province of Papua, taking into account the diversity and specificity of the region as well as determining the relationship of authority between the central and regional governments. This policy provides for arrangements for autonomy and decentralisation of authority that differ from other regions.

Anti-corruption activist informants explained that the change in pattern from centralisation to decentralisation had consequences for the increasing authority of local governments. With great authority, it is expected that district/city inspectorates supervise and assist in governance. The regional government's considerable authority requires strict supervision to prevent opportunities for irregularities and the abuse of authority that results in losses to state finances (corruption). The activists further said that, in governance, corruption could be prevented if the government's internal supervisory agency carried out its oversight function optimally. However, the reality is that supervision could be more optimal.

The presence of special autonomy aims to accelerate development and improve empowerment services for the people of Papua (Latupeirissa et al., 2021). This is based on the fact that before and after the reform, disparities exist in all aspects of the lives of the Papuan people. The presence of special autonomy has an important role in laying a solid foundation for resolving various problems in Papua within the framework of the Republic of Indonesia.

This is in line with the opinion of anti-corruption activists who explained that through Law Number 21 of 2001 concerning Special Autonomy for Papua, various policies have been born in this province. They further explained that the special autonomy policy was intended to strengthen Papuan integration and build prosperity and a sense of nationalism in Papua. A large amount of financial decentralisation followed this policy. The amount of special autonomy funds provided shows the commitment of the Indonesian Government to developing Papua's human resources and infrastructure. Special autonomy for Papua is intended to be a calming remedy for the conflict currently raging in Papua. In reality, the implementation of special autonomy has not been maximized and has even been considered a failure. Special autonomy, which was expected to be a solution, needs to be optimised in several ways (Warikar, 2022).

Special autonomy Funds have been flowing since 2002 in very large amounts and have not been introduced alongside special autonomy management rules. Government regulations regarding regional apparatuses, such as the new Materail Requirement Planning (MRP), were enacted three years after the introduction of special autonomy. The first Special Regional Regulation was enacted six years after the introduction of special autonomy. This has resulted in the absence of regulations that can guarantee that the flow of special autonomy funds is development-oriented to improve the standard of living of the people of Papua.

### **Disappointment with the Implementation of Special Autonomy for Papua**

The birth of The Papua Special Autonomy policy was granted to the Province of Papua due to a political compromise agreed upon between representatives of the central government and the people of Papua in order to reduce conflict. The goal of the policy was to resolve this conflict. However, in order to achieve this goal there needs to be a common understanding of the workings of this special autonomy.

According to Papuan Human Rights activists, through the special autonomy policy more powers have been given to the Government of Papua to determine strategic policy directions which encourage development in the region. Since the enactment of special autonomy, the budget that has flowed to regional governments has been relatively abundant, so people had hoped for improvements in the economy and other fields. Instead, after being evaluated, it was found that the agricultural sector, for example, did not experience significant changes. The emergence of fundamental problems, such as the poor welfare of the Papuan people and income inequality has caused poverty. The activists further explained that a major source of conflict is when the Papua Special Autonomy Law is not implemented consistently by regional leaders. Rights, powers, and obligations granted to Papua are often limited, reduced, or even withdrawn by the centre through various operational and sectoral laws and regulations.

The problem of Papua's special autonomy originates from the implementation of government administration, which is still entangled in corruption problems such as a culture of gratitude or returning of favours. This culture often occurs both in social relationships and in the area of local government. It is the opinion of one informant that Papuan culture recognises all forms of gifts as thanks. The culture of saying thank you is natural, but it is considered gratifying because of the implied power relationship involved. Furthermore, the informant said that Papuans interpret this gratification as part of a thank you. This is a traditional value for the people of Papua. Viewed from a normative context, gratification is a gift in a broad sense, which includes giving money, goods, commissions, interest-free loans, travel tickets, lodging facilities, tours, free medical treatment, and other facilities. From this definition, if the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) is serious about dealing with corruption in Papua, then almost all officials at all levels could be guilty of corruption because they are used to receiving gifts in various forms. This problem of corruption, translated as a thank you, is an act carried out to gain some advantage contrary to the official's duties.

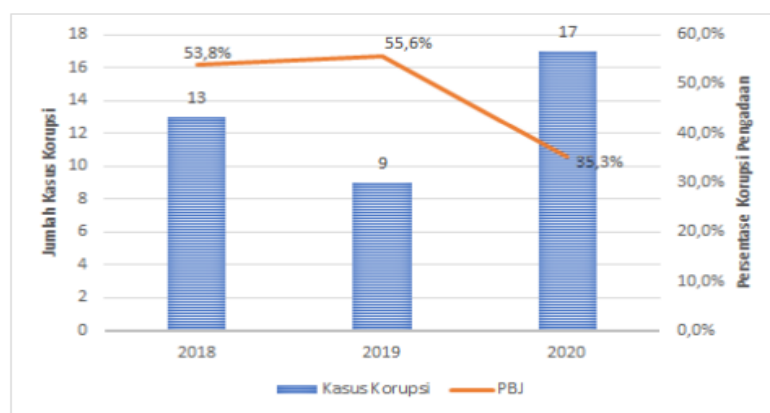
Under Special Autonomy Law, conducting evaluations of policy implementation and the use of public funds must be carried out every year. In reality, this supervision has not been carried out in a comprehensive and in-depth manner. Supervision will provide a real picture of the effectiveness of special autonomy management and fulfil the basic rights of the people of Papua.

In implementing The Papua Special Autonomy Law, problems have arisen regarding the protection and respect for the basic rights of Indigenous Papuans, such as human rights, equal status, and their rights and obligations as Indonesian citizens. Violence and violations against Indigenous Papuans are seen as normal, as evidenced by the absence of a legal process or human rights court.

The following academic opinions align with the idea that the political situation continues to escalate the era of special autonomy. Amid this situation, the government continues to take a security approach to resolve the conflict in Papua. In response to this approach, the number of casualties from civilians, the Armed Separatist Criminal Group (KKSB), and the security forces continues to fall. At the same time, the main roots of the Papuan conflict and human rights violations have not been resolved. There is still increasing marginalisation and discrimination against Papuans. The prevalence of violence and human rights violations, the absence of a legal process, the absence of a human rights court, the truth and reconciliation commission, and the absence of a customary court shows that special autonomy has only been implemented partially. This has caused the Papuan antipathy to the central government.

Special autonomy was implemented 20 years ago in Papua and has cost 138.65 trillion rupiah (Nazamuddin, 2018). Corruption has always been an issue but the symptoms of a corrupt system are worsening. In the KPK RI Report in 2019, Papua Province is named as one of Indonesia's top five most corrupt provinces (Mustholih, 2019). It is not surprising that the KPK and the prosecutor's office named 33 Papuan suspects of corruption in 2021. In 2022, two major cases of corruption included the construction of the Kingmi mile 32 Mimika church (Aji & Hantoro, 2022) and the formation of a new autonomous region in Papua, where alleged bribes played a part in passing the law to create the separate province of South Papua (Amrullah & Putra, 2022). Another finding that illustrates corruption due to weak oversight of special autonomy funds occurred from 2018 to 2020, where 39 corruption cases were prosecuted involving 75 suspects, with a total loss to the state of IDR 174.9 billion. The average value of annual losses in Tanah Papua is IDR 58.2 billion. The graph below illustrates that the successful prosecution of corruption cases fluctuates every year. A long list of corruption cases still await trial.

The Indonesia Corruption Watch (ICW) noted that 18 cases, or around 46.2 percent of corruption cases regarding the procurement of goods and/or services were prosecuted by law enforcement agencies in Papua. The value of these state losses amounted to IDR 65.1 billion, or 37.2 percent of the total state losses in Tanah Papua. This shows that corruption cases related to the procurement of goods/services in Tanah Papua are quite significant. This deserves the attention of relevant stakeholders who must jointly carry out supervision, from the planning process to the handover of work results (Tutoroong et al., 2021).



sumber: ICW, Tren Penindakan Kasus Korupsi

**Figure 1.** Number of Corruption Cases in Tanah Papua 2018-2020

## Unintended Consequences of the Papua Special Autonomy Fund

### Fading Noken-Based Anti-Corruption Culture



Before discussing the side effects of the flow of special autonomy funds on the entire social system in Papua, we will first review the philosophy of anti-corruption culture in the life of the Papuan people, especially through the Noken approach. Etymologically, origin of the word Noken needs to be clarified due to the diversity of languages in Papua. Genetically, the word belongs to the West Papua New Guinea language family and the Austronesian sub-group of languages, meaning 'woven bags or basket bags typical of Papua'. From an Indonesian perspective, Noken can be equated with a pouch or bag used to accommodate various items.

Noken is a traditional craft owned by the Papuan people. The life of the Papuan people cannot be separated from the Noken. Almost all ethnic groups in Papua have similar crafts with various motifs and functions depending on the region. For Papuans, Noken has many meanings and philosophies contained in it. It is used as a symbol of identity. Papuan Noken represents the creativity, taste, and intentions of its people.

The mirror of the Papuan Noken becomes the identity of the people who own it, both individuals and the community, according to the customs of their respective ethnic groups. In Januar, Ahimsa explained that the skill of making Noken for Papuans is obtained through knowledge and practices that come from life experiences carried out continuously with nature (Januar, 2017). Furthermore, Indrawardana (also in Januar) emphasised that through these experiences, local knowledge was born in the community, creating crafts that could support their lives, one of which was the Noken (Januar, 2017). In Marit, Warami states that, in the traditions of the life of the Papuan people, the Noken is an inseparable part of everyday life, present over a long period (Marit, 2016). Naturally, Papua's environment provides every need required for making a typical Papuan Noken. Ell and Pekei (also in Marit) emphasise that the Noken tradition constructs symbols that contain philosophical meanings as follows: (1) as a symbol of relation, (2) as a symbol of kinship, (3) as a symbol of identity, (4) as a symbol of protection, (5) as a symbol of economy, (6) as a symbol of life, (7) as a symbol of aesthetics, and (8) as a symbol of spontaneity, honesty, openness, and transparency (Marit, 2016).

Based on Ell and Pekei's analysis, the point of reference for this research is that the Noken tradition for the Papuan people constructs symbols that contain philosophical meanings in everyday life, such as as symbols of honesty, openness, and transparency. In this study, the majority of respondents confirmed that historically the philosophical values of Noken, as described above, are believed to be noble and sacred.

Informants in this study came from activists, government, and traditional leaders who provided additional explanations that Noken has a leader's authority value because the leader's symbol is on the Noken they use. When there is a conflict between families or tribes, the Noken becomes a symbol of peace. Noken shows the authority as well as the identity of the Papuan people, as well as being a symbol of peace among existing social communities. In terms of creativity, one of the informants described how to sew the Noken, describing it as wide so that whatever is filled in it can be seen by everyone so that nothing is hidden, implying a philosophy of openness and transparency.

The main question now is how faded the Noken values have become. During the implementation of Papua special autonomy, many changes have occurred in the socio-cultural life of the Papuan people, especially when faced with tests of honesty and consistency in maintaining traditional values. Papua (including six new autonomous regions) is included in the list of Indonesia's top ten most corrupt provinces (Rozie, 2020). Informants in this study revealed that principles of the Noken have faded because certain elements of society no longer behave according to these noble values but instead prioritise certain interests and groups not in the public interest.

One activist informant stated that Noken is now interpreted only as an ordinary bag or as a souvenir in the present context. It is no longer interpreted that when using a Noken, the user unites with nature to maintain attitudes and actions by behaving honestly and openly to anyone. They added that, in their opinion, it is not uncommon for many Indigenous Papuans to be dishonest in every way. Leaders who the people entrust through elections, for example Governors, Regents, and other officials including village heads, are no longer role models. They have lost their authority, are dishonest in managing people's money, and are entangled in the corruption of

village funds, regional budgets, and special autonomy funds. The informant stated that the young generation of Papuans should enjoy free education because of the Special Autonomy Fund for Education, but many do not.

#### Changes in People's Lifestyles

Theoretically, one reason corruptors carry out corrupt practices is because of corrupt leadership role models. Vito Tanzi's research clearly explains that if leaders do not set the right example, we cannot expect the public and their administration to act correctly (Tanzi, 1998).

In line with the results of this study, statements regarding changes in lifestyle, including appearance, received quite a lot of attention from informants. They revealed that special autonomy had changed the face of the 'simple and unpretentious' Papua; now, they have become urban people with a consumerist lifestyle that leads to hedonism. New patterns of socioeconomic interaction have emerged that were previously considered foreign to Indigenous Papuans. Some examples of these new patterns include gambling (from the lottery to casinos), traditional parties where dozens of pigs are burned in the tradition of burning stones, and excessive self-indulgence in expensive places (hotels and entertainment venues).

The topic of changes in cultural identity is quite broad, but what received the greatest attention of the participants in this study was the discussion of changing physical appearances that are easier to observe, such as costumes and clothing. In the past, the Papuan people used traditional clothes and local knick-knacks following the characteristics of their social environment. This has now shifted, especially for those who have access to special autonomy funds (local politicians). One of the participants said that since the beginning, the Papuan people had lived side by side in harmony with nature. However, their values have begun to shift since special autonomy funds have been abundant and not used properly for long-term goals such as education and health development. Instead, these aid funds are mostly used for extravagant living in urban areas.

Many Papuan people, who were previously known as highly skilled agricultural workers, now some choose to become laborers (coolies) in the city, whilst some choose just to be spectators. This is reinforced by one informant's statement about changes in the modesty of the Papuan people in a complex society, seen in how they dress. Whilst previously men appeared feminist (read: feminine) by dressing politely, there is now a shift towards Western trends, resulting in the denial of identity resulting from all men wanting to appear heterosexual.

The team's research in the field study also found the opening of gambling venues (ranging from small lottery gambling to large on and offline gambling venues) and several night entertainment spots was spread evenly across the big cities of Papua. Whilst the lifestyle of Papuan officials shows luxury, it contrasts the lives of ordinary people, many of whom still have no access to power. Officials compete to show stability through their modern styles, luxury houses and cars, and control over strategic lands. Meanwhile, common people still sit on the ground to sell their garden produce along the city streets in Jayapura. The comfortable life that many officials demonstrate is one of the factors that has attracted many Indigenous Papuans, who used to live cultivating agricultural land and producing staple food for their families and communities, to start shifting to cities and begin lifestyles that are completely foreign to them.

Regarding the concept of Papuan work ethic, several informants explained that the special autonomy funds made those who used to be hard workers turn into people waiting for government assistance, namely the special autonomy funds.

#### Additional Consequences: Social Conflict and Urbanisation

Vertical and horizontal conflicts are unavoidable when societies undergo change. Even though horizontal conflict is relatively new in Papua it has sharpened as a result of increasingly intense social and economic friction between outsiders and insiders. Violent conflict, according to the participants of this study, occurs evenly throughout Papua. From individual conflicts to conflicts between Indigenous peoples and companies, they are becoming increasingly intense. Conflict is an understandable consequence of rapid and massive social shifts. The implementation of special autonomy in Papua has created new conflicts due to the gap between those who have managed to

control resources and those who have been marginalised. This does not include the ideological conflicts that have arisen since the integration of Papua, which have further complicated matters.

Papua's regional population is flowing quite significantly to urban areas in almost all regions. Some of the cities most moved to by Indigenous Papuans are Jayapura City (capital of the main province), followed by other big cities such as Wamena, Merauke, Timika, Nabire and Sorong. This movement is in line with the explanation of Papuan academics who suspect that many rural agricultural areas are starting to be neglected because cultivators have moved to big cities hoping to receive a share of special autonomy funds.

The initial process of social change occurred through urbanisation, with Papuan villagers, in general, shifting towards urban areas. Field observations found new settlements (which are increasing in number and expanding) were becoming inhabited by people who come from villages (the majority from the mountainous areas of Papua such as Wamena, Deyai, Paniai, Bintang Mountain, etc.) at several locations on the outskirts of the city Jayapura, for example, around the Jayapura City Space area, the protected forest behind the Jayapura City Mayor's office, the Koya suburb area and the Waena plains. These new settlements change not only government affairs, for example, the complexity of public administration services and fulfilment of basic needs, but also the forms of social interaction in urban areas.

According to an informant, this urbanisation was driven by many factors: such as rural communities seeing city life as more luxurious, comfortable, and easy, with no need for farming or gardening. They also saw several examples of local children who were successful as officials or in building careers/positions in cities. The informant also explained the concept of 'big brother' in Papua, where ordinary people tend to rely on people they respect and follow in their footsteps to the city. In addition, other factors such as facilities and other conveniences are only built in urban areas, thus encouraging more villagers to change their habits from farmers in rural areas to workers (coolies) or 'spectators' in the city.

#### Dependency

One of the negative consequences of using the Special Autonomy Fund that is not monitored effectively is that it is considered to create public dependence on the fund. Informants including religious leaders and anti-corruption activists explained that some Papuan's pinned their hopes on government assistance in the form of social assistance funds which were budgeted from a large amount of the special autonomy budget. In addition, it was the view of the informants that people tended to become selfish, being too lazy to work because various government assistance programs have 'spoiled them'.

The implementation of special autonomy has made the community increasingly dependent on the availability of government funds. Several informants explicitly stated that the special autonomy funds caused the community to become increasingly distant from their habits of hard work in various sectors such as agriculture, the processing of natural products, and supplying spices.

#### Culture Shock

Culture shock is a phenomena suffered by people due to living outside a cultural environment or being forced to adjust to a new environment. Adler suggested that culture shock is a series of emotional reactions resulting from the loss of reinforcement from one's old culture due to misunderstandings in new, different experiences (Ridwan, 2016).

Culture shock is an important variable in this study. The informants were asked for their opinion regarding the general description of the cultural shock that occurred amongst elites as well as society as a whole in Papua.

The opinion of the academic informants and the activist informants was that special autonomy funds were indeed abundant, creating a psychological shock. People who used to live modestly turned to a different society, the political elite were given authority and money but did not use that authority properly, meaning the budget was used without accountability. The informants believed that in the past, people did not recognise corruption. However, because of gaps in the social and political system and its opportunities, people began to engage in corruption to enrich themselves and their benefactors.



The abundance of Papua's special autonomy funds has resulted in shock, which has been counterproductive to the expected progress. There has been a complete lack of autonomy; even at the beginning of special autonomy, there were those who thought that the funds were a gift from the central government as a way to quell the desire for independence.

An abundance of new money opens the door for the corruption and embezzlement of funds. This shock was also clearly seen in public spending, which was not oriented towards people's needs but the government elites' wishes. The result is that many infrastructure facilities have failed to be utilized properly. This social psychology also impacts unbalanced economic conditions; for example, certain commodity prices are becoming increasingly expensive.

#### Factors Causing Corruption

Corruption is the abuse of power for personal or group gain. The legal view of corruption is that it is an act against the law, an abuse of authority, opportunity, or means which enriches oneself, other people, or corporations, and harms state finances or the country's economy (Hariyani et al., 2016). More simply, the causes of corruption include two factors, namely internal factors and external factors. Internal factors consist of moral aspects such as weak faith, honesty, shame, aspects of attitude or behaviour such as consumptive lifestyle, as well as social aspects such as family, which encourage someone to behave corruptly. External factors can be traced from economic aspects such as, income or salaries that are not sufficient, political aspects (for example, political instability, political interests, gaining and maintaining power), management and organizational aspects (namely the lack of accountability and transparency) and legal aspects, usually seen in the form of legislation and weak law enforcement.

#### Internal Factors

Society is dynamic, constantly experiencing changes involving the type, quantity, and quality of material facilities concerning social and non-physical interactions. Several factors influence changes that occur. Among them are communication, people's ways and mindsets, internal factors such as changes in population numbers, discoveries, conflicts or revolutions, and external factors such as natural disasters, climate change, wars, and the influence of cultures. Changes in behaviour and attitudes in the Papuan people after special autonomy resulted in a clear degradation of values in social life.

Most Papuan people welcome and have a good attitude towards the existence of special autonomy policy. This is evidenced by the behaviour of the people who gladly receive special autonomy funding in the form of grants and other social assistance. However, one Papuan academic interviewed was concerned that these grants could cause 'sprees' of consumptive activity. They mentioned that in the past, most of the Papuan people depended on agriculture for their livelihood, however, in the era of special autonomy, this has changed. Communities that enjoy special autonomy funds in various forms begin to depend on this assistance by rarely working hard to manage the existing land.

It appears that special autonomy has succeeded in shifting values that have long existed in the Papuan people, namely, working hard to manage their natural environment. In the past, the community felt honoured to be farmers who managed the land and produced products to support their families. Now, some are in the city relying on proposals or waiting for government grants. Some have also turned into unskilled laborers, parking attendants, construction workers, and other service workers, or have become unemployed. TIM's investigation through field observations found that many rural communities have moved to cities without skills, meaning they are being left out during the intense competition to get decent jobs.

The informant went on to highlight their perceived shift in people who used to live in solidarity in groups or clans, working together to cultivate agricultural land, saying that now many live increasingly solitary lives in. Another informant, a Papuan religious leader, said that consumerism was one of the changes in the lifestyle of the government and society in the special autonomy era, evident in the number of new rich people.

These changes make society more hedonistic, the symptoms of which have started to show for the people of Papua. One Papuan academic interviewed said that many young people leave

agriculture and move to big cities. The attraction of special autonomy makes them fall into modern life and be consumptive. In their observation, many lands are no longer productive because there are no cultivators. They choose to work as politicians and civil servants and enjoy greater commercial pleasures provided in part by the corruption of public funds.

### **External Factors**

#### **Weak Oversight**

In the administration of government, there are many legal instruments to regulate the implementation of the principles of good and clean governance. Law Number 1 of 2004 states that the regulator and organiser of the Government's Internal Control System (SPIP), tasked with managing state financial transparency, is the head of government (President). As the holder of government power, the President is obliged to carry out the SPIP in all government organisations. The SPIP was developed to complement existing external controls such as the police, prosecutors, corruption eradication agencies, financial supervisors, and other judicial institutions. SPIP requires ministers/heads of institutions, governors, and regents/mayors need to exercise control over the administration of their government activities so that they are effective, efficient, transparent, and accountable in managing state money.

The existence of the SPIP, if properly implemented, can prevent Corruption, Colution, and Nepotism (KKN) practices in government circles. The lack of internal and external supervision indicates rampant practices of corruption, collusion, and nepotism in the province of Papua. It is important to monitor and prevent corrupt practices among bureaucrats and authorities by strictly enforcing the law.

#### **High-Cost Political System**

It has become public knowledge that politicians often carry out corrupt practices. The rise of corrupt practices by political actors is because the political system in Indonesia still allows space for corrupt practices to occur (for example, donations or contributions from cadres or administrators). Space for corruption also opens when someone wants to nominate themselves as a state administrator in the form of a political dowry. Other spaces are also contained in the election law, which regulates campaign funding. The regulation regulates the amount of allowable individual and corporate contributions but does not regulate the donors. High-cost campaigns also have contributed to creating space for corruption.

The widespread practice of corruption by political actors in Papua has occurred through such practices. This means that the Papuan system opens up space for the integrity of politicians to be mortgaged. Building an integrity system is one of the important efforts which needs to be made. For this reason, the Political Party Integrity System (SIPP), a policy tool built by political parties, needs to be built professionally to produce prospective leaders with integrity and minimise the risk of political corruption and abuse of power.

#### **Convoluting Bureaucracy**

In the context of public services, corrupt practices can be caused by two main factors, namely external and internal. External factors are due to the desire of the community to get fast service in various matters, such as obtaining permits. The long and convoluted bureaucratic workflow has made the public impatient as it wants a fast and efficient process. Meanwhile, internal factors focus more on the phenomenon of long bureaucratic wait times that are deliberately used by elements in the bureaucracy to gain illegal profits.

Corruption practices in Papuan public services have become one of the major contributors to the poverty of the Papuan people. It is necessary to strengthen the internal bureaucratic institutions to create a professional, clean, and authoritative bureaucracy, including strengthening the capacity of Papua's human resources.

## Conclusion

The application of noble anti-corruption values in the Noken philosophy, such as honesty, openness, responsibility, authority, hard work, peace, courage, justice, simplicity, and a social spirit/togetherness/generosity in the Papua special autonomy era has, in reality, not been applied. This is marked by a tendency towards human error, where the fundamental problem is that the Papuan people can see that this noble value is not being maintained and preserved.

The factors causing the degradation of anti-corruption values in the era of special autonomy can be separated into two major sections, namely, internal and external factors. The analysis of internal factors from primary and secondary data confirmed that the abundance of special autonomy funds and their use without inherent supervision led to greed and waste. More than sufficient wealth is needed to enrich a society when there still exists the selfish desire to enrich oneself. Another internal factor is weak morale, characterized by a tendency to be easily swayed and tempted to commit corruption. A consumptive, hedonic lifestyle is also a factor in someone committing acts of corruption. The external factors are political aspects, mainly the tendency to use power and authority to maintain power and strengthen political positions through bribery, gratuities, and other forms. The absence of the correct organisational culture can trigger situations that are not conducive to integrity and cause negative environmental actions. This factor fosters corruption and can be seen in the weak accountability in the implementation of governance, weak supervision, and the lack of exemplary leadership.

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