

NARRATIVE POLICY FRAMEWORK: POLICY ON THE EXPANSION OF NEW AUTONOMOUS REGIONS (DOB) IN PAPUA

Ahmad¹, Syarifah², Fayra Nabillah Azza³

^{1,2} Program Studi Ilmu Pemerintahan, Universitas Amal Ilmiah Yapis Wamena, Indonesia

³ Program Studi Manajemen Retail, University of Amal Ilmiah Yapis Wamena, Indonesia

Ahmadenre77@gmail.com

*corresponding author

ARTICLE INFO

Article history

Received 2025

Revised 2025

Accepted 2025

Keywords

Narrative Policy Framework

Policy

Politics

Regional Expansion;

Papua

ABSTRACT

The expansion of the New Autonomous Region (DOB) aims to improve people's welfare, realize the implementation of democracy, accelerate development, and accommodate regional development and respect geographical, political, economic, social and cultural differences. However, the implementation of the DOB expansion policy in Papua has caused debate in the community, become a hot topic in the media, and influenced public opinion. This study aims to analyze how Indonesian policymakers make decisions regarding the expansion of DOBs in Papua, with a focus on public narratives in the media. To see the public narrative, a Narrative Policy Framework (NPF) study will be conducted which can describe, explain the structure of public narratives in policy making. The research method uses a qualitative approach with the support of QDAS (Qualitative Data Analysis Software), and the research data sources come from trusted online media in Indonesia. The results showed that the conversation about DOB expansion in Papua was dominated by the central and local governments. This indicates that the DOB expansion policy in Papua is dominated by political elites, so it has the potential to cause conflict because it is not in accordance with the aspirations of the community. The expansion process also has the potential to trigger conflicts between the expanded regions, especially if the distribution of resources and power is not fair and transparent. The implication is that active community participation in decision-making on regional expansion is important so that policies reflect the aspirations and real needs of the Papuan people and reduce the dominance of political elites. It is hoped that conflicts between the government and the community, as well as between the regions being divided, can be avoided, so that the DOB expansion policy runs more effectively and provides real benefits for the Papuan people as a whole.



DOI : <https://doi.org/10.24076/s8269k65>

Ahmad et. al, Narrative Policy Framework: Policy on the Expansion of New Autonomous Regions (DOB) in Papua (2025)

INTRODUCTION

The government has a great responsibility to ensure that people's basic needs are met and their standard of living is improved (Tian & Qiao, 2014). One of the ways in which the government achieves this goal is through the division of government areas. It aims to improve people's social and economic welfare, as well as protect them from possible social risks (Duri & Rahmah, 2020). Regional expansion is a strategic effort by the government to improve the quality of the implementation of government tasks (Wu, 2014). The goal is to improve services, empowerment, and development in order to achieve an advanced, independent, prosperous, just, and prosperous society. In other words, regional expansion is a way or approach to accelerate the acceleration of regional development (Saputra, 2021).

Nowadays, the central government has implemented a stricter policy in regulating the requirements for forming new regions (Li et al., 2021). This new government regulations involve a number of important aspects that must be met by regions wishing to secede, including sufficient population, adequate area, reliable financial management capabilities, and promising economic potential (Simanjuntak, 2015). The government strongly considers all these factors to ensure that the region to be formed has a solid foundation and the potential to achieve sustainable progress for its people (Muzawwir, 2021).

In addition, each existing autonomous region also has the responsibility to conduct a thorough evaluation of other autonomous regions that still face challenges in achieving prosperity for their residents (Hasan et al., 2020). In order to improve competitiveness and create effective governance, autonomous regions are expected to learn from the successes and failures of other regions (Fung, 2015). This aims to ensure that the measures taken by local governments can improve socio-economic conditions, improve the lives of residents, and develop responsive and transparent governance systems (Apituley, 2019).

On June 30, 2022, the three laws related to the establishment of three new provinces in Papua were passed. The three laws are Law Number 14 of 2022 concerning the Establishment of Papua Selatan Province, Law Number 15 of 2022 concerning the Establishment of Papua Tengah Province, and Law Number 16 of 2022 concerning the Establishment of Papua Pegunungan Province. With the passing of these three laws, Papua now consists of five provinces, namely Papua Province with the capital city of Jayapura, Papua Barat Province with the capital city of Manokwari, Papua Selatan Province with the capital city of Merauke, Papua Tengah Province with the capital city of Nabire, and Papua Pegunungan Province with the capital city of Jayawijaya (Samad et al., 2022).

The formation of the three new provinces is considered important by the DPR and the government for several reasons, such as accelerating services to the people in the regions of each province, focusing development with closer control, creating a more effective and efficient government, strengthening the existence and role of indigenous territories and culture as social capital (Yusuf & Sumner, 2015), considering the size of each province compared to the level of service that is not optimal so that there are still development gaps and inequality, and creating new autonomous regions to answer development challenges and improve community welfare (Yandra, 2016).

Regulations regarding the expansion of new autonomous regions in Papua are a major concern to strengthen governance in the region and provide opportunities for local communities to be more active in decision-making related to regional development. Law



No. 21 of 2001 regulates the expansion of new autonomous regions in Papua Province by taking into account the criteria set by the central government (Faguet, 2014). Government Regulation No. 24 of 2004 regulates the procedures for the expansion of new autonomous regions in Papua Province with the condition that the proposed expansion must be accompanied by a feasibility study (Rizqi & Muni, 2018). Meanwhile, Minister of Home Affairs Regulation No. 38 of 2007 regulates technical guidelines for the formation of new autonomous regions in Papua Province (Barlian, 2017). In addition, the process of expansion of new autonomous regions in Papua must also involve local communities and ensure their participation in every stage of expansion, as stipulated in Law No. 23 of 2014 on Regional Government.

In the months leading up to the passing of the draft law on the expansion of a new autonomous region in Papua, there were many disagreements that highlighted the complexity of the issue. Regional expansion in Papua has sparked massive demonstrations and resistance in many areas, including Jayapura, Wamena, Paniai, Yahukimo, Timika, Lanny Jaya and Nabire. During this time, the impact of these demonstrations was clearly felt, causing many injuries among both civilians and security forces. This illustrated the intensity of the struggle of the Papuan people who felt excluded by the central government in the process of discussing the regional expansion plan (Meteray, 2016). The demonstrations that took place in various places are evidence of the importance of the active involvement of indigenous Papuans in dealing with these significant territorial changes, and strengthen the argument that the central government in Jakarta must pay more attention to the aspirations and needs of the Papuan people who have sovereignty and unique cultural identity (Kaisupy & Maing, 2021).

The formation of new autonomous regions (DOB) has generated pros and cons in the Papuan community. The government's response to these concerns is crucial. The expansion of DOBs raises the fears of the Papuan people, who are worried about being alienated and marginalized. Accordingly, in the expansion of DOBs, it is necessary to pay attention to the existence and sustainability of indigenous Papuans and their local values (Hindom & Tamher, 2021). The expansion of the Papua region must consider socio-cultural, economic, political, and ecological aspects as a whole to maintain harmony between ethnic Papuans. The government is responsible for ensuring that the division of the region does not only focus on political and economic interests, but also protects the culture and identity of the Papuan people (Suropati, 2019). The government needs to take a holistic and sustainable approach to building trust and ensuring that the division of Papua does not threaten existing social, economic and political life (Doaemo et al., 2021). It is important for the government to listen carefully to the concerns of the Papuan people and involve them in decision-making about DOB expansion. Thus, it is hoped that the expansion of the Papua region will bring benefits to all parties and sincerely appreciate the cultural diversity and identity of Papua (Trzci & Vol, 2016).

Many studies have been conducted on the New Regional Expansion Policy (DOB), including research (Aminah et al., 2019) related to the Effectiveness of 20 Years of Regional Expansion Implementation in Indonesia. This research has succeeded in revealing strong evidence that the majority of the formation of new regions in Indonesia is not based on welfare factors. For almost two decades, the implementation of regional expansion in Indonesia has not been able to accelerate the progress of community welfare. Furthermore, regional expansion has also not had a significant positive impact on the region of origin. In this context, it needs to be recognized that not all government decisions regarding regional expansion in Indonesia can be categorized as the right



decisions. This fact is revealed when the level of welfare in Indonesia's expansion regions is 94% "medium and low". Therefore, this finding suggests an important recommendation that all parties, including the central government, local governments and stakeholders, should give higher priority to the interests and welfare of the community rather than the interests of certain groups or individuals.

Research conduct by (Muksiin et al., 2021) related to the Political Motives of the New Autonomous Region Expansion Plan in Papua. The results showed that the expansion of new autonomous regions in Papua was triggered by materialistic and intensive political motives. This motive involves political elites at the central and regional levels who seek profit, position, and power. In addition, there are also idealistic motives that emphasize public benefits. Expansion aims to improve public services, improve infrastructure, develop human resources, and overcome poverty. However, in its implementation, various parties were involved in the expansion plan, including local elites, central elites, police, military, traditional leaders, and religious leaders. Unfortunately, civil society was not widely involved and its role was insignificant. This raises concerns about the sustainability of the expansion, whether it truly represents the interests of the entire community or only the interests of certain parties. Therefore, broader civil society participation is needed to ensure the benefits of regional expansion for everyone.

Another study conducted (Umami & Ferizaldi, 2022) emphasized the urgency of the policy of expansion of new autonomous regions in Aceh Malaka Regency. The results showed that the expansion of Aceh Malaka Regency was based on political, administrative/technical, and regional gap aspects. Political aspects include increasing political representation and political support in the region. The administrative/technical aspect highlights the need for administrative expansion to improve public services and time efficiency in government administration. The regional disparity aspect aims to reduce the gap between urban and rural areas and improve community welfare and public services in remote areas. The central government supports the expansion policy by reopening the moratorium on expansion. This research provides recommendations for realizing the expansion of Aceh Malaka Regency to improve welfare and public services in the region.

According to the above background, the author is interested in examining the pros and cons of the policy of expansion of new autonomous regions in Papua and how policy-making actors make decisions related to this matter. The analysis will focus on the public narrative built in the media in the context of the expansion. To describe and explain the narrative structure in the public policy process, the Narrative Policy Framework (NPF) study will be used (Schlaufer et al., 2022). The media plays an important role in shaping opinions that spread in society (Schlaufer et al., 2022). These opinions are formed based on the perceptions and views of different individuals (Weible & Schlager, 2014). Public opinion is generally very responsive to coverage of trending issues provided by the news media (Blassnig et al., 2019). Media narratives play an inevitably central role in distributing various information and messages to the wider public, which in turn has great potential to influence policy measures taken by the government (Vosoughi et al., 2018).

In policy implementation, the media has an important role in producing stories that are widely disseminated to the public. Through these stories, the media is able to describe relevant policies and issues in an informative and detailed way (D. A. Crow & Lawlor, 2016). In this sense, the power of the media cannot be underestimated, as it is able to exert a strong influence on public opinion as well as the policy agenda promoted by groups and citizens (Witting & Dudley, 2019). In other words, the media has a



significant role in shaping people's perceptions and views of the policies implemented (Istiqoh et al., 2022). The success of a policy is often related to the extent to which the media is able to influence the understanding and support of the various parties involved, thus achieving the expected goals (D. Crow & Jones, 2018). The media has an important role in shaping narratives that have a significant impact on policymakers (Fløttum & Gjerstad, 2017). To examine policies thoroughly, policy scholars use the Narrative Policy Framework (NPF) which helps in analyzing the narrative elements and strategies used by groups involved in the policy process. The essence of the NPF is to question the role of narrative in public policy making and how it affects the outcome (McBeth & Lybecker, 2018).

In the Narrative Policy Framework (NPF), there are several key elements that must be considered. (1) the character or protagonist of the policy narrative, which can be an individual, group, or institution that acts as the main actor. This character influences the public's view of the policy. (2) a plot or storyline that includes the sequence of events and actions in the policy narrative. This plot shapes people's perceptions of the problem, its causes, and the proposed solutions. (3) values and culture reflected in the policy narrative. These values are used to influence people's attitudes. (4) Metaphors and symbols are also used to convey messages effectively. Finally (5) the reliability and credibility of the policy narrative is also very important. Narratives that are supported by strong evidence and credible sources of information tend to have a greater influence on people's views (Shanahan, Jones, & McBeth, 2018).

Broadly defined, Narrative Public Policy (NPF) provides an in-depth framework to understand the significant influence of narratives or stories interwoven in the public policy process at each stage (Veselková, 2017). Through the complex interactions between political actors, their values, and the institutions involved, NPF helps in analyzing how the formation of narratives can shape people's perceptions, influence their preferences and actions, and affect the final outcome of policy making (McBeth et al., 2007). According to Shanahan, the Narrative Policy Framework NPF is a theoretical framework that establishes common assumptions, concepts, and hypotheses in the study of policy narratives and provides guidance on how to conduct empirical research on the role of narratives in the policy process (Shanahan, Jones, McBeth, et al., 2018).

METHOD

In the data analysis process, the researcher employed Nvivo 12 Plus software to systematically and structurally manage qualitative data. News content collected from online media through the Ncapture feature was imported into Nvivo and subsequently subjected to manual coding, enabling the identification, labeling, and categorization of relevant units of meaning related to the issue of Autonomous Regional Expansion. Nvivo 12 Plus facilitated the exploration of patterns and relationships among themes through the use of nodes and classifications, allowing the researcher to map intervariable connections more comprehensively. The cross tab query analysis feature was used to examine the percentage and distribution of data based on the predetermined coding categories, providing deeper insight into media reporting tendencies. In addition, the word cloud feature was utilized to visualize the frequency of recurring terms, thereby identifying dominant issues most frequently discussed in the news coverage. Overall, the use of Nvivo 12 Plus not only accelerated the analytical process but also strengthened the accuracy and validity of interpretations of the qualitative data examined.



Tabel 1. Online Media

No.	News channel	Website	Total
1	CNN	https://www.cnn.com/	18
2	Detik	https://www.detik.com/	20
3	Kompas	https://www.kompas.com/	22
4	Kumparan	https://www.Kumparan.com/	19

Source: Author's Data Processing, 2023

Through table 1 above, there are 4 online media used by the author to analyze. The author chose these 4 online media as research reference materials because these 4 media are included in the ranks of the best online media in Indonesia based on a survey conducted by (Alexa.com). Alexa.com is a provider of web traffic information, metrics and analytics that collects a lot of traffic data from its direct sources. Web rankings are monitored for three months, rankings are calculated using a proprietary methodology that incorporates an estimate of a site's average daily unique visitors. From some of Indonesia's best online media, 4 online media were found that discussed the expansion of the Papua New Autonomous Region (DOB) the most in the period (February 05, 2022 - December 05, 2022). Data analysis is carried out through the process of capturing data or capturing data using the Ncapture feature found on Nvivo 12 Plus. The next step is for the author to import news data into Nvivo 12 Plus for data coding, after the data is coded, then display the data and analyze the data which has been in the form of Crosstab Query, Word Cloud and various other data that the author can display in this study.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Expansion of New autonomy regions (DOB) in Papua

The creation of a new autonomous region in Papua is a controversial issue that has generated much opposition. This opposition is due to concerns about its political, economic and social impacts. Some argue that the expansion could threaten national unity and stability, and increase the risk of inter-tribal and ethnic conflict. There are also concerns that expansion only benefits the political elite and does not provide significant benefits to the people (Tryatmoko, 2016). In the complicated context of Papua, opposition to expansion is growing stronger. Indonesian media have been active in providing coverage of thi Media Coverage Related to DOB in Papua s rejection, especially through online media.



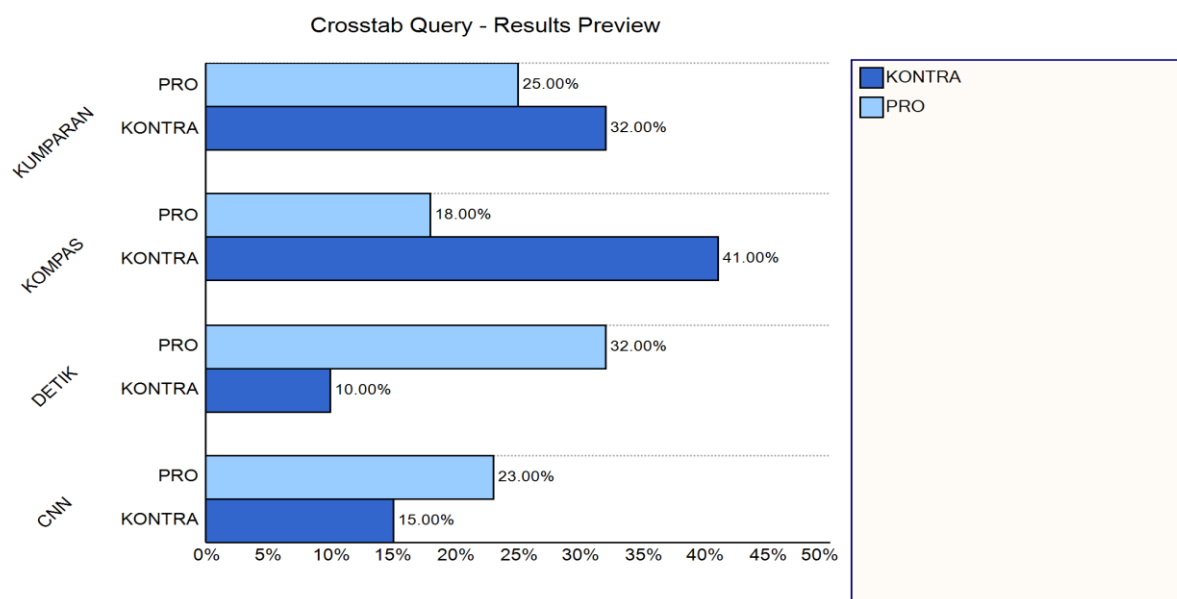


Figure 1. Media coverage related to new autonomous regions in Papua

Source: Author's Use of Nvivo 12 Plus in Data Processing

Based on the data presented, it can be observed that in the last 11 months of 2022, there were four leading online media in Indonesia, namely Kumparan.com, Kompas.com, Detik.com, and Cnn.com, which actively discussed issues related to the expansion policy of the New Autonomous Region (DOB) in Papua. All four media outlets give primary attention to the pros and cons associated with the future implementation of this policy. There are significant differences in views between those who support and oppose the expansion policy (Lantang & Tambunan, 2020) This controversy has intensified in online media in the run-up to the implementation of the proposed policy.

President Jokowi was present in Papua in 2019 and proposed the expansion of New Autonomous Regions (DOB) in the region. This includes the creation of the provinces of Papua Selatan and Papua Pegunungan. Several figures claiming to represent the Papuan people supported this plan and conveyed their aspirations to the President. However, this plan has drawn controversy because it is considered not to involve the Papuan people as a whole, but only certain elite groups. In addition, the ongoing conflict in Papua also affected public and government perceptions of the plan (Suryawan, 2011). There are narratives that support expansion on the grounds that it will benefit the Papuan people and improve the condition of the region. On the other hand, the pros and cons in the media are also influenced by the battle of political interests among Indonesian elites.



Source: Author's Use of Nvivo 12 Plus in Data Processings

Pros and Cons of DOB Expansion Policy in Papua

The narratives formed by four leading national media, which are Cnn.com, Detik.com, Kompas.com, and Kumparan.com, highlight the issue of the expansion of New autonomy regions (DOB) reflecting the pro and con conversations in the community. As the implementation of the DOB expansion policy approaches, polemics and differences in views among the public and political elites are increasingly common (Bertrand, 2014). These competing interests result in tensions that last for long periods of time, often ending in chaos.

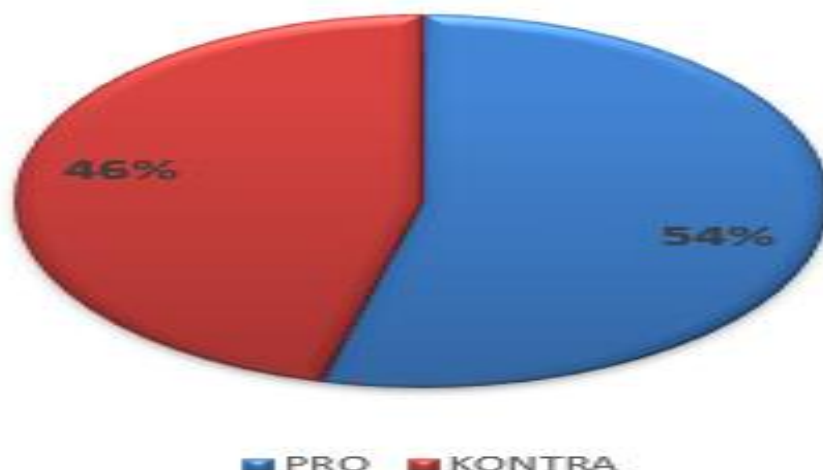


Figure 3. The Pros and Cons of DOB Expansion in Papua

Source: Author's Data Processing Using Nvivo 12 Plus

Based on the data analysis in the figure above, there are significant differences regarding the policy of expanding the New Autonomous Region (DOB) in Papua from the four online media references. Supporters of expansion reached 54%, while those who rejected it reached 46%. This data highlights that in the media narrative, discussions about the DOB expansion policy tend to be more supportive than rejecting. The factors underlying the support from various parties are mainly related to equitable development and welfare improvement (Faoziyah & Salim, 2016). A review of the data above reflects the stark differences in views on the issue of DOB expansion in Papua. From the four online media sources analyzed, it appears that supporters of expansion are in the majority, while opponents also have a significant voice. This analysis shows the dominance of pro-expansion views in published news and opinions. The topic of DOB expansion in Papua has become an interesting and controversial discussion among the public.

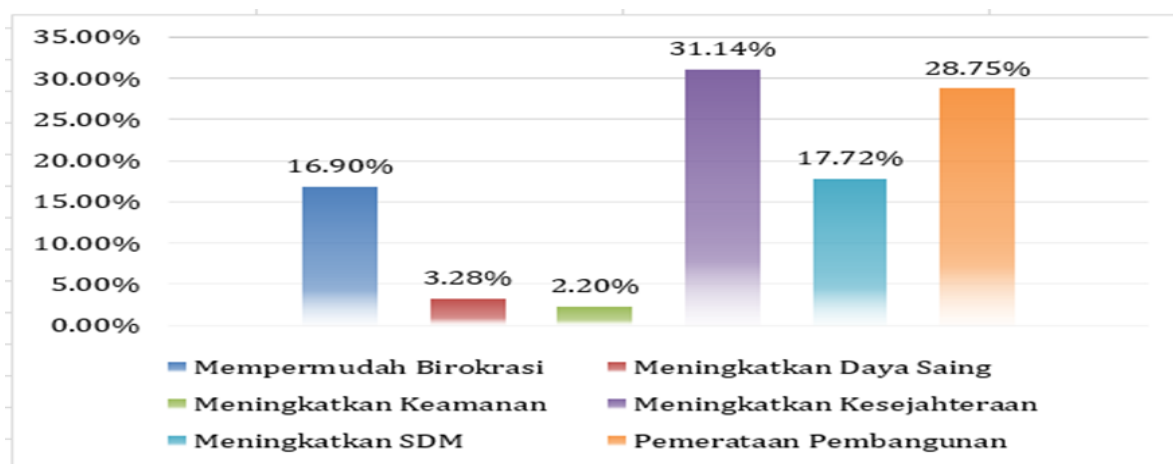


Figure 4. The Pro Narrative of DOB Expansion in Papua

Source: Author's Data Processing Using Nvivo 12 Plus

Based on the percentage data contained in Figure 4, it can be explained that the pro narratives in the online media regarding the policy of expanding the New Autonomous Region (DOB) in Papua cover several main aspects, which can be arranged based on the

highest to lowest level of support. First of all, the aspect that gets the highest support is “Improving Welfare” with a percentage of 31.14%. This shows that the community and those who support DOB expansion in Papua view the potential of this policy to improve the welfare of the population in the region (Prabowo et al., 2020). Then, at the next level of support, there is “Equitable Development” with a percentage of 28.75%. With the expansion of DOBs, it is hoped that development will be more equitable in various regions in Papua, so that development disparities can be reduced (Bröcker et al., 2019).

Furthermore, “Improving human resources” is also an important focus in online media pro narratives with a percentage of 17.72%. DOB expansion is expected to provide opportunities for the development of human resources in the region through education and training. In addition, “Simplifying the Bureaucracy” is also an important point with a percentage of 16.90%. Support for this policy shows that DOB expansion is considered a step to reduce complicated bureaucracy and improve the efficiency of public services (Marpaung & IGKAR, 2015). The other two aspects, namely “Improving Competitiveness” and “Improving Security,” have lower percentages with 3.28% and 2.20% respectively. Despite receiving lower support, they remain an important part of the pro narrative, indicating that DOB expansion is also considered to have a positive impact on increasing regional competitiveness and security for the community (Moses & Achmady, 2020).

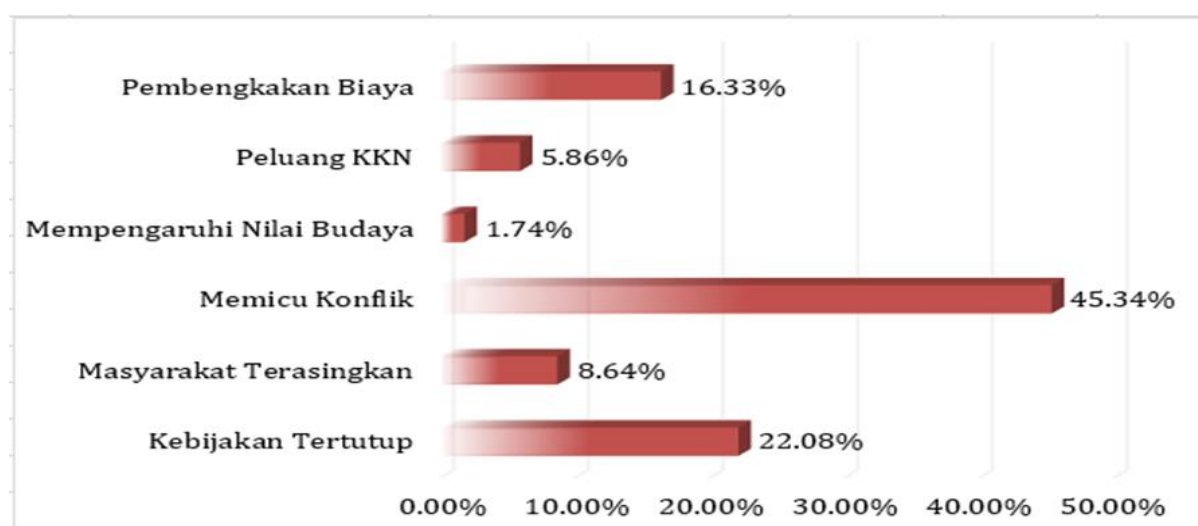


Figure 5. Cons Narrative of DOB Expansion in Papua

Source: Author's Data Processing Using Nvivo 12 Plus

Based on the percentage data contained in Figure 5, the counter-narratives in the online media related to the policy of expanding the New Autonomous Region (DOB) in Papua can be sorted from the highest to the lowest percentage as follows: The highest percentage, 45.34%, explains that the first narrative highlights that the DOB expansion policy in Papua is considered to trigger conflict in the region (Djen & Qodir, 2023). This conflict is likely to involve various community groups with different interests related to regional expansion. Furthermore, the percentage of 22.08% indicates that most of the counter narratives in online media state that the DOB expansion policy in Papua is carried out in a way that is less transparent and does not involve sufficient public participation (Septanoris & Asmoro, 2022). This has led to the view that the policy is closed. In the next position, with a percentage of 16.33%, the third narrative highlights that the DOB expansion policy in Papua is considered to cause fund overruns or inefficient government

budget spending. The impact has the potential to affect government performance in budget management.

With a percentage of 8.64%, the fourth narrative reflects the view that DOB expansion in Papua has the potential to cause some communities or groups to become alienated or feel underrepresented in the process of forming new autonomous regions. The next percentage, 5.86%, highlights the narrative of opportunities for corruption, collusion and nepotism (KKN) in the management of resources and budgets in the region as a result of the DOB expansion policy in Papua. Finally, with a percentage of 1.74%, a small number of counter narratives state that the DOB expansion policy in Papua has the potential to affect the cultural values of the local community, both positively and negatively (Fauzi et al., 2019). It should be noted that the percentage order reflects the comparison of the number of narratives in online media that discuss the DOB expansion policy in Papua, with a focus on the issues raised in each narrative. In this context, it is important to understand that these narratives are the result of the diverse views and opinions that have emerged in discussions about the policy.

Actor Involvement

Political interests played a central role in every policy-making process, this is clearly reflected in the involvement of actors in the implementation of a policy. One of the issues that is currently being discussed is the policy of expanding the New Autonomous Region (DOB) in Papua, where this issue has attracted the attention of various parties to bring up the pros and cons among the public. This policy-making process has become a stage for debates, arguments and even legal efforts to ensure the realization of the various interests involved in this context (Nashrullah & Lohalo, 2022).

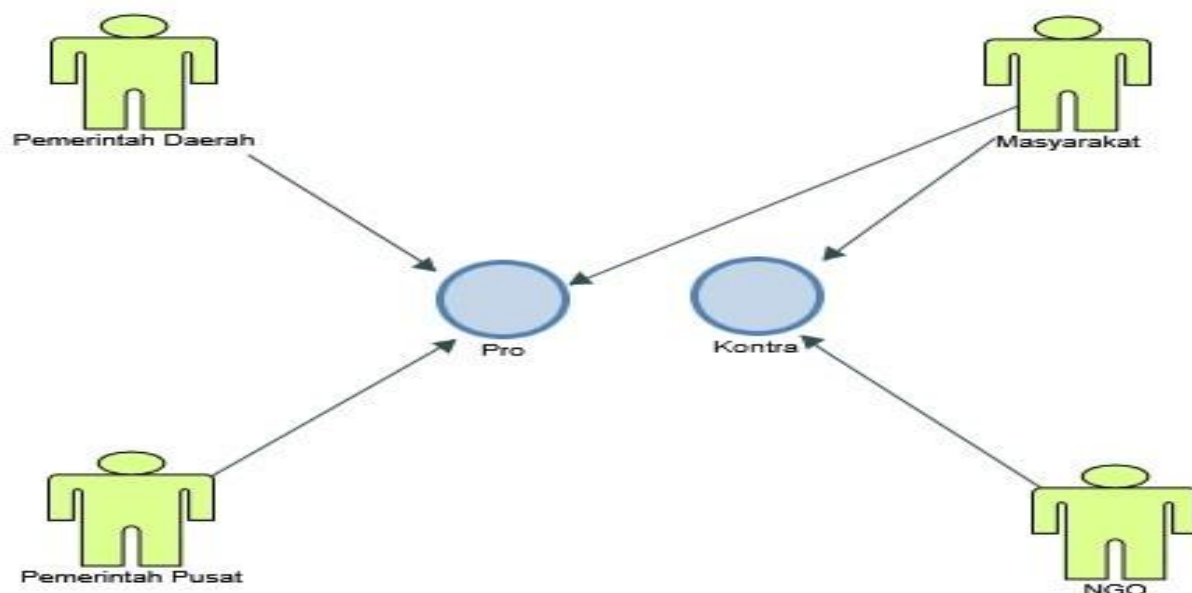


Figure 6. Map of Actor Narratives in DOB Expansion in Papua

Source: Author's Data Processing Using Nvivo 12 Plus

Based on the results of the analysis above, it illustrates how actors play a role in framing narratives related to the policy of expanding the New Autonomous Region (DOB) in Papua through the media. There are four categories that classify these findings. First, the Central Government and Local Government are included in the Pro category, which shows that

both institutions actively support the DOB expansion policy and voice positive views through the mass media. This political support is important in the decision-making process regarding regional expansion. Second, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are in the category of those who oppose the policy. They voiced negative views critically through various media channels. The contra stance of these independent organizations shows their disapproval of the DOB expansion policy.

Third, the community appears to have mixed views on the policy, which can be categorized into pros and cons. Some communities support DOB expansion, while others reject it, due to concerns about their identity and rights. This phenomenon reflects the complexity of Papuan society in responding to the DOB expansion policy. Overall, Illustration 6 provides an interesting picture of how various actors play a role in framing the narrative related to DOB expansion in Papua through the media. The different views and support from these actors reflect the political and social complexity behind the issue of the expansion of new autonomous regions (Yandra, 2016).

CONCLUSION

The media discourse on the expansion of New Autonomous Regions (DOB) in Papua throughout 2022 reveals a polarized narrative between supporters and opponents of the policy, although pro-expansion narratives remain dominant. Supporters emphasize welfare improvement, equitable development, human resource enhancement, bureaucratic simplification, and competitiveness as key arguments, while opponents highlight the risks of conflict, closed and non-participatory policy formulation, budget inefficiency, social marginalization, corruption vulnerabilities, and cultural disruption. The dominance of central and local government actors in promoting pro-DOB narratives—contrasted with NGO resistance and the divided stance of local communities—indicates that the expansion agenda is driven more by elite political interests rather than reflecting genuine grassroots aspirations.

Theoretically, this study contributes to the Narrative Policy Framework (NPF) literature by demonstrating how media narratives function as instruments of political control, shaping public perceptions through asymmetric actor involvement. The findings strengthen NPF assumptions that dominant actors strategically mobilize narratives to legitimize policy preferences in contested policy arenas, particularly in ethnopolitically sensitive regions such as Papua.

Practically, the results underscore an urgent need for more inclusive and participatory decision-making mechanisms in regional expansion policies to prevent escalation of social tensions, minimize elite-driven policymaking, and ensure that development outcomes align with the priorities of indigenous Papuans. Policymakers should adopt transparent consultation processes, strengthen social safeguards to protect cultural identity, and monitor resource distribution to reduce the risk of inter-regional conflict.

Future research should explore public sentiment at the grassroots level using ethnographic or mixed methods to complement media-based narrative analysis, and further examine how narrative competition evolves after the implementation of the DOB policy. Comparative studies between Papua and other regions in Indonesia or Southeast Asia experiencing expansion could also enrich understanding of narrative dynamics in territorial restructuring.



Acknowledgment

The authors would like to express their gratitude to LPPM Universitas Amal Ilmiah Yapis Wamena for the support of research funding so that the research is well completed, as well as all those who have contributed to the writing of this research.

REFERENCES

- Aminah, Lindrianasari, Evana, E., Tarmizi, R., & Khairudin. (2019). Efektivitas 20 Tahun Implementasi Pemekaran Daerah Di Indonesia. *Asian Journal of Innovation and Entrepreneurship*, 04(03), 2477–3824.
- Apituley, L. G. F. (2019). Pengawasan Penggunaan Keuangan Daerah Dalam Pelaksanaan Otonomi Daerah. *Journal of Chemical Information and Modeling*, 53(9), 1689–1699.
- Barlian, A. E. A. (2017). Konsistensi Pembentukan Peraturan Daerah Berdasarkan Hierarki Perundang-Undangan Dalam Prespektif Politik Hukum. *FIAT JUSTISIA: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum*, 10(4), 605. <https://doi.org/10.25041/fiatjustisia.v10no4.801>
- Bertrand, J. (2014). Autonomy and stability: The perils of implementation and “divide-and-rule” tactics in Papua, Indonesia. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 20(2), 174–199. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13537113.2014.909157>
- Blassnig, S., Engesser, S., Ernst, N., & Esser, F. (2019). Hitting a Nerve: Populist News Articles Lead to More Frequent and More Populist Reader Comments. *Political Communication*, 36(4), 629–651. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2019.1637980>
- Bröcker, J., Dohse, D., & Rietveld, P. (2019). Infrastructure and regional development. *Handbook of Regional Growth and Development Theories: Revised and Extended Second Edition*, 172–197. <https://doi.org/10.4337/9781788970020.00016>
- Crow, D. A., & Lawlor, A. (2016). Media in the Policy Process: Using Framing and Narratives to Understand Policy Influences. *Review of Policy Research*, 33(5), 472–491. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ropr.12187>
- Crow, D., & Jones, M. (2018). Narratives as tools for influencing policy change. *Policy and Politics*, 46(2), 217–234. <https://doi.org/10.1332/030557318X15230061022899>
- Djen, R. A. ., & Qodir, Z. (2023). Conflict of Interest in the Expansion of Sofifi City in North Maluku, Indonesia. *Journal of Contemporary Governance and Public Policy*, 4(1), 75–96. <https://doi.org/10.46507/jcgpp.v4i1.101>
- Doaemo, W., Dhiman, S., Borovskis, A., Zhang, W., Bhat, S., Jaipuria, S., & Betasolo, M. (2021). Assessment of municipal solid waste management system in Lae City, Papua New Guinea in the context of sustainable development. In *Environment, Development and Sustainability* (Vol. 23, Issue 12). Springer Netherlands. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10668-021-01465-2>
- Duri, R., & Rahmah, M. (2020). Evaluasi Pemekaran Daerah Dalam Peningkatan Kesejahteraan Masyarakat. *Jurnal Kebijakan Pemerintahan*, 3(1), 43–52. <https://doi.org/10.33701/jkp.v3i2.1378>
- Faguet, J. P. (2014). Decentralization and Governance. *World Development*, 53, 2–13. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2013.01.002>
- Faoziyah, U., & Salim, W. A. (2016). Proliferation Pattern in Underdeveloped Region: Is it the Real Solution to Solve Underdeveloped Region's Problem in Decentralized



- Indonesia? *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 227, 824–832. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2016.06.151>
- Fauzi, F. Z., Murti, A. A. G. B., Imamah, L. A., & Hapsari, N. (2019). Infrastructure Development in Papua: Features and Challenges. *Policy & Governance Review*, 3(3), 225. <https://doi.org/10.30589/pgr.v3i3.162>
- Fløttum, K., & Gjerstad, Ø. (2017). Narratives in climate change discourse. *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Climate Change*, 8(1). <https://doi.org/10.1002/wcc.429>
- Fung, A. (2015). Putting the Public Back into Governance: The Challenges of Citizen Participation and Its Future. *Public Administration Review*, 75(4), 513–522. <https://doi.org/10.1111/puar.12361>
- Hammar, R. K. R., Samangun, C., Malik, Y., & Luturmas, A. (2021). Spatial Planning for Indigenous Law Communities to Solve Social Conflict Resolution in West Papua Indonesia. *Journal of Social Studies Education Research*, 12(4), 405–423.
- Hasan, E., Dahlawi, Ubaidullah, Sari, N., Nofriadi, & Helmi. (2020). The optimization management of special autonomy funds for acehnese people welfare. *International Journal of Criminology and Sociology*, 9, 782–789. <https://doi.org/10.6000/1929-4409.2020.09.73>
- Hindom, M. E. S., & Tamher, I. A. (2021). Efektivitas Penyelenggaraan Pemerintahan dalam Penyerapan Aspirasi Masyarakat di Kampung Tanama Kabupaten Fakfak Provinsi Papua Barat. *Jurnal Terapan Pemerintahan Minangkabau*, 1(2), 144–161. <https://doi.org/10.33701/jtpm.v1i2.2003>
- Ida Ayu Purba Riani, & M. Pudjihardjo. (2012). Analisis Dampak Pemekaran Wilayah Terhadap Pendapatan Per Kapita, Kemiskinan Dan Ketimpangan Antarwilayah Di Provinsi Papua. *Jurnal Bumi Lestari*, 12(1), 137–148.
- Istiqoh, A. E., Qodir, Z., & Ahmad, Z. H. (2022). Narrative Policy Framework: Presidential Threshold Policy Toward the 2024 Election. *Jurnal Bina Praja*, 14(3), 505–516. <https://doi.org/10.21787/jbp.14.2022.505-516>
- Kaisupy, D. A., & Maing, S. G. (2021). Proses Negosiasi Konflik Papua: Dialog Jakarta-Papua. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Humaniora*, 10(1), 82. <https://doi.org/10.23887/jish-undiksha.v10i1.27056>
- Lantang, F., & Tambunan, E. M. B. (2020). The internationalization of «west papua» issue and its impact on Indonesia's policy to the south pacific region. *Journal of ASEAN Studies*, 8(1), 41–59. <https://doi.org/10.21512/jas.v8i1.6447>
- Li, X., Hu, Z., & Zhang, Q. (2021). Environmental regulation, economic policy uncertainty, and green technology innovation. *Clean Technologies and Environmental Policy*, 23(10), 2975–2988. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10098-021-02219-4>
- Marpaung, L. A., & IGKAR, H. (2015). Implication of Regional Extension Policy in Indonesia: A Legal Perspective. ... *East Journal of Contemporary Bussiness ...*, 7(4), 97–106. https://seajbel.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/KLIBEL7_Law-107.pdf
- McBeth, M. K., & Lybecker, D. L. (2018). The Narrative Policy Framework, Agendas, and Sanctuary Cities: The Construction of a Public Problem. *Policy Studies Journal*, 46(4), 868–893. <https://doi.org/10.1111/psj.12274>
- Mcbeth, M. K., Shanahan, E. A., Arnell, R. J., & Hathaway, P. L. (2007). The Intersection of Narrative Policy Analysis and Policy Change Theory. 35(1), 87–108.



- Meteray, B. (2016). Penguatan Demokrasi Di Tanah Papua Di Era Nieuw Guinea Raad (Ngr) 1961 Dan Majelis Rakyat Papua (Mrp) 2005. *Masyarakat Indonesia*, 42(1), 77–103.
- Moses, M., & Achmady, L. (2020). Pendekatan Pemekaran Wilayah, Prinsip Dan Filosofinya Untuk Tanah Papua. *Jurnal Dinamis*, 17(1), 60–80. <https://ojs.ustj.ac.id/dinamis/article/view/694>
- Muksiin, D., Robo, S., Pawane, A. R., & Pora, S. (2021). Motif Politik Rencana Pemekaran Daerah Otonomi Baru di Tanah Papua. *JlIP: Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Pemerintahan*, 6(2), 270–281. <https://doi.org/10.14710/jiip.v6i2.11817>
- Muzawwir, A. (2021). Analisis Kebijakan Pemekaran Wilayah Kabupaten Batu Bara dalam Perspektif Peraturan Pemerintah No. 129 Tahun 2000. *AL-Fathonah*, 1(1), 285–320.
- Nashrullah, J., & Lohalo, G. O. (2022). The Establishment of a New Autonomous Region of Papua in State Administrative Law Perspective. *Volksgeist: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum Dan Konstitusi*, V(40), 145–159. <https://doi.org/10.24090/volksgeist.v5i2.6901>
- Prabowo, P. A., Supriyono, B., Noor, I., & Muluk, M. K. (2020). The influence of the special autonomy policy of the Papua Province on the welfare of its people. *International Journal of Innovation, Creativity and Change*, 13(3), 203–223. <https://www.scopus.com/inward/record.uri?eid=2-s2.0-85085924680&partnerID=40&md5=2c0d3ef5bb3dd6f23dc7ad0e53f88bad>
- Rizqi, S. K., & Muni, D. (2018). Persepsi Masyarakat Terhadap Pembentukan Kabupaten Okikha: Sebuah Analisis Sosial dan Politik. *Atikan*, 8(1), 59–74.
- Samad, Y., Bhayangkara, U., & Raya, J. (2022). PROPAGANDA PENGGUNAANBENDERA BINTANG KEJORA TERKAIT ISU PENOLAKAN PEMEKARAN DAERAH OTONOMI BARU PAPUA. *Jurnal Lembaga Ketahanan Nasional Republik Indonesia*, Vol 10 No(October), 29–38. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.55960/jlri.v10i3.295>
- Saputra, R. (2021). Policy Evaluation of Regional Expansion and Determination Regional Boundaries in Banten and West Java Province. *Sosiohumaniora*, 23(3), 400. <https://doi.org/10.24198/sosiohumaniora.v23i3.34597>
- Schlauffer, C., Kuenzler, J., Jones, M. D., & Shanahan, E. A. (2022). The Narrative Policy Framework: A Traveler's Guide to Policy Stories. *Politische Vierteljahresschrift*, 63(2), 249–273. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11615-022-00379-6>
- Septanoris, P., & Asmoro, N. (2022). Implementation of Papua Special Region Autonomy in Relation to Defense Economy. *Ijassjournal.Com*, 5(8), 81–87. <https://ijassjournal.com/2022/V5I8/414665914.pdf>
- Shanahan, E. A., Jones, M. D., & McBeth, M. K. (2018). How to conduct a Narrative Policy Framework study. *Social Science Journal*, 55(3), 332–345. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.soscij.2017.12.002>
- Shanahan, E. A., Jones, M. D., McBeth, M. K., & Radaelli, C. M. (2018). The narrative policy framework. In *Theories of the policy process* (pp. 173–213). Routledge.
- Simanjuntak, K. (2015). Implementasi Kebijakan Desentralisasi Pemerintahan di Indonesia. *Jurnal Bina Praja*, 07(02), 111–130. <https://doi.org/10.21787/jbp.07.2015.111-130>
- Suropati, U. (2019). Solusi Komprehensif Menuju Papua Baru: Penyelesaian Konflik Papua secara Damai, Adil, dan Bermartabat. *Jurnal Kajian Lemhannas RI*, 7(1), 73–89. <http://jurnal.lemhannas.go.id/index.php/jkl/article/view/52>
- Suryawan, I. N. (2011). Komin Tipu Komin: Elit Lokal dalam Dinamika Otonomi Khusus dan Pemekaran Daerah di Papua. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik*, 15(2), 140–



153.
https://s3.amazonaws.com/academia.edu.documents/12338430/JSP_NOVEMBER_2011_setelah_revisi_%281%29.pdf?response-content-disposition=inline%3Bfilename%3DRedefinisi_Perbatasan_dan_Keamanan_di_As.pdf&X-Amz-Algorithm=AWS4-HMAC-SHA256&X-Amz-Credential=AKIAIWOW
- Tian, G., & Qiao, Z. (2014). Modeling urban expansion policy scenarios using an agent-based approach for Guangzhou Metropolitan Region of China. *Ecology and Society*, 19(3). <https://doi.org/10.5751/ES-06909-190352>
- Tryatmoko, M. W. (2016). Menata Ulang Kebijakan Pemekaran Daerah Di Indonesia. *Masyarakat Indonesia*, Vol 40, No, 191–209. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.14203/jmi.v40i2.117>
- Trzci, K., & Vol, H. (2016). The consociational addition to Indonesia's centripetalism as a tactic of the central authorities: The case of Papua. *Hemispheres*, 31(4), 5–20. <https://philpapers.org/archive/TRZTCA.pdf>
- Umami, W., & Ferizaldi, F. (2022). Urgensi Kebijakan Pemekaran Daerah Otonom Baru Aceh Malaka. *Asia-Pacific Journal of Public Policy*, 8(1), 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.52137/apjpp.v8i1.72>
- Veselková, M. (2017). Narrative Policy Framework: Narratives as heuristics in the policy process. *Human Affairs*, 27(2), 178–191. <https://doi.org/10.1515/humaff-2017-0016>
- Vosoughi, S., Roy, D., & Aral, S. (2018). The spread of true and false news online. *Social Sciences*, 359(6380), 1146–1151. <https://doi.org/DOI: 10.1126/science.aap9559>
- Weible, C. M., & Schlager, E. (2014). Narrative Policy Framework. *The Science of Stories*, 2(2). <https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137485861.0016>
- Witting, A., & Dudley, G. (2019). Narrative strategies in the policy process: social and cognitive foundations. *Journal of Risk Research*, 22(9), 1143–1155. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13669877.2019.1588915>
- Wu, X. (2014). From assimilation to autonomy: Realizing ethnic minority rights in China's national autonomous regions. *Chinese Journal of International Law*, 13(1), 55–90. <https://doi.org/10.1093/chinesejil/jmu006>
- Yandra, A. (2016). Pembentukan Daerah Otonomi Baru Problematika dan Tantangannya Di Indonesia. *Jurnal Niara*, 8(2), 38–49. <https://media.neliti.com/media/publications/114417-ID-pembentukan-daerah-otonomi-baru-problema.pdf>
- Yusuf, A. A., & Sumner, A. (2015). Growth, Poverty and Inequality under Jokowi. *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, 51(3), 323–348. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00074918.2015.1110685>.

