

Noken Politics and Political Noken: Symbol of Communication in Papuan Community

Politik Noken dan Noken Politik: Simbol Komunikasi Politik Pada Masyarakat Papua

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ABSTRACT

This article aims at revealing the Noken Politics and the Political Noken as a symbol of communication in the Papuan community. Philosophically, Papuan noken contains noble human values of Papuan civilization amid a globalized flow of communication and information in the life of the nation and state. In this article, Papuan Noken, which is an intangible cultural heritage, is explored based on anthropolinguistic and communication perspectives. The focal point of this study consists of two parts, namely: (1) Noken Politics; and (2) Political Noken. As interdisciplinary research, this study applies two approaches, namely (1) theoretical approach and (2) methodological approach. The theoretical approach consists of symbolic interactionism theory and anthropolinguistic theory, while the methodological approach consists of a descriptive approach with an explanative dimension. In the perspective of symbolic and anthropolinguistic interactionism, this study applies scientific principles to language data and adapts the steps of scientific studies in other fields of science. This study is conducted through the following procedures (1) providing data, (2) analyzing data, and (3) presenting the results of data analysis. The findings of this study reveal that Noken politics is one of the national policies for Papua which contains special planning, direction, and provisions (affirmations) that can be used as a basis for the overall processing of the system of government, politics, socio-culture in Papua. Noken politics is a policy that includes: (1) Noken Election System, (2) Clothing System, and (3) Noken Cultural Education System. Political noken is a term used to refer to noken cultural practices that contain political meaning. The meanings contained in the political noken are (1) the meaning of power, (2) institutional meaning, and (3) the meaning of conflict.

Keywords: noken politics; political noken; Papuan community

ABSTRAK

Artikel ini bertujuan untuk mengungkap tentang fenomena Politik Noken dan Noken Politik sebagai simbol komunikasi pada masyarakat Papua. Secara filosofi, noken Papua mengandung nilai-nilai kemanusiaan yang luhur sebagai bagian dari peradaban Papua di tengah arus komunikasi informasi yang mengglobal dalam kehidupan berbangsa dan bernegara. Noken Papua sebagai warisan budaya takbenda dalam tulisan ini dapat diesplorasi melalui perspektif antropologi linguistik dan komunikasi. Titik fokus dalam kajian ini terdiri atas dua bagian, yakni: (1) Politik Noken; dan (2) Noken Politik. Sebagai bagian dari bidang interdisipliner, kajian ini menggunakan dua pendekatan, yakni (1) pendekatan teoretis dan (2) pendekatan metodologis. Pendekatan teoretis adalah teori interaksionalisme simbolik dan teori Antropolinguistik, sedangkan pendekatan metodologi adalah pendekatan deskriptif dengan dimensi eksplanatif. Temuan dalam tulisan ini menggambarkan bahwa Politik noken merupakan salah satu kebijakan nasional bagi Papua yang berisi perencanaan, pengarahannya, dan ketentuan khusus (afirmasi) yang dapat dipakai sebagai dasar bagi pengolahan keseluruhan sistem pemerintahan, politik, sosial-budaya di Tanah Papua yang meliputi: (1) sistem Pemilu Noken, (2) Sistem Busana, dan (3) sistem Pendidikan Berbasis Budaya Noken. Noken politik adalah istilah yang digunakan untuk menyebut praktik budaya noken yang mengandung makna politik. Makna yang dimaksudkan dalam noken politik adalah (1) makna kekuasaan, (2) makna institusional, dan (3) makna konflik.

Kata Kunci: politik noken; noken politik; komunikasi; masyarakat Papua

INTRODUCTION

A communication rhetoric has been built by the President of the Republic of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, in his speech in Rote Island, East Nusa Tenggara on January 8, 2018, which reads: "I know very well, I think all of us also know that our country consists of 714 ethnic groups, consists of more than 1,100 different regional languages, that inhabits about 17.000 (17.508) islands that we have." This statement implies that, as a large nation, with a diversity of customs, culture, and a long history, Indonesia has a very large number of languages (culture). By this statement, the President would like to show that the motto of "Bhineka Tunggal Ika" (Unity in Diversity), could be photographed from various points of view, including the language (Hardyanto, 2018; Warami, 2018: 2).

Another communication rhetoric was also delivered by President Joko Widodo in a dialogue with 28 (twenty-eight) cultural practitioners in the National Gallery, Jakarta. He said that "There are no areas that are forgotten, there are no areas that are ruled out, there are no areas which are made as a stepdaughter nor as a golden child. All areas are the biological child of the Motherland (Warami, 2018: 3). By this statement, it is expected that the literature to revive, cultural diplomacy to be reinforced, and cultural centers to be built, not only in urban areas, but also in the villages. So, in the future, there would be a macro-cultural policy in the process of human civilization which is needed to balance life.

This communication process, according to Warami (201: 3), is then used as the basis for the development policy of "Indonesia centric", in the cultural platform, aimed at building connectivity among all ethnic groups. This connectivity is very important and fundamental to the integrity of the Indonesian national identity. It is an Indonesian concept that has been fragmented due to various obstacles, be it political, cultural, economic and infrastructure constraints. President Joko Widodo understands the things which underlie his ideas of "Indonesia centric", as it is reflected in the points of Nawacita. Therefore, concrete initial steps are needed to build connectivity or connectedness between all regions of Indonesia. The political communication carried out by President Joko Widodo is now opening the spaces for the occurrence of changes. So, infrastructure development must be seen in a more intact context, the efforts to unite and strengthen the nation's identity as one nation, one language and one homeland. This perspective is a cultural strategy, an effort to rebuild Indonesia's national revival in the present era. It is not solely an effort to change mere development orientation. Indonesia centric is a concept that includes the idea of national awakening and Indonesian unity to jointly prosper the nation.

At the end of 2019, President Joko Widodo built political communication to the Land of Papua by visiting the provinces of Papua and West Papua. During his work visit, President Joko Widodo wore an *Intangible Cultural Heritage* which is called *Noken* by the Papuan people, as a symbol of welcome, peace, and kinship by the indigenous Papuan people, and also all the people of the archipelago who inhabit the Land of Papua. Papuan *Noken* as intangible cultural heritage is part of the heritage preserved by international law, as the basis for traditional knowledge preservation that rests on respect for human rights. Preservation of cultural heritage Knowledge in international legal instruments includes (1) Preservation of traditional knowledge based on human rights, (2) Preservation of traditional knowledge as a cultural and resource heritage (see. Daulay, 2011: 74).

However, a few facts above are seem not able to make the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and the Regional Government (Provincial/Regency/City) in the Land of Papua in protecting *Noken* as an *Intangible Cultural Heritage* to date. The preservation is still at the level of mere discourse rhetoric (see Warami (2015b:1). This fact proves that policies or regulations

often marginalize certain groups in society and have even worsened the *image* of the government as a ruler and policymaker for the community and as citizens. This image shows that the policies and preservations imposed by the central and local governments often become hidden enemies without realizing it.

This condition is in line with the principle of rationality developed by Weber regarding the traditional society in which the change from traditional to modern leads to social behavior in communication. According to Hardiman (2009: 97-98), what is stated by Weber as "rationality" is a process of changes, produced by the expansion of rationality. The expansion of the territory means that the position of the community is placed under rational decision rules, in which socio-economic activities are regulated by rational decisions and actions, as seen in the bureaucracy and communication administration.

In the context of Papuan society, the socio-economic activities as it is intended by Weber, are fragmented in cultural symbols, such as noken knitting, black color, curly races, Honai, and Koteka, in which in today's communication standards, it contains elements of meaning which are close to insults or humiliation. However, these symbols of political communication, on the other hand, have now become legitimate tools in controlling the community, so as not to cause psychological violence or symbolic violence. This political communication is difficult to detect through policies, protective rules or laws which are constantly occurring within a relatively long period. As a result, it has caused a negative judgment of the existence of Indonesia in the frame of Bhineka Tunggal Ika. The Papuan community in this study can be equated with the term Orang Asli community in Malaysia. According to Chin, et.al (2023), the community of people has good knowledge about tropical forests, flora and fauna, and has used forests as a natural resource for generations and uses their knowledge and experience to survive.

Papuan *Noken* as intangible cultural heritage in this study is explored through anthropolinguistic and communication perspectives. The focal point of the problem in this study consists of two parts, namely: (1) *Noken* Politics; and (2) Political *Noken*.

PREVIOUS STUDIES ON NOKEN

Some previous studies related to Papuan Noken are as follows. *First*, Pekei (2011) with the title: "Cermin Noken Papua: Perspektif Kearifan Mata Budaya Papuani". This study revealed the importance of Noken, find out its function in the life of the Papuan community, and building understanding and views on the future of *Noken* culture as intangible cultural heritage, to increase the understanding of *Noken* transmission, *Noken* nomination, and *Noken* preservation.

Second, Tebay, et al (2012) with the title: "Negosiasi: Noken Dialog Untuk Papua Damai". The study of the Academic Forum for Papua Peace describes the dialogue, which is not just an important component of negotiations. As a path to the resolution of conflict, dialogue makes us and all parties involved in conflict aware of being good listeners. In communicating, we often make mistakes, we often become loud talkers, but we are rarely becoming good, loyal, and empathetic listeners. Whereas, by being good listeners, it would increase our understanding of cultural differences, values, and norms as the main step towards conflict resolution.

Third, Pekei (2013) with the title: "Titus Pekei, Sang Panggali Noken: Perjuangan di Tengah Pengakuan Dunia". This study describes the efforts made and the struggles faced in making the Noken as an intangible heritage to the world level, and received recognition from UNESCO in Paris. As an ancestral heritage of the Papuan community, Noken is encouraged to be

revived with the spirit of knitting or weaving Noken as part of the life cycle of the Papuan community. The inclusion of Noken in the UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage list could not be separated from the roles of all Papuan people (noken mamas and noken papas, who have provided input and supports, so that noken could be included in the nominations in the UNESCO lists).

Fourth, Ell, Pieter, et al (2013) with the title: "Noken, Demokratiskah?". This study explores noken based on anthropological and legal perspectives, in relation to the electoral system that uses Noken as a medium, by building in-depth and detailed arguments about whether or not noken is worthy of being encouraged in the general election process and so on, and then introduced the term noken democracy.

Fifth, Warami (2014) with the title: "Noken Papua: Cermin, Transformasi, dan Format Negosiasi Damai". This study explores Noken Papua through a critical paradigm, as a form of expression of liberation, emancipatory, and enlightenment. It was analyzed based on a *Critical Discourse Analysis* (CDA) perspective, in the hope that CDA is expected to be able to reveal Papuan Noken through the process of cultural transformation, identity mirror, and the negotiation format for a peaceful Papuan dialogue. The analysis is presented in three parts, namely (1) identity mirror, (2) cultural transformation, and (3) peace negotiation format.

Sixth, Warami (2015) with the title: "Noken Demokrasi: *Konsep dan Implementasi Sistem Demokrasi Pancasila dalam Bidang Politik dan Ekonomi*". This study describes (1) the basic principles of *noken* democracy, namely (a) Papuan conflicts that can only be resolved peacefully, not by violence, (b) Papuan conflicts is resolved in its entirety, not partially, (c) Papuan conflict is resolved in a dignified manner, so that neither party loses face, and (d) the resolution must be followed up after reaching an agreement; (2) dialogue purpose. The purpose of the *Noken* Dialogue is to create peace in Papua (Papua Land of Peace); (3) Dialog targets. The targets to be achieved directly at the end of the dialogue between Jakarta and Papua are the identification of indicators of Papua Land of Peace, namely (a) fundamental problems that need to be solved, (b) conflict triggers, (c) solutions to overcome these problems, (d) strategic policies that prevent the recurrence of these problems in the future, (e) the role and contribution of stakeholders to create peace, and (d) follow-up and actions taken after the agreement; and (5) stakeholders participation.

Seventh, Mote (2016) with the title: "Noken dalam Pilpres Papua 2014". This study seeks to position the *noken* system as part of local democracy and the noble democracy of the Papuan people. The *noken* system in Papua is a noble democracy that has existed for a long time until now, and continues to develop from time to time and positions itself as part of a democratic system whose sovereignty is in the hands of the people.

Eighth, Marit (2016) with the title: "Noken dan Perempuan Papua: Analisis Wacana Gender dan Ideologi". This study explores the Papuan *Noken* as an intangible heritage inherited by most Papuan women within the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia as an artifact which is inherent in Papuan women. Since birth, life, and death, Papuan women could not be separated from Papuan Noken. Papuan Noken has become a marker of the identity of Papuan women, to be respected according to their dignity as human beings, females, and creatures of God. This study also explores the *Noken* and Papuan women who are still struggling in facing the bureaucracy that continues to marginalize women. Meanwhile, cultural values still position women in the symbol of Papuan *noken* as a dowry to other parties, by ignoring the fulfillment of their economic, social and political rights.

Ninth, Hidajat, Henny and Aletha Nathania (2016) with the title: "Perancangan Video Infografi Noken Warisan Budaya Takbenda Papua". This study describes that since 2014, Noken has been recognized by UNESCO as a World Heritage. Therefore, to introduce this archipelago's cultural heritage, especially to the younger generation who are not familiar yet with noken, a dynamic and easy-to-access information media needs to be provided, and one of which is infographic video media. To simplify and speed up understanding, the infographic videos apply a simple flat design animation style, by explaining the distribution, style, way of making, and the function of noken, as well as the efforts to preserve it, such as registering it as a *world heritage* at Unesco.

Tenth, Januar, Arie (2017) with the title: "Fungsi, Makna dan Eksistensi Noken sebagai Simbol Identitas Orang Papua". This study describes that Noken is one of the traditional crafts of the Papuan community. In its development, this craft is spread in almost all areas of Papua, from the mountains to the coasts. For Papuans, noken does not only function as a storage device (bag), but also has broad functions and meanings in various aspects, such as social, economic and cultural aspects. The method applied in this study is a descriptive method. Based on the results obtained, it is concluded that Noken is not only considered as a traditional craft, but also as a craft that has high value for the people. Unfortunately, along with the times, the value and function of noken are getting worse, due to the increasing diverse use of raw materials. In addition, the number of noken craftsmen is also decreasing, due to the process of inheriting skills from the older generation to the younger generation does not run optimally. As a result, the noken craft is threatened with extinction.

Eleventh, Agustina, Oly Viana (2019) with the title: "Implementasi Noken sebagai Hukum Tidak Tertulis dalam Sistem Hukum Nasional". This study describes that the constitution as a legal law in Indonesia contains respect and guarantees for human rights preservation in the national legal system. Noken is one of the unwritten laws used in elections, both national and local elections, held in several regions in Papua. Noken is recognized by the constitution and its sustainability is guaranteed under certain conditions. This study discusses the implementation of noken as unwritten law in the national legal system. The research method used is normative juridical, by applying a case study approach, supported by the theories of constitutional supremacy, democracy and unwritten law. The results of the study show that noken is one of the unwritten laws which are stipulated based on customary agreements, to determine choices in elections and local elections held in several regions in Papua. The constitution guarantees the implementation of *noken* as an electoral system with certain requirements. Therefore, *noken* has a position as one of the legal unwritten laws in the national legal system.

Twelfth, Ronsumbre, Nelwan (2019) with the title: " Sistem Noken Papua: Manifestasi Demokrasi Berbasis Kearifan Lokal ". This study describes the noken system, particularly to the electoral voting model in Papua Province, which is a topic that would never be finished to be discussed, and debated. The important point of the discussion revolving around two aspects, namely the application of the noken system which is considered as local wisdom and as a manifestation of deliberative democracy; while, on the other hand, this system is considered to violate the principle of freedom and political rights of citizens. This study is a qualitative research design with three research objects, namely the electoral system, the deliberative democracy, and the political rights of citizens. This study reveals that juridically, the application of *noken* in Papua is legal, and culturally being considered as an inseparable part of the local wisdom, and as a manifestation of deliberative democracy. This study recommends the need for the adjustments between the electoral *noken* system and the principles of justice, freedom and political rights of

citizens, through the synchronization and harmonization of legal products, related to the noken system, and the preservation of human rights, as well as the need for incremental improvements to the system.

Thirteenth, Warami (2020) with the title: "West Papua as a Conservation Province: Austro-Melanesian Socio-Cultural Conservation Noken. This study illustrates how to make the province of West Papua a conservation province by making the principle of noken conservation a media frame that embodies Austro-Melanesian socio-cultural constitutional products with the principles of protection, preservation and wise and sustainable use of natural resources as well as restoration of the environment and ecosystem. which has been degraded. The conservation marketing philosophy is to provide direction on how noken conservation can be implemented by looking at the socio-cultural ecological spatial needs of West Papua in the Austro-Melanesian vortex. Conservation marketing is based on the premise that all conservation planning and operations are oriented towards a decent lifestyle. The urgency in conservation marketing is (1) making the West Papuan population a subject, and not an object for certain interests, (2) making conservation issues the first step in developing priority development programs, (3) conservation nokens do not guarantee independence or victory, but providing tools to maintain human relationships with nature.

Fourteenth, Sawir, Muhammad, et al (2021) with the title: "Local Wisdom Empowerment of Digital-Based Papuan Noken Craft Businesses in Ardipura District, South Jayapura". This study illustrates that empowerment activities for small Papuan noken craft businesses are deemed necessary to increase the skills and knowledge of craftsmen in dealing with the Covid-19 pandemic and to enlighten the public about the use of digital technology which is currently developing massively. The local wisdom empowerment of the Papuan noken craft business aims to determine the level of effectiveness of the application of digital-based technology for craftsmen in the Ardipura District, South Jayapura. Then, the principle of the benefits obtained is an increase in the ability of craftsmen to market their products more widely throughout the world, as well as making the selling value of Papuan noken economically higher.

Fifteenth, Lefaan, Avelinus (2022) with the title: "Meaning, Socialization and Internalization of Noken Philosophy in Community Development Communication in Jayapura City". This study aims to illustrate that noken is not just a work of civilization in the form of an art object in the form of a knitted bag. However, more than that, noken is understood to have a philosophical meaning that contains Papuan socio-cultural values such as tolerance, collaboration, openness, economy and productivity. This kind of meaning makes the noken philosophy able to function in aspects of political, economic and socio-cultural life. In the political aspect, the noken philosophy has the potential to resolve political conflicts based on collaborative values. In the economic aspect, the noken philosophy can encourage Papuan people to become independent and productive with a high work ethic. Meanwhile, in the socio-cultural aspect, the noken philosophy has the potential to create a civic society based on the values of tolerance, inclusion and openness.

Sixteenth, Bao, Bonefasius, et al (2023) with the title: "Noken and corruption: Degradation of cultural anti-corruption values in the era of special autonomy in Papua". The study shows that in the past, Indigenous Papuans had a unique way of teaching the cultural values of hard work, honesty, openness and authority. These values are contained in Noken. Noken is a handicraft product made from natural materials which has the same function as a bag. It is used to fill plants, foodstuffs, and personal items and is used in ceremonies as a keepsake and accessory for women. Noken's philosophy is full of values, including transparency and integrity, where the Papuan people are taught an anti-corruption culture from an early age. This is in contrast to the current

situation, where corrupt practices are increasing, especially among public officials. The results of this research show that the cause of the degradation of anti-corruption culture is caused by changes in consumerist lifestyles and weak supervision, a political system with high costs, and convoluted bureaucratic flows. The result of this degradation is the fading of the Noken-based anti-corruption culture, dependence on special autonomy funds, and the sharpening of social conflicts. For this reason, political action and good will from stakeholders are needed to revitalize the noble values of Noken through internalizing these values in social life.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Two theories that are applied as the basis for studying the topic of "*Noken Politics and Political Noken: Symbols of Communication in Papuan Society*", are as follows.

First, symbolic interactionism theory. Symbolic interactionism believes that humans are choice makers, in which this assumption mediates the position taken by the previous assumption. Symbolic interactionism questions the view of immutable social structure, and also recognizes that an individual may modify social situations. In fact, humans as choice makers, are not limited by culture or situation. The theory of symbolic interactionism is very influential in the development of social sciences, especially communication science. Moreover, symbolic interactionism theory also inspires the tendency to strengthen a qualitative approach in communication studies. The influence is mainly in terms of a holistic perspective on the phenomenon of communication, as a consequence of the principle of systemic thinking, that becomes the principle and theory of symbolic interactionism (Richard West and Lynn H. Turner, 2008: 104).

Second, anthropolinguistic theory. Anthropolinguistic is a scientific perspective, developed in the 19th century in America by Frans Boaz (Duranti, 1997 and Murtijo, 2005:8). The predecessors of anthropolinguistics are Roman Jakobson and Erving Goffman (Pastika, 2004: 35-36). In the 1960-1970s, the anthropolinguistic perspective was further developed by exploring the topic of "gender and language". The exploration of the anthropolinguistic perspective begins with an effort to document Indian languages in America. Anthropology gave birth to several critical constructions of definitions, namely (1) as a study of language and other cultural activities that shape social life both at the individual level and at the community level, (2) Language study in the context of anthropology, (3) studying the logic of language systems and social activities where the language system is used, (4) linguistic study that combines anthropological methods and theories to map the language systems and cultural systems, and (5) an interdisciplinary study that relies on (i) the importance of language for understanding culture and society, (ii) the relevance of culture and social phenomena for the understanding of language (cf. Pastika, 2004:35-36). As an interdisciplinary field of study, anthropolinguistic consists of a combination of three fields of study, namely language studies, cultural studies, and studies of other aspects of human life. These three fields of study are studied based on the framework of linguistics and anthropology. The linguistic framework is based on the study of language (all verbal elements); while the anthropological framework is based on the study of the intricacies of human life (culture and other aspects). Therefore, anthropolinguistics is the study of language within the framework of anthropology; the study of culture within the framework of linguistics; and the study of other aspects of human life within the framework of anthropology and linguistics. Furthermore, the term used in this narrative is anthropolinguistics.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This interdisciplinary study with the title *Noken Politics and Political Noken: Symbol of Communication in Papuan Community* applied two approaches, namely ((1) theoretical approach and (2) methodological approach. The theoretical approach being applied is the theory of symbolic interactionism (West and Turner, 2008) and the theory of Anthropology (Duranti, 1997; 2003) and (Foley, 1997); while the methodological approach is a descriptive approach with an explanatory dimension. Descriptive studies attempt to systematically describe the facts and characteristics of the object or subject being targeted accurately, by revealing language not only based on what is seen, but more than that, revealing the meaning it contains. Based on the perspective of anthropolinguistic and symbolic interactionism, this study applies scientific principles to linguistic data, by adapting the steps of scientific studies in other fields of science. This study follows the procedures of (1) providing data, (2) analyzing data, and (3) presenting the results of data analysis.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

PAPUAN NOKEN PHILOSOPHY

Noken, in the perspective of Indonesian (Malay), can be equated with a pouch or bag, which can be used for various purposes. However, pouch or bag, remains a pouch or bag, *noken* remains *noken* for the Papuan people (see Marit and Warami, 2015). *Noken* remains unique, distinctive and natural according to the beliefs and customs. Papuan *Noken* is the creativity, taste and intention of cultured and traditional human beings. *Noken* is made using natural materials, while pouches or bags are made from various materials that are manufactured by factories. The use of natural materials is recognized as an element of the culture of Papuan society. By equating pouch or bag with *noken*, we have left the real wisdom of *noken*. By equating pouch or bag with *noken*, we have left the local wisdom that has become a tradition in Papuan society (Pekei, 2011:4,5).

Philosophically, the Papuan *noken* contains noble human values, as part of Papuan civilization, amid a globalized flow of communication and information in the life of the nation and state. The philosophy of Papuan *noken* consists of four values, namely: (1) the role of women as the makers and users of *noken* nets, which are used to raise children and take care of the household matters; (2) important elements in cultivating land, transporting forest and marine products, which are played by men; (3) The kinship marker in which *Noken* has a symbol of friendship; and (4) *noken* becomes a marker of social change, in which the initial function and role of *noken* is eroded by the commercialization of *noken*, and also the land of Papua itself.

NOKEN POLITICS

The term *noken* politics refers more to the policies of the government of the Republic of Indonesia, both the central government and local governments (provincial/district/city), which are issued based on the existence of the Papuan *Noken* itself. *Noken* politics also gave birth to political culture and political orientation. Political culture focuses on political orientation which includes the structure of government, the basis of the government, requests, feelings and assessments of the people towards the government. Political orientation is influenced by the political socialization process which is determined by society's values and other factors such as historical events, motives, norms, feelings and also symbols (Mamat, Mazli, et.al, 2023).

Based on the perspective of Papuan democracy, the *noken* tradition in the political system in Papua has been going on for hundreds of years, even thousands of years ago; while the liberal democratic system in Indonesia has only been going on for the last 15 (fifteen) years since the Reformation era. These two systems become two different sides in the realm of democracy. The *noken* tradition which adheres to the principle of *one manpower for all* is converted to a democratic system, wherein the tradition of the liberal democratic system, it prioritizes the principle of *one man one vote*. The *noken* tradition in the democratic system in Papua is applied based on regional ecology, which adheres to *the Big Man* leadership system, namely *a Big Man* or tribal chief. The tribal chief does not only act as a political leader, determining the rules that must be obeyed and followed by tribal people, but also plays a role as a leader in economic, social and cultural matters. The power of a tribal chief is not only obtained based on inheritance, but also obtained based on the influence, charisma, and leadership style of a person. These are the things that make a tribal chief respected, and sometimes also feared. (Warami, 2014, 2015a and b).

Noken politics is one of the national policies for Papua which contains planning, direction, and special provisions (affirmations) that are used as the basis for managing the entire system of government, politics, socio-culture in the Land of Papua. *Noken* Politics includes policies in terms of: (1) *Noken* Election system, (2) Clothing System, and (3) *Noken* Culture-Based Education system. These three policies are described as follows.

First, the *noken* system that has been implemented in Papua has a weakness, in which this system is only controlled by the tribal chief himself, by registering tribal members as voters to the voter registration officer in the elections by the tribal chief himself. This registration process is not carried out based on the principle of one person, one registration. This system also has other weaknesses, namely the inability to monitor whether the number of voters in one tribe increases or decreases due to the cases of marriage, death, and geographical mobility. The *Noken* system has been questioned in the 2014 Presidential Election where the Prabowo-Hatta team filed a lawsuit to the Constitutional Court (MK) for trial. The KPU presented expert witnesses who were approved by the Constitutional Court to explain the *noken* system. In the Legislative Election (Pileg) and Presidential Election (Pilpres) and Regional Head Elections (Pilkada), *noken* was used to elect candidates for legislative members, regional heads and presidential and vice-presidential candidates, namely as a substitute for ballot boxes. This *noken* system varies in various hinterlands. In general, the election is carried out based on an agreement with a group of people with the tribal chief. Some gather voters in the TPS areas and ask for public opinion in village deliberation. The use of *noken* itself has been used since the first election in Irian Jaya in 1971 until the 2014 election. Since the 1971 election, there has never been a problem with the use of *noken* either in the district or in the province of Papua. It was in 2009, when *Noken* was questioned regarding the PHPU of Yahukimo Regency. At that time, the Constitutional Court in its consideration did not cancel nor reject the implementation of elections by using *noken* in the interior of Papua. Seen from the perspective of the election principles, this system does not fulfill the direct and confidential principles. Yet, as local culture, it cannot be rejected, as long as the community still wants to use it.

Second, the clothing system. This system has become a complement to one's identity as a Papuan in any profession in Papua. This clothing system was then strengthened by the policies of the Provincial/Regency/City Governments throughout Papua which requires all State Civil Apparatuses (ASN) to wear *noken* every Thursday along with the White and Black Uniform. According to the Papua Regional Secretary, Hery Dosinaen, SIP., on Monday, 01 February 2015 that the Papuan Provincial Government has issued a circular to all SKPD/OPD regarding the use

of official attire based on a decision from the Minister of Home Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia. State Civil Apparatus (ASN) within the Papua Provincial Government are required to wear the White-Black uniform which is regulated as follows: (a) on Monday, wearing the *Linmas* uniform, (b) Tuesdays and Wednesdays, wearing *keki* uniforms, (c) Thursday, wearing a white-black uniform and wearing a *noken*; and (d) Friday, using Papuan batik. Jayapura City Government through the Mayor of Jayapura, Dr. Benhur Tommi Mano, MM., has also announced the use of *noken* every Thursday and Friday coinciding with the 87th Youth Pledge Day Commemoration, October 28, 2015. The Dogiyai Regency Government through the Regent Yakobus Dumupa has also announced the use of *noken* in January 2018. The Regent said that the State Civil Apparatus (ASN) and the Dogiyai community he leads have been wearing *noken* every day. This evidence shows that the Dogiyai community respects the policy of using *noken*, as a womb that must be respected and appreciated by every Papuan in Dogiyai.

Third, the *noken* culture-based education system. This system aims to provide knowledge and practical skills regarding *noken* to teachers at the preschool to high school education level with the following benefits: a) to understand the significance and function of *noken*; b) to know the raw materials used for making *noken*; c) to understand the process of making *noken*; and d) to disseminate the knowledge and skills about *noken* to students at the level of preschool education to high school. *Noken's* local content curriculum for formal PAUD includes: a) the significance of *Noken* for daily needs, b) the process of making *Noken* by using simple artificial materials (paper, ropes, ribbons, straws), and c) respecting diversity and appreciating *Noken* as a cultural heritage amid socio-cultural changes. *Noken* local content curriculum for SD/MI includes: a) the function of *noken* for the Papuan community, b) the process of making *noken* in a simple way as the creativity and initiative of the Papuan people, and c) respecting diversity and *noken* natural resources amid socio-cultural changes. *Noken* local content curriculum for SMP includes: a) the function and meaning of *noken* for the Papuan people, b) the process of making *noken* with a variety of techniques, forms, and c) motives as the creativity and initiative of the Papuan people, and d) various creations and colors of *Noken* amid socio-cultural changes. *Noken* local content curriculum for SMA/MA/SMK/MAK includes: a) the meaning of *Noken* amid socio-cultural changes, b) various techniques and materials for making *Noken*, c) the opportunity of *noken* economic value, and d) Preparing *noken* creative business proposals.

POLITICAL NOKEN

Political *noken* is a term used to refer to *noken* cultural practices that contain political meaning. The meanings intended in political *noken* are (1) the meaning of power, (2) the institutional meaning, and (3) the meaning of conflict. These three meanings are described as follows:

First, the meaning of power. Political *noken* with the meaning of power refers to the forms or methods of obtaining and maintaining power by adopting the philosophy of *noken* itself. In the context of power, there must be something dirty, due to the efforts in gaining or maintaining the power which is carried out in ways that are not legal and immoral. For example, by manipulating, elbowing, or if necessary kicking the opponents by eliminating the lives of political opponents. The rise of the Papuan *noken* to the world stage was not accompanied by an increase in the preservation of the rights of human life and the land of Papua. There are three things that underlie it, namely: (1) the industrialization and commercialization of the Land of Papua driven by national and multinational corporations have become a serious threat. The MIFEE agribusiness projects in *Tanah* Marind and Freeport in Tanah Amungsa are just the tip of the iceberg that marginalizes Papua; (2) Papua's long history of military domination and securitization continues to make Papua

a region with a high level of structural violence. This history of violence has spilled over into the realm of citizen-to-people violence documented in violent incidents in recent years. The files on cases of human rights violations at the National Human Rights Commission and the Attorney General's Office have not received justice; and (3) the standard of living of indigenous Papuans (OAP) continues to be recorded in the high maternal and child deaths such as in Asmat, Nduga, and others, as well as the threat of HIV and AIDS that has disturbed the general public.

Second, institutional meaning. Political *noken* in an institutional sense is a form or way to obtain tasks and authorities or things that should be done by institutions based on the *noken* principles. From the reform era to the era of Papua's special autonomy, the *noken* tradition has undergone a transformation of values towards democratic transformation and negotiation. *Noken* is then packaged into a peaceful dialogue medium as a central vehicle for the entire conflict resolution process with two basic considerations, namely. First, the dialogue held reflects the goodwill of conflicting parties in seeking a peaceful solution to the conflict they face. Negotiation or dialogue is a very important indicator where the parties to the conflict may see and realized that there are other, more dignified ways to solve the problems they face, other than the violent methods using armed weapons. Second, the essence of the results of the negotiations. The whole series of negotiations is hoped will result in an agreement or at least a mutual understanding regarding the steps to be taken in (1) putting an end to acts of violence, (2) peacefully manage existing conflicts and differences, and (3) building and fostering sustainable peace relations between former actors in the conflict.

Third, the meaning of conflict. Political *noken* in the sense of conflict is a form of political practice in obtaining and maintaining interests. The conflicts referred to here include all conflicts concerning the pursuit and defense of interests. Based on a democratic perspective, several tribes or sub-tribes in Papua have for centuries used *noken* as a medium in overcoming conflicts that occur. For example, the Maybrat Tribe in West Papua Province resolves conflicts by filling and storing eastern cloth as the main property in the *noken* and then handing it over to the conflicting parties or victims as a symbol of peace. The Mee, Moni, and Amunge tribes in Papua Province resolved conflicts by filling and storing shellfish into *noken* as a legal tender/traditional medium of exchange/payment in paying, buying, and resolving problems based on their customary settlement system. The Asmat, Marind, Yakhai, and others in Merauke, Papua Province, resolve conflicts or problems by filling garden products in *noken* as a symbol of peace when they are meeting for consensus at the meeting place. The tribes in Cenderawasih Bay (Biak, Serui, Waropen, and Wandamen) resolve conflicts or problems by filling stone plates (porcelain) into *noken* as a means of payment, a means of contact, and a sign of ties for various purposes.

In addition to the three meanings above, political *noken* is also related to cultural practices regarding to *noken* artifacts as cultural objects. In this political practice, *noken* is grouped into several political dimensions, namely: (1) *Noken* as a Local Papuan Cultural Heritage inherited from ancient times to the present; (2) *Noken* as an Intangible Cultural World Heritage; (3) *Noken* as a heritage of local wisdom (High Philosophy), that has many symbols of life, such as the value of love, peace, friendship, and a symbol of fertility for the people in Papua. In particular, women who know how to knit *noken* symbolizing maturity. If a woman has not been able to knit *noken*, then she is considered immature and has not ready yet for marriage; (4) *Noken* as a multifunctional system. *Noken*, the more it contains, the more it expands. (5) *Noken* as a product of high creativity; (6) *Noken* as a high commodity system; and (7) *Noken* as a fashion system.

CONCLUSION

Based on the descriptions above, it can be concluded that *Papuan Noken* as part of the Intangible Cultural Heritage has metamorphosed into the democratic system in Indonesia with two dimensions, namely: (1) *Noken* Politics and (2) Political *Noken*. *Papuan Noken* is now seen as a contemporary contextual construction, in building the principles of equality and partisanship, following democratic ideals. *Noken* creatively, initiatively, and imaginatively has become a new legitimacy medium for the Papuan people in the government administration system in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Apart from being a democratic media system (*noken* democracy), *noken* is also constructed as a medium in the peace process of conflicting actors (*noken* dialogue).

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