



**Relational Pattern in Community Empowerment  
(A Case study about the Role of Tiga Tungku in the Community  
Empowerment at Usku Village, Senggi District, Keerom Regency, Papua)**

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Article Info

Article History:

Received: February 26, 2020

Revised: March 11, 2020

Published: April 14, 2020

e-ISSN: 2623-2324

p-ISSN: 2654-2528

DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.3750953

**Abstract:**

Tiga Tungku is a leadership model in Papua villages, where a village is led by three leaders who hold pivotal roles. Tungku Pemerintah that is led by the village head, Tungku Adat that is led by Ondoafi, and Tungku KeAgamaan (church) that is led by a pastor. The present study aims (1) to see the role of each leadership Tungku in development activity, particularly community empowerment, and (2) to see the relational pattern in community empowerment in Usku Village, Senggi District, Keerom Regency, Papua Province by the presence of Tiga Tungku leadership. The present study applied qualitative approach. This approach was used to obtain an in-depth understanding of the role and the relational pattern in the development process and community empowerment in Usku Village. The study found that the relational pattern of the development activity and community empowerment in Usku Village, Senggi District, Keerom Regency exhibit Complementary and Accommodating typology. Complementary typology is seen from the Informal institution, namely, Tungku Adat (Ondoafi) and Tungku KeAgamaan (Church) complement the Formal institution, i.e., the village head. However, in some cases, Accommodating typology also presents where the informal institution can create a rule that stems from its norms/values to set its member's behavior, indirectly changing the substantive values of formal rules. In this relation, the community rule enforces the state's formal rule.

**Keywords :** Relational pattern, Community Empowerment, Papua, Tiga Tungku

## INTRODUCTION

Papua is one of Indonesia's provinces that always becomes a hot discussion topic in each discussion regarding the progress of the development program. As one of the youngest provinces in Indonesia, Papua is, indeed, phenomenal. It is publicly known that Papua is rich for its natural resources, yet it is poor in terms of welfare level achievement (SKP,2008). Papua is like a Cendrawasih; its beauty and diversity seize the eyes of everyone seeing it. The beauty and wealth of Papua, on the one hand, make people admire Papua, whereas, on the other hand, it brings a disaster because many people attempt to rob the wealth of Papua.

One of Papua's uniqueness is its traditional leadership system that lives in the community. In Papua, there is a leadership pattern called "*Tiga Tungku*" (Three furnaces). It consists of governmental leadership led by the village head, religious leadership led by the religious leader, and *Adat* (customary) leadership led by the *Adat* chief or figure. Through their leadership, society follows and respects their presence based on their respective functions. Implicitly, their role is interrelated and inseparable; however, specifically, their role can be described individually.

It is necessary to gain an in-depth understanding of the relational pattern and influence, as well as the form of interaction among these three leaderships, and how the social-relational pattern established among these three leaderships. Akbar Silo (2006) as cited in Jouwe, 2011: 242 states that there is a positive relationship between government figures, *Adat* figures, and religious figures, where the village autonomy lies in the leadership styles, which, in turn, will improve the village performance. We can see the relationship of these three leadership elements not only from their leadership style, yet, more importantly, we can see the relational pattern established among these three leaderships, especially in a community leadership effort.

Based on the description above, the present study highlights the relational pattern in community empowerment through the presence of these three leadership elements. The present study also depicted the role of *Tiga Tungku* leadership in community empowerment. The present study was conducted in Usku Village, Senggi District, Keerom Regency, Papua province.

## MATERIAL AND METHODS

The present study employed qualitative descriptive approach. Qualitative method is selected since it allows adjusting general principles in collecting and obtaining the informant's understanding. The descriptive approach provides a detailed picture of the object, case, and situations. This method composes a reality to be a story, describing a problem, event, phenomenon orderly, followed by analysis and interpretation to analyze the data in a perfect sequence.

The data used in the present study consisted of primary data obtained from interviews with stakeholders in Usku Village and in the Regional Government of Keerom Regency, Papua. The secondary data were gathered from literature and references from books, journals, and other relevant reports. In conducting this study, the researcher employed some main components referring to Miles and Huberman, as cited in Sutopo (2006: 128). These components were: 1) Data collection; this was done through interviews with the stakeholders (community worker, the three leaders of *Tiga Tungku*, and people of Usku Village). Besides, the data were also collected through a literature study. 2) Data Reduction, after the data were gathered, the researcher focused on removing unnecessary data and arrange the data to gain a conclusion. 3) Data display, this was done through sentences and structured story. 4) Conclusion drawing, this was done to gain complete meaning from the processed data, creating a clear, complete synopsis.

In order to understand the relational patterns of the three leadership elements, we can use Steven Levitsky's typology of informal institution relation, in this case, between *Adat* Chief

and Church leader and the State (i.e., village head). Furthermore, Levitsky states that there are some typologies established between an informal institution and formal institution as depicted in the following table :

Table 1. Relational Typology of *Informal Institution* and the State

State's effectiveness Relational pattern	Effective	Ineffective
<i>Compatible Goals / Convergent</i>	<i>Complementary</i> -	<i>Substitutive</i> -
<i>Conflicting Goals / Divergent</i>	<i>Accommodating</i> -	<i>Competing</i> -

(Gretchen Helmke and Levitsky Steven, 2003)

According to Levitsky, the first typology is *complementary*. This relational pattern emerge if the relation between informal institution and the state is close, while the formal institution (state) is effective. In this condition, informal institution complement the formal institution. Another characteristic of this typology is that the informal institution, in this relational pattern, establishes or strengthens the incentive in local community which functions as community service. Accordingly, an ethical agreement is indirectly established between informal institution and the state.

The second typology, according to Levitsky, is *substitutive*. This typology emerges when the relational pattern between informal institution and the state is close, but the formal institution (the state) does not work effectively. This makes the community substituting the formal institution. What Levitsky means is the weakening of compliance toward formal rule and state institution's inability to realize the informal institution's interest where this condition is followed by the strengthening of compliance towards value, tradition, and norms existing in informal institution (*informal rules*). In this typology, the role of informal institution is to substitute the formal institution.

The third relational pattern between informal institution and the state is *accommodating*. This typology emerges when the state's capacity works effectively, yet the relational pattern between the informal institution and the state is divergent, resulting in accommodation of informal institution towards the state institution. This means that the informal institution can create a rule stems from its norms/ values to set its member's behavior, indirectly changing the substantive values of formal rules. In this relation, the community rule enforces the state's formal rule.

The last typology is called as *competing*. This relational pattern pattern emerges when the state's capacity is ineffective, yet the relational pattern between the informal institution and the state is divergent in nature, creating competition between informal institution and state institution. Besides, this relational pattern emerges because the state is powerless to carry out its function, resulting in resistance and violation against the formal rules (Gretchen & Levitsky 2003, pp. 11 -14).

We argue that Steven Levitsky's theory is relevant for understanding the relation between *informal institution*, (i.e, *Adat* chief and church leader), and the formal institution (i.e., village head)in the development and the community empowerment in Usku Village, Senggi District, Keerom Regency, Papua Province.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

### Overview on Usku Village, Senggi District, Keerom Regency, Papua province.

Usku Village is one of the villages in Senggi District, Keerom Regency, Papua province. Keerom Regency itself is one of the regencies categorized as the frontier, outermost, and least developed region due to its location that is adjacent to Papua New Guinea. Kampung Usku's area is 495,56 Km<sup>2</sup>. Its population includes 135 people (28 Family), consisting of 79 men and 56 women. In other words, the population density of Usku Village equals to 3.67 people/Km<sup>2</sup>. Usku Village is located in the middle of a jungle, surrounded by hills. Its population comes from 5 (five) tribes, Sematra, Jovawi, Sowi, Sirme, and Tabu. The native Usku villagers are Sowi, Sematra, and Jovawi tribal group, while Sirme and Tabu groups live in Usku Village due to marriage with a member of the first three tribes. *Adat* that lives in Papua allows each tribal group in Usku Village, and other tribal groups in Papua, possess their own forest territory. Sematra tribe's territory covers Nova mountain, and the surrounding, Sowi tribe's territory covers the forest or land that is now called as Usku Village and its surrounding. This forest ownership system forbids a member of other tribal groups to hunt or to farm in the forest of other groups without having consent from the forest' owner'.

Historically, Usku Village was once named Afra Village. In addition to five tribes that currently live in Usku Village, there were other community groups who lived in this village, namely, Tofarma, Keamra, and Kesnar. However, because these three groups come from different tribes and hold jungle territory that is far from Usku Village, which makes them difficult to hunt, these three groups decided to move to their respective territory and established a sub-village under Usku Village. These three sub-villages then develop and turn into a village because their location is far from Usku Village; besides, they have enough members to establish their own village.

Usku Village was once deemed an extremely dangerous area and categorized as a "red zone" because this location is used as the center of Papua Free Movement (Organisasi Papua Merdeka /OPM), where, as a member of a movement, almost every man in Usku Village is fire armed. At that time, the people often lacked logistics and health care, putting them in sorrow. Due to their condition, they decided to give up their weapon to Indonesia and surrender to be Indonesian citizens.

After the Indonesian government enters, the life of Usku Village people begins to be better. They begin to enjoy health care, they also receive logistics in the form of rice. To date, many governmental programs have been carried out in Usku Village in order to improve the community's welfare. Through the Village Fund program, some facilities that have been built are Village hall, the village street, Solar-powered light for every house, and communication tower. These facilities were built in 2018.

People of Usku Village are quite open, meaning that they have been willing to accept people from outside Papua to live in their village. This can be seen from the presence of Usku Village people who come from outside the Papua region. It was a family from Sulawesi; they live in Usku Village; they even become a respected official of Usku Village. However, they are still watchful when a stranger comes to their village.

They carefully accept outsiders in their village, especially those from the governments. Initially, they will stare at a stranger suspiciously until they believe that the stranger comes to their village with good faith and behavior, and will not violate their rules. This occurred because the community held a stigma that the government comes to their village merely to exploit their poverty.

In their daily life, people in Usku Village still follow the gathering-hunting tradition. It makes them get into the jungle every day for their daily food. The agricultural system of people in Usku Village is also modest, they merely plant crops in the forest and leave it, they do not

make any maintenance and production improvement to sell or store it in a silo. Thus, it is not surprising that Usku Village is like an abandoned village because the villagers go to the forest for hunting. They bring their family when going hunting in the forest — only babies or kids who will be left at home with their mother.

Although consisting of different tribal groups, Usku Village community live peace. They practice gotong royong culture in their daily life. When the government programs take place, they execute the program together under the command of the Village head, *Adat* Chief, and Gembala (Usku Village's term for the pastor).

From the economic aspect, almost all people in Usku Village have forest under their *Ulayat* (communal) right. The wealth contained in the forest possessed by people of Usku Village is animals they can hunt, woods such as Agarwood, Masohi wood, Lawang tree, or Ulin tree they can sell, vegetables, tubers, and sago they can harvest anytime, rock and sand for building materials, and even gold they can dig traditionally. They can use such natural wealth for, besides meeting their daily needs, making money, like “premi”, that is the payment money they get from any company that chops tree in their forest, or government that wants to develop their region, must pay some amount of money to them. From the gold they traditionally dig, they can satisfy their life and even buy luxury goods such as a car, motorcycle, and others. Currently, people manage gold based on customary ownership, meaning that only those with *Ulayat* rights can enter, while an outsider who attempts to dig golds should obtain consent from the rights holder and pay the “premi”. They usually sell their gold to Jayapura or the transmigration area. They use the money to buy rice or other needs.

Every tribe in Usku Village must have *Ulayat* land with unclear borders. The borders of the *Ulayat* forest usually determined using a mountain. For people of Usku village whose *Ulayat* forest is far from Usku Village, they look for food by hunting in other tribe's forest. It is stipulated that it is allowed to hunt for food in other tribes' forest, but it is forbidden to take things such as tree/wood that can be sold. By viewing the ownership of natural wealth contained in their forest, the description of a poor community in Usku Village begins to be doubtful. However, the Indonesian government categorizes them as poor citizens, allowing them to receive help for the poor such as Rastra (Rice allocated for the poor).

The first view when entering Usku Village is houses that are orderly built by the government's social agency several years ago. Their permanent houses wipe out our image about a tribal community that lives in a hut in the middle of the jungle. Viewed from their house, Usku Village seems to have no problem. The government has made permanent houses for them, complete with solar panels for each house. However, some houses seem to be not well-maintained, windows, and doors in some houses are broken.

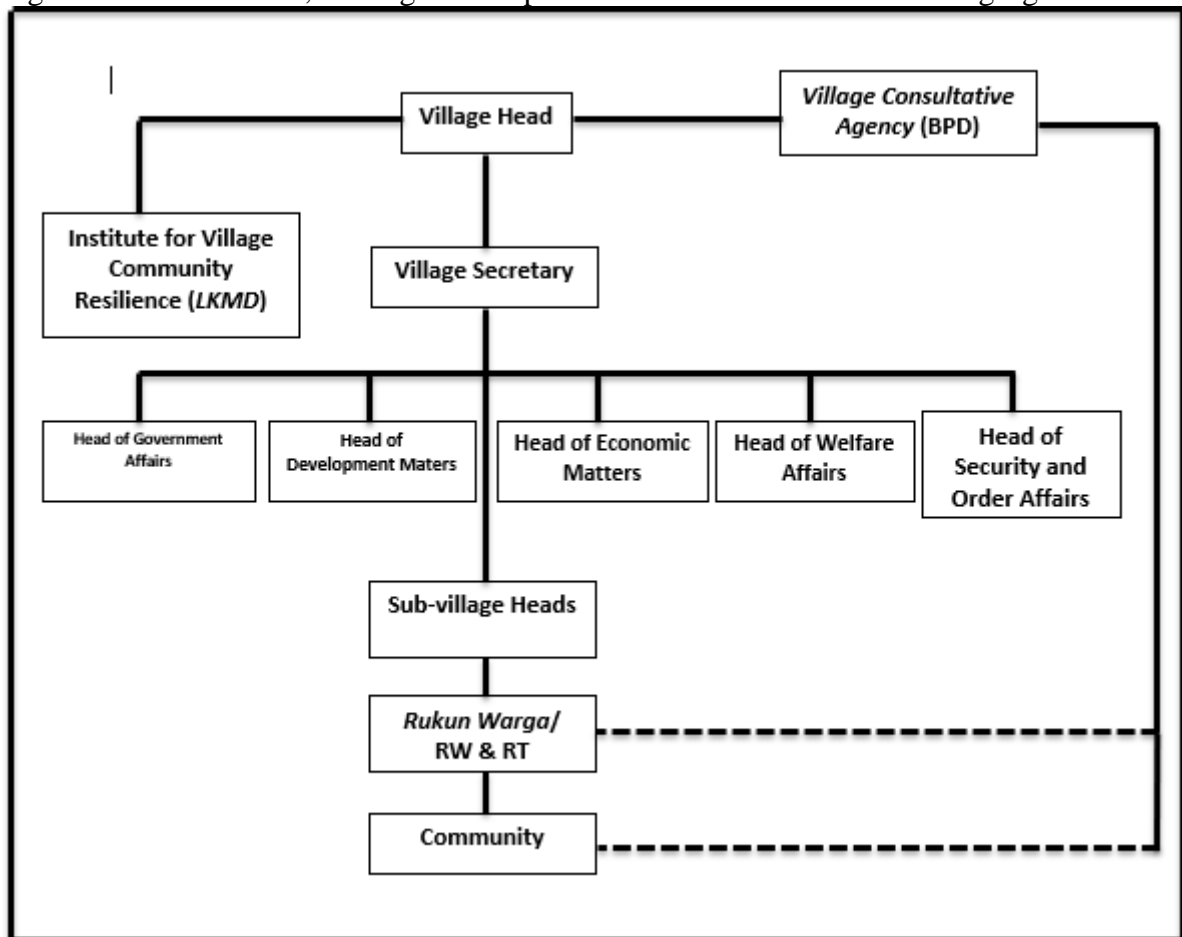
With regard to the governance, governance system in Usku Village is the same as the governance in Papua, which is different from other governance systems in other Indonesian provinces. As other villages in Papua, there are three influential leaders in carrying out the governance and development in Usku Village, they are referred to as “*Tiga Tungku*” (three furnaces), namely village head, *Adat* chief, and religious chief. *Tungku Pemerintah* (governmental element) is represented by the Village head, *Tungku Adat* (Customary element) is represented by *Ondoafi*, and *Tungku KeAgamaan* (Religious element) is represented by Gembala.

### **The Role of *Tiga Tungku* in Community Empowerment in Usku Village**

*Tiga Tungku* is a leadership model in Papua villages, where a village is led by three leaders who hold pivotal roles, namely *Tungku Pemerintah* that is led by a village head, *Tungku Adat* that is led by *Ondoafi*, and *Tungku KeAgamaan* that is led by a pastor. The role of these three leaders is described as follow:

1) *Tungku Pemerintah*

*Tungku Pemerintah* in the village context is represented by the village head. In a governmental structure, the village head is the lowest official. Regarding the organizational structure, a village head's position can be seen in the following figure:



The duty of a village head, based on Law no. 6 of 2014 on Village is to administer village government, to implement the village development, to guide the social aspect of the village, and to empower the village community (article 26 paragraph 1). In carrying out the duties, a village head is authorized to: lead the implementation of Village Government; appoint and dismiss the Village apparatuses; hold power for the management of Finance and Asset of the Village; stipulate Village Regulations; establish Village Budget; foster Village community life; foster peace and order of the Village community; foster and improve the Village economy and integrate it in order to achieve scale economies productive to the overall prosperity of the Village community; i. develop sources of revenue Village; propose and accept the transfer of most of the country's wealth in order to improve the welfare of the Village community; develop social and cultural life of the Village community; utilize appropriate technology; m. coordinate participatory Village Development; represent the Village in and out of court or appoint legal counsel to represent him in accordance with the provisions of the legislation; and; exercise other authority in accordance with the provisions of the legislation.

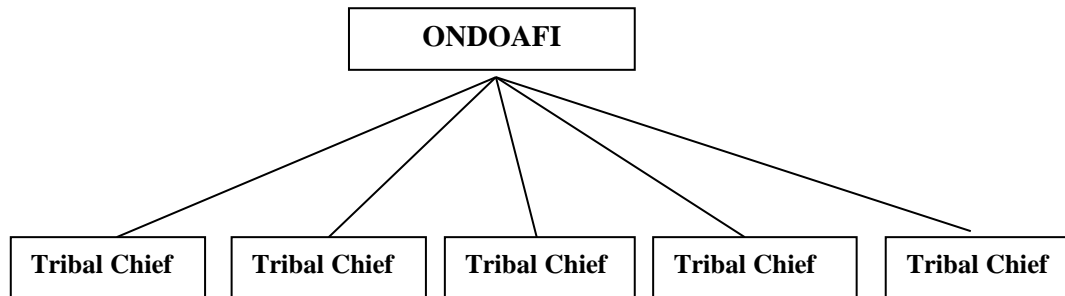
2) *Tungku Adat*

*Tungku Adat* is represented by *Ondoafi*. *Ondoafi* refers to a leader selected by *Adat* communities of a village. A village usually consists of five tribal groups, where each group

is led by a tribal chief. Based on predetermined criteria, the consultation is held to select *Ondoafi*. Usually, the criteria used to determine *Ondoafi* are as follows:

- a. He is hereditarily considered as the eldest.
- b. He is wealthiest among other members of the *Adat* community (wealth is used as a criterion in order to secure the people's interest. For instance, when a member could not afford, he is responsible for providing help). The way to assess one's wealth to be selected as *Ondoafi* is by seeing his ability when donating and his dowry.
- c. He is capable of maintaining and ruling his *Adat* people.

*Adat* leadership structure led by *Ondoafi* can be depicted as follow:



### 3) *Tungku Agama*

*Tungku Agama* is represented by a church pastor. Church and pastor pose a strong influence on Usku Village in gathering people and in performing religious activities for the common interest. For instance, the building process of the church in Usku Village involves almost all members of the community, not only from Usku Village but also from other surrounding villages. They gather and work together to build the church.

## **The Patterns of *Tiga Tungku* Relation in the Development and Empowerment of Usku Village Community**

To identify the depiction of the relation patterns in the development and empowerment of the community in Usku Village, Senggi District, Keerom Regency, Papua, there will be some descriptions of the examples on the success and failure of the development and empowerment program in Usku Village, Senggi District, Keerom Regency, Province of Papua. The successful programs in developing and empowering the community of Usku Village are described in the following two development programs:

- a. One of the programs implemented in Usku Village is a program held by Ministry of Village called PDTT. It is a program related to the empowerment of Usku Village community through several ways such as transferring knowledge and providing a training in terms of farming and gardening. This program is aimed to encourage the Usku Village community to do farming permanently. In a long-term goal, moreover, it attempts to minimize the activities of hunting in the woods; and the community will reside in their village instead. By farming and living permanently in the village, it will be easy for people to access education, healthcare, information, and technology. In accordance with the cultures of Usku Village community, the implementation of the program should be approved by the head of the village, customary chief (*ondoafi*), the head of the tribe as the owner of the communal rights of Usku Village. *Gembala* the head of the church in this program, plays a role as a supporter in coordinating the community to work together when farming. Hence, besides the head of the village, *ondoafi* and *gembala*, the head of the tribe has a crucial role. People living in Usku Village consist of 5 tribes in which not all of them own communal rights in Usku Village. Those who reside in Usku Village but do not have communal rights are not allowed to utilize the lands in Usku Village without having permission from the communal rights' owner, namely Sowi tribe whose the name of its

leader is Welem. By talking nicely to the owner of the communal rights, *ondoafi* as the customary chief, the head of the village, and *gembala*, the community will have an opportunity to use the lands around their homes for farming or planting vegetables such as tomatoes, chillies, eggplants, and so forth.

- b. Installing tower in Usku Village by Ministry of Communication and Information  
The support of the head of the village, *ondoafi*, and the owner of communal rights in Usku Village has a prominent role in the success of the tower installation in Usku Village which gives ease for the community to use their cellphones for communication since the tower installation strengthens the signal or the internet service. In fact, it is part of the successful approach used to encourage the leaders of *tiga tungku* including the customary chief and the owner of communal rights in Usku Village to apply for the installation of the tower.

Some of the failures in implementing the development and empowerment program for the Usku Village community are presented below.

- a. The installation of street lamps in Usku Village  
The plan of installing the street lamps using solar cell equipment assisted by the ministry of village in Usku Village is unsuccessfully accomplished since the head of the village does not give permission. Although *ondoafi* and the customary chief owning the communal rights have given their approval, the installation of the street lamps cannot be carried out without the approval of the village head. The rejection of the installation plan is due to the fact that there is no fund to perform the plan. As a matter of fact, the fund can be utilized for the wage given to the workers installing the lamps albeit the availability of the materials in Usku Village. In other words, the ease and convenience that are actually be useful for the people residing there are defeated by the willingness of receiving the money. The failure of installing the street lamps does not succeed due to the fact that the head of the village is not informed about the installation plan as part of the intervention program held by the government. The information and permission are merely conveyed to the owner of the communal rights (Mr. Williem) and the customary chief (Mr. Lazarus). Upon installing the street lamps cooperatively carried out by the community members (not all members participate in the activity), Mr. Lazarus and Mr. Williem also take part in the activity. All of a sudden, however, the head of the village turns up and reveals his disagreement towards the process of the installation since no one informs him on the installation plan. The team providing the installation states that if they conveyed the information to the village head, there would be a financial problem. As a result, the village head and the community members argue one another. The village head declines the lamp installation if there is no payment for the installation fees. On the other hand, the community members want the lamps to be installed since the installation will give them a lot of advantages. The customary chief and the owner of the communal rights agree with the community. They say that the head of the village does not have rights to reject the installation since installation is part of communal rights. Conversely, another thing occurs and it relates to church activities. For instance, when the church needs repairing for welcoming a celebration, they enthusiastically and volunteerily participate in the reparation activity. Even they sincerely get some woods in the forests as part of their participation without expecting anything in return.
- b. Giving a training program on knitting skill for the women of Usku Village held in PAUD (Early Childhood Education) Hall  
When this training program is carried out, an incident occurs. The victim happens to be one of the children of the residents in Usku Village when playing outside the PAUD hall. In the meantime, it is coincided with a training activity related to how to make *Noken* (a

*songket* bag made from thread) for women (mothers in particular) guided by a team provided by the Ministry of Village. Even though the problem associated with the victim of the incident affected by the tools the children commonly use to play with their friends is considered finished, the parents (mothers) use this occasion to threaten the team sent by the ministry of village. They prohibit the team from leaving the village unless the team spends 1 million IDR for them. Although the team subsequently gives them the money, the team members eventually think about the cancellation of the plan they have made namely a cooking training for the next day. They are afraid if they continue to carry out the cooking training and suddenly they find one of the women joining the training gets stomachache due to the food she does not eat from the cooking training, the participants of the training will probably threaten and ask them some money again. After investigating this case, it turns out that the team does not ask for permission to either the village head or *ondoafi* on the implementation of the training. Meanwhile, the PAUD building is still in dispute. Consequently, the village head and *ondoafi* seems to let the the team's case occur.

Based on the examples of the success and failure of the development and empowerment program for Usku Village community, complementary typology emerges as the category of this case if we view it from Levitsku theory on the relation between informal institution (*Tungku Adat and Tungku Agama*) and formal institution (*Tungku Kepala Kampung*). The pattern of this relation occurs if the relation of the informal institution towards the state is close. On the other hand, if the formal institution moves effectively, the informal institution will complement the state formal institution (fulfilling the gap that the state has not filled). Another characteristic of this typology is that the informal institution in this relation pattern generates or strengthens the incentives in the local community. As a result, there will be some kind of ethical agreement between the informal institution and the state. The complementary typology from the example above is illustrated by the head of the village decision in taking over the customary rights. The development program will run properly if *tungku adat* is directly involved in the program. In addition, the success of the development and empowerment program definitely has something to do with the involvement of *tungku adat*. In Usku Village, *tungku adat* is represented by *ondoafi* and the customary chief as the owner of the communal rights. For *tungku keagamaan*, church serves as the community motivator. When there is a development that requires community's participation, the development will effectively run if the leader of the church takes part in influencing the community. It indicates that the relation pattern with the complementary typology should be sinergized in developing and empowering the community in Usku Village, Senggi District, Keerom Regency, Papua Province. Furthermore, the pattern of the relation in developing and empowering community in Usku Village is classified as accommodating relation pattern. This typology happens if the capacity of the country runs effectively. However, the relation pattern between the informal institution towards the state is not close. Eventually informal institution accomodating towards the state institution appears. it demonstrates that informal institution may create a regulation taken from the norms or values of the informal institution in order to change the members' attitudes and indirectly alter substantive values from formal regulations. Ultimately, community rules enforce the formal rules of the state. One example of this relation pattern is the emergence of unwritten rules that should be fulfilled by *Tungku Pemerintah* in which the *tungku adat* requires something stating that if it is not accommodated, the development and empowerment program cannot be implemented. Or, if it continues to be implemented, it will result in problems. For instance, there is a program related to the the use of the land in Usku Village. *Tungku Adat* commonly asks for premium or bonus as the requirement for the implementation of the development. If the requirement is not fulfilled, it means the activity cannot be carried out. Another thing is the existence of the norms or regulations made by *Tungku Gereja* that should be accommodated in which Sunday is designated as a day of worship. Therefore, all kinds of

development and empowerment activities or other government activities cannot be undergone on Sunday. Hence, it is compulsory for *Tungku Pemerintah* to accommodate the church and customary activities.

## CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The relational pattern of the development activity and community empowerment in Usku Village, Senggi District, Keerom Regency exhibit Complementary and Accommodating typology. Complementary typology is seen from the Informal institution; namely, *Tungku Adat (Ondoafi)* and *Tungku KeAgamaan* (Church) complement the Formal institution, i.e., the village head. However, in some cases, Accommodating typology also presents where the informal institution can create a rule that stems from its norms/ values to set its member's behavior, indirectly changing the substantive values of formal rules. In this relation, the community rule enforces the state's formal rule.

As the recommendation of the study, it is necessary for the government to pay attention to the involvement and synergy of the relationship between the three leaderships in Usku Village in order to carry out development and community empowerment.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

We would like to thank the Village head of Usku Village, *Adat Chief (Ondoafi)* of Usku Village, Gembala of Usku Village, Senggi District Government and Keerom Regency Government of Papua Province. We also thank the Official of Ministry of Village, Development of Disadvantaged Regions, and Transmigration of the Republic of Indonesia. And the head of Balai Latihan Masyarakat Jayapura..

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