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**RESEARCH ARTICLE**

## The Patterns of Hegemony of the Kokoda Tribe in the City and Regency of Sorong, Southwest Papua

Andi Ahriani<sup>1</sup> ✉ Andi Agustang<sup>2</sup>, Muhammad Syukur<sup>3</sup>, Syamsu Andi Kamaruddin<sup>4</sup> and Andi Alim Bagu<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Institut Agama Islam Negeri Sorong, Indonesia

<sup>2,3,4</sup>Universitas Negeri Makassar, Indonesia

<sup>3</sup>Universitas Pejuang Republik Indonesia

**Corresponding Author:** Andi Ahriani, **E-mail:** andiahriani84@gmail.com

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### ABSTRACT

The essence of social justice in development, as the nation's ideal, is ideally present to provide changes for the better to all people without exception. However, in reality, there are still social inequalities in development, such as those experienced by the Kokoda Tribe in Southwest Papua. The research aims to find out the pattern of hegemony experienced by the Kokoda Tribe. Therefore, the type of research used is qualitative. Qualitative research emphasizes the socially constructed nature of reality. The data analysis process was carried out during the research. Each observation and interview was followed by an interpretation process by connecting one meaning with another. The results show that the hegemony that occurs in the Kokoda Tribe takes place through four patterns, namely: Domination pattern, intellectual hegemony pattern, moral hegemony pattern, and spiral hegemony pattern. The marginalization experienced by the Kokoda Tribe does not occur naturally but is the result of hegemony patterns, namely the existence of a dominant class that constructs the whole life of society.

### KEYWORDS

Discrimination, Hegemony, Kokoda Tribe

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### 1. Introduction

The essence of socially just development as a national ideal exists to provide changes for the better to all levels of society without exception. The participation of all levels of society is an absolute requirement to ensure that the process runs inclusively. Every community group must be involved, especially in the local context. There is a need for community participation based on local knowledge by local actors. However, in reality there is still a social inequality in development, where there are still marginalized groups of people or communities who are still difficult to participate in the development process. Existing local institutions also experience limitations in terms of voicing the aspirations of their people. Marginalized communities are communities that cannot adjust to the development process, are marginalized communities, are in a relatively powerless position, and are politically considered unimportant compared to other communities (Ampumuza, 2020; Honig, 2021).

Marginalized communities are disadvantaged people struggling to gain access to resources, and full participation in social life (Alam & Halder, 2018). Marginalization describes a persistent and structural position as a historically discriminated group in society or the political system (Honig, 2021). This research looks at the complex phenomenon of marginalization that occurs in the Kokoda community in the city and district of Sorong, West Papua.

In general, Papua is known to have abundant natural resources, but this abundance contradicts the lives of its people, especially the Kokoda people of Sorong City. More than 80% of the people are poor (Malak, 2015). The Central Bureau of Statistics recorded

that Papua's poverty percentage reached 26.8%, much higher than the national population, followed by West Papua, which recorded 21.7% of the total population of poor people (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2020). Through development that is not based on clear planning and not based on the aspirations of the community, that is when the community is marginalized by development. People should be the ones who benefit from development, but in this context, they are the ones who are disadvantaged.

Demographically, Sorong City is a heterogeneous city inhabited by several immigrant tribes and of course, indigenous Papuans known as *Orang Asli Papua* (OAP). These indigenous Papuans consist of hundreds or even more different tribes (Asyhari & Afwan, 2015). Based on observations, although they are both indigenous Papuans, the conditions of each are very different. Unlike other OAP communities, the Kokoda people are poor and left behind in almost all aspects of life, including economics, education, health, and other social life. This condition results in the Kokoda tribe being the most backward tribe among other tribes. They seem unable to compete even with fellow indigenous Papuans because they are limited or restricted.

The issue of the Kokoda people being marginalized has been a problem for a long time (Asyhari & Afwan, 2015). Ironically, this major problem is considered normal and commonplace because other indigenous Papuans have built stereotypes that their culture is like that. Every program implemented always fails because it creates an understanding that they are unable to change their lazy, consumptive lifestyle, often conflict, commit crimes and surrender to circumstances and have a culture that is not future-oriented (Huzain, et al. 2013). The majority of their work relies solely on crops, namely collecting *mamangi* wood in the forest, digging coral, and selling peat soil (Wahid, B. 2022). The discriminated position of the subculture constructs them into a society that has fatalism, laziness, and weak achievement motivation (Ahriani, 2021). On this basis, this research intends to reveal the pattern of hegemony experienced by the Kokoda Tribe in Sorong City and Regency, Southwest Papua.

## **2. Methods**

This research was conducted in Sorong City and Regency, Southwest Papua Province, with a focus on the marginalization of the Kokoda Tribe. The type of research used is qualitative research which emphasizes the socially constructed nature of reality, and the close relationship between the researcher and the subject under study (Ningi, 2022; Friaes, 2023). Qualitative research explains how social phenomena are formed and at the same time the process of obtaining their meaning. In other words, the phenomenon under study is described and understands how the process of reality is produced and constructed.

The data analysis process was carried out throughout the research. Every time observations and interviews are conducted, the information obtained is interpreted by connecting one meaning with another (Asaka & Awarun, 2020). Here the researcher departs from the assumption that there is ideological domination that occurs to marginalized or subordinated parties. These dominating tribes are not just winning because of population numbers, so the researcher here must show how the pattern of domination, how the pattern of intellectual leadership and moral leadership is through cultural channels such as traditions, behavior patterns, life values, and other cultural symbols.

## **3. Result and Discussion**

### **3.1 Domination**

The domination experienced by the Kokoda Tribe is domination through a monopoly of power, social, political, educational, economic, and religious domination, and there is discriminatory treatment from the dominant group. Domination is a concept of reality that spreads through society in an institutional and individual manifestation. It shapes morality, customs, religion, political principles, and all social relations (Patria & Arief, 2015). The real result achieved is called domination. Stability and security are indeed achieved. The turmoil of resistance is not visible because the people are made helpless. From the research results, it was found that the Ayamaru Tribe as the dominant tribe exercised repressive power or domination in all aspects of life. It is said that this is because it creates a dominant culture and domination. The domination includes the following:

First, the Ayamaru tribe has dominated power through a monopoly of power. Almost 90% of important positions in the government are controlled by the Ayamaru tribe. From the sub-district to the mayor, the tribe is Ayamaru. Almost all leaders of government institutions are held by the Ayamaru people. This is not the case for the Kokoda tribe. Of the many important government positions in Sorong City, there is only one Kokoda person who is given a position in the Fire Department. This is nothing but to fill the absolute requirement to fulfill the involvement of all tribal elements in Sorong City. Domination is exercised through the monopolization of power by the Ayamaru Tribe because they claim that they have qualified human resources. However, their power does not have a positive impact on the Kokoda Tribe. This shows that the Kokoda Tribe's powerlessness is not a natural occurrence, but a result of dominant class construction. The Kokoda Tribe has no representatives who can listen to their aspirations, no figures who can fight for their fate. They seem unable to get out of the life problems of systemic polarization. They are confined by limitations in all aspects. They do not have access to economic, political, or educational aspects, which are the path to change.

Second, tribal dominance. The tribal sentiment among them is very sharp indeed. The government as the dominant tribe, which is supposed to provide welfare to its people, has not been able to open itself up to tribal ties because all policies must be based on the name of the tribe, leading to tribal arrogance. However, no government policy or assistance uses a tribal approach. Therefore, the social reality of the Ayamaru tribe is very different from that of the Kokoda tribe. Ayamaru Tribe has a relationship or network with the government, they as fellow tribesmen help each other in terms of education because it creates high solidarity. This is what perpetuates domination in a way that policies or programs that the government wants to carry out must be confirmed by custom, or everything must go through one door through the customary head or in this case through the tribal head.

Third, discrimination. The effect of domination creates a situation of discrimination against the Kokoda Tribe, where the government in this case as the dominant group creates discrimination, injustice, and protracted poverty. The community does not receive special autonomy funding and is continuously evicted from one area to another. In the eyes of the government, the Kokoda are stupid, dirty, lazy, and cannot be empowered. Although the facts show that these conditions also occur in several other indigenous Papuan tribes. The difference is that other tribes are given facilities so that the situation does not get worse.

Fourth, economic, educational, and religious domination. The Ayamaru tribe has an established economic level. It is known that for people who still live in Ayamaru, their houses are very livable, public facilities are complete, and public roads are also very good. In general, the people of the Ayamaru Tribe work as civil servants. Even though they are already civil servants, outside of working hours they still go to the fields to do gardening. The good economy is very supportive of their children to continue their education, especially with tribal support. But it is different with Kokoda, whose economic weakness is the cause of their backwardness in terms of education and others. In this case, Gramsci mentions that economism is mechanical determinism, and in his view, mechanical determinism gives birth to passivity.

Although the Ayamaru tribe has some advantages such as having high solidarity, some of them also still have the same attitude as the Kokoda tribe. They often get drunk and like conflict. It's just that these bad attitudes are covered by the dominance of the power they have. The ability of a group of people to hold power over social institutions and influence the beliefs and actions of the rest of society is considered dominant. Dominant culture or hegemonic culture is built in society by a group of individuals who direct ideas to be able to create economic, political, educational, and other social aspects of domination.

Thus, domination is a reality that extends through society in an institutional and individual manifestation. It affects the formation of morality, customs, religion, political principles, and all social relations (Patria & Arief, 2015). Domination can also be seen in the fact that the Kokoda Tribe experienced exclusion. They are never involved in activities, even those that are local. The Kokoda tribe has never even appeared in an important government activity that boasts the name of their tribal group. The image that has been built so far is that they are stupid and have no skills. This is not the case for all communities, where some of them are already educated but are not given access.

### **3.2 Intellectual Leadership**

Intellectual leadership can be seen in the ability to organize through the creation of knowledge and power relations. Intellectual leadership is about power born from the monopoly of knowledge by the ruling class. This can be seen in the ability of the dominant class to create situations, design discourse, design power, design knowledge, and design toward change. The results of the research reveal historical facts that explain how ideological power has created a hegemonic situation in the Kokoda Tribe from the past until now. The intellectual leadership of the dominant group is seen through the polarization of primitive society, the existence of negative labels, and the building of a patronage mentality through obedience, monopoly politics, and religious negotiations.

The ability of the dominant tribe to organize through the creation of such a situation through the absence of trust building for the Kokoda Tribe, omission, and negative labels is a contestation of power domination with various interests of the dominant group. The situation created is unfavorable for the Kokoda Tribe but their acceptance as a dominant group over the dominant group takes place with peaceful acceptance. Kokoda people have been shaped by the system but they do not realize it. The polarization of the second-class society forms a culture of patronage in daily life and is passed on to their descendants. Even to achieve the future, they need extra motivation to move forward. This is the impact of mental damage to the hegemony created by dominant class power. The Kokoda always needs patrons and always needs to be mobilized. Therefore, it is very difficult to find a job and has no initiative to work.

In general, the image has been constructed that the Ayamaru tribe is a symbol of Papuan pride, especially in the city and district of Sorong. It's just that, as a tribe that claims to represent Papuans, it does not think of other tribes as Indigenous Papuans. The disharmony of relations between several indigenous Papuan tribes in Sorong is indeed inseparable from the many ethnic groups that exist. The diversity of ethnic groups cannot be separated from the dynamics of each tribe which has a different knowledge system and cultural system. This certainly greatly affects their respective worldviews of the surrounding environment. Especially

for the Kokoda Tribe and the Ayamaru Tribe, indeed these two tribes do not show physical conflict, but the conflict occurs ideologically and intellectually so that it becomes a latent conflict that is not visible.

In terms of religion, the Kokoda tribe is majority Muslim and the Ayamaru tribe is Christian. Since the arrival of Dutch missionaries, the Kokoda tribe has been divided into Muslims and Christians. Finally, in their religious life, the term family religion was born because in one family there are Muslims and Christians. However, in terms of religion, they are also not maximally empowered. None of the Kokoda tribe are trained to become religious leaders, in this case as pastors. Pastors only come occasionally because they come from outside the city. The difference in religion between the Kokoda and Ayamaru tribes makes the Ayamaru tribe feel happy with the arrival of missionaries and it is accepted as a blessing for their area. Meanwhile, the Kokoda tribe is faced with a case of religious negotiation.

The massive intellectual polarization process experienced by the Kokoda tribe, which has been constructed for a long time, has shaped the mentality, attitude, and behavior of the Kokoda people. The image of the Kokoda tribe as backward, poor, uneducated, and conflict-prone has been shaped into the Kokoda identity that is known to this day. The dominant elite group has created a mindset and value system that is believed by the community regardless of status, occupation, and educational background. The Kokoda unconsciously accept the hegemony of the dominant class because they take it as a given or the community sees that everything happens naturally as hegemony emphasizes the aspect of cognition or awareness.

### **3.3 Moral Leadership**

The moral leadership pattern of the dominant group can be seen through the culture and life values created and carried out by the Kokoda Tribe and the Ayamaru Tribe. Through moral leadership, the practice of power and control is carried out by the dominant social class towards the dominant class (Kokoda Tribe). Through this hegemony, culture is seen as an arena for class struggle. According to Gramsci, the stability of power can be held thanks to the incorporation of the dominant group or the controlled group into the ideology, morals, and culture of the ruler. In this case, we can see how the culture of the Kokoda Tribe is created from time to time.

Pragmatic practice through money is the government's habit of providing assistance that is not in accordance with what they need. This pattern of assistance has created a culture of dependence, poor mentality, dependence, and lack of motivation, and created a hedon culture because the assistance is not utilized according to its purpose and designation. The daily culture of the Kokoda Tribe from time to time is still the same as before. They seem to have no burden to think about tomorrow. What they get today is spent on negative things. Their days are only spent hanging out with gambling, alcohol, and they feel happy. This condition occurs in almost all communities. Even some who have the status of permanent civil servants also do the same thing. In this condition, they are considered to have low knowledge compared to the Ayamaru Tribe which is known to have high education for all its people without exception.

How can it change? They are not critically aware of the life problems they are experiencing. The Kokoda only has a measure of shared prosperity, sharing, nature, and happiness. They seem mesmerized by the hegemony created by the dominant class. As the government in Sorong City, they recognize that the Ayamaru tribe has indeed gained a dignified position. Ayamaru people not only control the city and regency but at the national level. The big-name owned by the Ayamaru Tribe as the dominant group has been successfully built over time. Therefore, for their tribe, a high level of trust has been created to control resources, in contrast to the trust held by the Kokoda tribe. The stigma of troublemakers and criminals makes them not have good trust in the community. By not having trust, the Kokoda Tribe does not have opportunities or job opportunities. There is no other choice but to run to nature, break stones, and sell wood to fulfill their daily needs.

In addition, the Ayamaru tribe is also known to be very religious, understanding religion as a foundation or philosophy for living daily life. In contrast to the Kokoda Tribe, which is known for its religious identity (Rubawati, 2020). The pattern of daily life does not reflect the practice of Islamic teachings. The Kokoda tribe's Islamic foundation was polluted by the influence of Christian missionaries and at the same time they were not balanced with strengthening Islam. Kokoda, which is known as a Muslim minority, faces economic, social, and religious hegemony.

The Ayamaru tribe constructed an image as a tribe that has qualified human resources and deserves to be leaders everywhere. Although they are immigrants, they are capable of mastering knowledge, are educated, and are hardworking. As leaders, they seek expansion, seek special autonomy to be able to determine their destiny, and open up employment opportunities to absorb as much labor as possible. The available job opportunities are only enjoyed by those from their fellow tribes. Other tribes are less accommodated, especially the Kokoda tribe, which is not prepared in terms of education. Finally, the Kokoda tribe is only a spectator of the success enjoyed by the Ayamaru tribe.

Hegemony is also constructed through primordial sentiments between mountain people (Ayamaru tribe) and coastal people (Kokoda tribe). Historically, there is a stigma that mountain people are only now advancing and developing, while coastal people have long been advanced and mastered the knowledge brought by migrants. This is one of the causes of latent conflict between the Kokoda and Ayamaru tribes. Finally, government policies only give birth to the contestation of mutual claims as sons of the region which results in the complexity of inter-ethnic horizontal conflicts and is not committed to developing each other among indigenous Papuans.

In addition to the lack of commitment by the government to develop the Kokoda Tribe, the empathy shown is also very lacking or even almost non-existent. The government always assumes that they have assisted the Kokoda Tribe. It is only the community that cannot utilize the assistance provided. The government thinks that they have given everything to the Kokoda Tribe. The empathy shown through physical and monetary assistance that is not followed by good arrangements only creates a moral hazard for the Kokoda Tribe. The monetary assistance referred to here is assistance from the center, not the local government. The government has not provided assistance which is the basic need of the Kokoda Tribe, namely building their awareness to be able to follow changes for the better and independently. Likewise, the empathy built by the Sorong City government is only limited to knowing the conditions experienced by the Kokoda Tribe, but there is no best solution offered.

### **3.4 Spiral Hegemony**

The Kokoda tribe has always been constituted as second-class, third-class, and so on, but they do not realize this because of the power exercised by each ruler at each time. In addition to using coercive power, they also received power through politics or ideology so that the hegemony they received seemed to be through consent. From history, it is known that since the entry of the Tidore Kingdom, they have been used as war troops because the Kokoda people are known to be physically very strong and they are very happy to be war troops. Although it is known that Tidore's relationship with some Papuans is very good, even though there is a marriage relationship and the appointed king as a representative of several village heads, unconsciously the Kokoda Tribe has been built a patronage mentality by the Sultanate of Tidore with a mentality of obedience. They were appointed as kings but did not have full authority. They remained under control and obedient to the Sultan's orders. The appointment of these kings also made it easier to collect taxes or deposit tribute to the Dutch Government through the Tidoreans. The Ayamaru tribe did not experience this, the Ayamaru tribe was led by a tribal chief or clan head with a less strict relationship and they were bound by family (Suryawan, 2015).

After the rule of the Kingdom of Tidore, Dutch colonialism entered. They were mobilized to the city to be used as menial workers in oil exploration companies and to develop the road from Sorong City to Klamono. In addition, colonial hegemony entered through ideology and religion. There was religious negotiation offered by the rulers and the Kokoda Tribe simply accepted it as an excuse for vertical mobility in the hope of transforming themselves into part of the elite.

After Dutch colonial rule, Papua finally united with the Republic of Indonesia. The integration of Papua into the Republic of Indonesia began in May 1963 and was recognized *de jure* internationally (Suryawan, 2011). During the unification process, many human tragedies had very bad implications for the totality of testimony to the suffering they experienced in their daily lives down to the villages. The people experienced many violent terrors. The Indonesian government is considered to have used coercion to unite Papua with the Republic of Indonesia. This effort is also one of the causes of tribal fragmentation in Papua because the approach or penetration they receive is different. The Kokoda tribe witnessed how they were politically mobilized for the sake of integration. The mobilization used religious issues because the Kokoda tribe is known to be predominantly Muslim so the approach used with the Islamic approach together with other Papuan tribes who are also Muslim, such as the tribes in Raja Ampat.

Several government policies resulted in the alienation and exclusion of the Kokoda Tribe. They are provided with land to live in groups only with their fellow tribesmen, making their life cycle unchanged. Bad habits cannot be lost because there is no learning process with other cultures and it has become a habitus for generations until now. So far, the Kokoda tribe's mobility is only horizontal, where they interact only with fellow Kokoda people. There is no learning process in their lives. This what Gramsci also meant that consensus is carried out not only through education but also institutions.

This indicates that the continuity of the Kokoda Tribe's life history has been constructed by the activities of the ruling groups, where the tendency of their historical stories follows the patterns or systems applied by each ruler from time to time. Because hegemony is essentially an effort to lead people to assess and view social problems in a determined framework (Patria & Arief, 2015). It is as if the Kokoda Tribe does not have its history. From several series of historical facts of West Papua, especially the Kokoda Tribe, a complex inferiority mentality has emerged, which ultimately leads to symptoms of disorientation and a decrease in the quality of life. This is in line with Gramsci's opinion that subaltern groups are always subject to the activities of ruling groups, even when they rebel only permanent victory can separate their subordination (Gramsci, 1987).

The Kokoda people have experienced the hegemony of a political conspiracy between the ruler and the ruled, between the dominant group and the dominated group. Historically, they have been oppressed by an ideology that the researcher calls the spiral of oppression because it is getting away from the essence of truth. The creation of this situation has successfully entered the lives of the Kokoda Tribe. They have been designed but they are not aware. They seem to feel happy with all the complexity of the social problems they experience. The Kokoda tribe continues to live their daily lives with the concept of nature, togetherness, sharing, and happiness. Backward life does not seem to be a problem for them. The Kokoda Tribe's helplessness is not a natural occurrence but a result of dominant class construction. They seem unable to get out of the complicated problems of life on systemic polarization. They are confined by limitations on all fronts. This is in line with Gramsci's basis of knowledge whose hegemony is based on the concept of consciousness where it is hidden in new knowledge, ideologies, and beliefs through coaching or coercion into the atmosphere of massive consciousness and has given rise to a relatively new consciousness.

#### **4. Conclusion**

Based on the above discussion, it can be concluded that the hegemony that occurs in the Kokoda Tribe takes place through four patterns, namely: Domination pattern, intellectual hegemony pattern, moral hegemony pattern, and spiral hegemony pattern. Domination is perpetuated through power domination, social, political, economic, and educational domination, and discrimination. The pattern of moral hegemony is seen through life principles, commitment, and empathy by the government as the dominant group. In addition, there is the creation of moral hazard, the creation of different stigmas between the Kokoda Tribe and the Ayamaru Tribe. The pattern of intellectual hegemony is the ability to organize by the dominant group through the creation of knowledge relations, and power through polarization of primitive society, building negative labels, building a patronage mentality, monopoly politics, and religious negotiations. Meanwhile, what is meant by spiral hegemony is the existence of hegemony from outside to hegemony from within by fellow indigenous Papuans themselves. This pattern of hegemony is carried out from the outside to the inside, which is getting more and more twisted and further from the truth. From the continuity of the influence of this power, the mentality of the Kokoda Tribe is formed into a mentality of obedience, Kokoda is set to become a second-class, third-class community group, and so on. Thus, the marginalization experienced by the Tribe does not occur naturally but is the result of a hegemonic pattern, namely the existence of a dominant class that constructs the whole life of society. The limitation of this research lies in the axiological dimension, which is focused on describing the empirical conditions of hegemony that occur in the Kokoda Tribe, without any effort to change the conditions experienced. Therefore, we suggest future research to continue this research topic in participatory action research.

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