

**THE PARADOX OF RESOURCE NATIONALISM AND
THE HUMAN SECURITY CRISIS: STUDY OF THE PT
FREEPORT INDONESIA CONFLICT POST
MAJORITY SHARE ACQUISITION (2017 – 2025)**

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Abstrak: Indonesia's majority share acquisition in PT Freeport Indonesia (PTFI) since 2017 is often narrated as a success of resource nationalism, yet human security conditions for indigenous Papuan communities around the mining area remain precarious. Drawing on the human security framework (UNDP) and the concept of structural violence (Galtung), and applying Fairclough's critical discourse analysis to corporate communications, official statements, policy documents, and human rights reporting from 2017–2025, this study explains why ownership change has not translated into local protection. The analysis shows how the paired discourse of "sovereignty", "development", and "security" reframes labor conflict and coercive governance as necessary for stability and investment, thereby normalizing exclusion. Empirically, the crisis is manifested in the 2017 strike-related dismissals and subsequent terminations affecting approximately 8,000–8,300 workers, restrictions on access to housing and essential services (including health care and schooling), and persistent environmental violations documented by state authorities. These dynamics generate interconnected threats to economic, health, environmental, and community security, producing harm through institutional arrangements rather than isolated incidents. While Papuan workers and customary institutions mobilize resilience through strikes, litigation, and advocacy, their claims remain politically unresolved. The article concludes that resource nationalism is insufficient unless it is accompanied by rights-based governance that de-securitizes Papua's policy space and makes corporate accountability meaningful at the local level.

Keywords: Freeport, Papua, Indonesia, Human Security, Resilience, Discourse Analysis

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INTRODUCTION

The presence of Multinational Corporations (MNCs) in a country signifies the operation of the international political-economic system of Capitalism, which originated from Karl Marx's sociological perspective on economic order. The concessions granted by a government to a Multinational Corporate (MNC) that exploits Natural Resources within its borders are indicated to threaten the security of the local population surrounding the exploited area. This is because Capitalism possesses a deeply rooted, empirically understood positive and negative relationship with the fundamental essence of life, specifically Human Rights¹. The link between Capitalism and Human Rights (HAM) presents a fundamental paradox, much like the two sides of a single currency, destined to appear in conjunction. Though Capitalism is requisite for advancing human freedom, it also serves as a mechanism for oppression and exploitation.

To examine this paradox empirically, this article uses the case of PT Freeport Indonesia (PTFI), the Indonesian subsidiary of Freeport McMoRan Copper, whose operations began in 1973 under President Soeharto after investment negotiations initiated in 1966. From the outset, the mine was embedded in an authoritarian political economy that prioritized extraction and regime stability, enabling allegations of human rights violations and environmental damage to be muted from national scrutiny.² At the local level, Papuan grievances were already acute: resentment over the contested 1969 Act of Free Choice (Pepera) remained strong when Freeport's contract was signed, and the company's presence became intertwined with the growth of the Free Papua Movement (OPM).³ These layered historical injustices are not merely background; they constitute the social and political conditions through which contemporary "development" and "security" narratives operate, and they help explain why human security threats around the mine persist into the post divestment period.

As a significant Multinational Corporation (MNC), Freeport's establishment in Papua was expected to enhance local community well-being. Conversely, their

¹ Janet Dine and Andrew Fagan, eds., *Human Rights and Capitalism: A Multidisciplinary Perspective on Globalisation* (Edward Elgar, 2006).

² P. A. Rifai-Hasan, "Development, Power, and the Mining Industry in Papua: A Study of Freeport Indonesia," *Journal of Business Ethics* 89, no. S2 (2009): 129–143, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10551-010-0371-y>.

³ A. de J. Soares, "The Impact of Corporate Strategy on Community Dynamics: A Case Study of the Freeport Mining Company in West Papua, Indonesia," *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights* 11, no. 1–2 (2004): 115–142, <https://doi.org/10.1163/1571811041631263>

extensive exploitation of mineral and gas resources has directly displaced the Papuan population from their customary economic activities. The persistent mining operations have also caused environmental degradation, notably through the discharge of effluent waste into river systems and ultimately the ocean, which thus threatening marine ecosystems⁴ On the other hand, Freeport's establishment has also generated a novel dependency structure. In 2019, the company unilaterally implemented mass layoffs (termination of employment) affecting roughly 8,000 Indonesian staff at PT Freeport Indonesia, most of whom were members of the indigenous Papuan community. This corporate decision critically threatened the socio-economic security of thousands of Papuans whose existence had become intrinsically linked to the operations of Freeport.⁵ However, according to the official website of PT Freeport Indonesia, the company claimed, just one year prior, to have employed approximately 30,000 individuals, with 25% (around 7,500 people) being indigenous Papuan employees.⁶ This implies that nearly all PT Freeport Indonesia employees who are indigenous Papuans were subjected to layoffs. This paradox illustrates a phenomenon of new dependency where the substantial benefits derived from a major MNC's presence in Papua are counterbalanced by adverse effects, such as threats to the residents' subsistence. The scope of the population to be investigated in this article encompasses all Papuan residents who are experiencing the impact of Human Security threats.

In addition, the political dynamics of Indonesia in recent years have been marked by the government's successful acquisition of a majority stake in PTFI, which is slated to reach 63% by October 2025.⁷ Nevertheless, behind this celebration of national sovereignty, various investigative reports from civil society organizations, legal aid institutions, and independent media reveal the persistence of systemic and unresolved human rights crises. As previously mentioned, the 2019 unilateral terminations of employment serve as an example. This type of incident is not unprecedented; in 2017, 8,300 laborers who

⁴ G. Banks, *Mining and the Environment in Melanesia: Contemporary Debates Reviewed* (2002).

⁵ J. Blades, "West Papua: The Issue That Won't Go Away for Melanesia," *Lowy Institute*, May 1, 2020, <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/publications/west-papua-issue-won-t-go-away-melanesia>.

⁶ PTFI, *Social Investment Report* (2017).

⁷ *Tempo*, "Profil PT Freeport Indonesia Usai Induk Lepas 12 Persen Saham ke Indonesia," *Tempo.co*, October 2, 2025, <https://www.tempo.co/ekonomi/profil-pt-freeport-indonesia-usai-induk-lepas-12-persen-saham-ke-indonesia-2075511>.

participated in a strike were subsequently deemed to have resigned unilaterally⁸ Eight years after the incident where thousands of laborers staged a strike that resulted in unilateral mass terminations of employment, the cascading effects remain unresolved. The workers, predominantly indigenous Papuan community members, are still demanding justice from PTFI to this day, as the mass layoffs significantly impacted their livelihoods.

The sharp contradiction between the government's claimed celebration of national sovereignty over majority ownership of PTFI shares and the reality of humanitarian suffering borne by the Papuan community serves as the analytical point of departure for this study. This contradiction raises a central dilemma challenging the foundational assumptions of resource nationalism policies: Does Indonesia's increasing share ownership, currently at 63%, automatically translate into improved societal welfare, or does it merely generate new human security threats? This research tests this assumption by examining the dynamics of PTFI post-divestment from 2017 to 2025 to comprehend the complex relationship between state sovereignty, human rights, and the national development model based on resource extraction.

Analytically, the paper proceeds in three steps. First, it maps the Freeport conflict's impacts onto the seven dimensions of human security to specify which insecurities are at stake for indigenous Papuans. Second, it interprets these patterned harms as structural violence—produced through institutional arrangements linking the corporation, the state, and security governance—rather than as isolated “incidents.” Third, it uses critical discourse analysis and Bourbeau & Vuori's security–resilience–(non)security triangle to show how official narratives of “sovereignty”, “development”, and “security” securitize the issue, constrain political contestation, and push Papuan communities toward resilience as a survival strategy. This synthesis allows the study to evaluate resource nationalism not only as a change in share ownership, but as a struggle over governance, recognition, and everyday security.⁹

METHOD

⁸ YLBHI, “Pemerintah dan Komnas HAM Republik Indonesia Turut Melanggar Hak 8.300 Buruh Mogok Kerja PT. Freeport Indonesia Selama Tujuh Tahun,” YLBHI, 2024, <https://ylbhi.or.id/informasi/siaran-pers/pemerintah-dan-komnas-ham-republik-indonesia-turut-melanggar-hak-8-300-buruh-mogok-kerja-pt-freepor>

⁹ N. Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language* (Longman, 1995).

This study adopts a qualitative, theory-guided case study design to explain the paradox between Indonesia's resource nationalism in PTFI and the continuing human security crisis in Papua from 2017 to 2025. Rather than generating theory inductively, the analysis is explicitly structured by the human security framework and the concept of structural violence, which function as sensitizing concepts to identify forms of harm and their institutional sources.¹⁰ Critical discourse analysis (CDA) provides the methodological bridge between these concepts and the empirical material: by tracing how key actors narrate "security", "development", and "national interest", the study shows how particular policy choices and coercive practices become normalized.¹¹ The approach remains grounded in verifiable documentary evidence and uses quantitative indicators (e.g., numbers of layoffs, documented violations, and reported deaths linked to loss of health access) as supporting context for qualitative interpretation.

Data were collected through systematic document analysis of materials produced between 2017 and 2025, grouped into four categories: (1) corporate communications (PTFI sustainability/social investment reports, official website statements, and relevant press releases); (2) state documents (ministerial decrees, parliamentary hearing materials, and official government statements regarding divestment and Papua governance); (3) civil society and human rights documentation (Komnas HAM-related reporting, legal aid and NGO statements, and investigative reports); and (4) reputable media coverage that records key events (layoffs, strikes, evictions, and service restrictions). Documents were selected based on relevance to (a) the resource nationalism narrative (divestment, ownership, sovereignty claims) and (b) claims about security, development, labor relations, environmental governance, or human rights in the Freeport operational area. Triangulating across these categories reduces single-source bias and strengthens the credibility of causal claims linking discourse to human security outcomes.

The CDA was conducted following Fairclough's three-dimensional approach (text, discursive practice, and social practice) and complemented by van Dijk's emphasis on discourse, cognition, and power. Practically, the analysis proceeded in four steps. First, the study identified "discursive events" that shaped the period (e.g., the 2017 strike-related terminations, subsequent layoffs and service restrictions, and key moments in the 2018–2025 divestment narrative). Second,

¹⁰ N. Muhadjir, *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif* (Rake Sarasin, 1996).

¹¹ Alan Bryman, *Social Research Methods* (Oxford University Press, 2016).

selected texts from each event were coded for recurring frames and lexical choices, including: “efficiency/discipline” versus “rights/justice” (labor), “sovereignty/pride” versus “welfare/protection” (resource nationalism), and “security/stability” versus “violence/impunity” (Papua governance). Third, these frames were compared across actor categories (corporation, state institutions, civil society, and Papuan workers/customary leaders) to identify patterns of legitimization, omission, and blame-shifting. Finally, discursive patterns were interpreted alongside documented human security impacts (economic, health, community, political, and environmental insecurities) to connect language practices to structural conditions rather than treating discourse as detached from material harm.¹²

Multinational Corporate

As a product of economic liberalism, the Multinational Corporation (MNC) holds a critical role in international political-economic dynamics. The relationship between the State and the MNC is multifaceted, encompassing complex aspects such as Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), interdependence, and implications for national policy. Within a decentralized state system like Indonesia, an inevitable bargaining process occurs between local governments and MNCs to ensure the benefits of FDI flow to local citizens¹³ Consequently, it is crucial for economic actors, both at the societal level and among policymakers, to possess a strong bargaining position. Furthermore, it is asserted that power is inversely proportional to dependence, and dependence is defined by the degree of substitute alternatives available to an actor. This statement indicates that developing states can be effective bargainers despite multinational domination¹⁴ In any negotiation process, the national interest must invariably serve as the primary foundation for policy. Similarly, the national interest is inseparable from the analysis of state behavior. Accepting the presence of MNCs undoubtedly has

¹² N. Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language* (Longman, 1995).

¹³ K. Kuswanto, H. W. Hoen, and R. L. Holzhacker, “Bargaining between Local Governments and Multinational Corporations in a Decentralised System of Governance: The Cases of Ogan Komering Ilir and Banyuwangi Districts in Indonesia,” *Asia Pacific Journal of Public Administration* 39, no. 3 (2017): 189–201, <https://doi.org/10.1080/23276665.2017.1368246>

¹⁴ A. M. Nizamuddin, “Declining Risk, Market Liberalization and State-Multinational Bargaining: Japanese Automobile Investments in India, Indonesia and Malaysia,” *Pacific Affairs* 81, no. 3 (2008): 339–359, <https://doi.org/10.5509/2008813339>

essential objectives that the state aims to achieve. Indonesia's National Interest can be examined through its established regulations.

Undeniably, various aspects concerning an MNC's presence in a host country can directly influence the national social community or populace. This influence is evidenced by MNC impacts such as Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) initiatives and the transfer of technology or knowledge. Furthermore, for multinational enterprises to successfully execute strategic CSR initiatives in foreign markets, they must focus on salient social issues in the host country that they are best equipped to address, leveraging their specific capabilities and resources. Additionally, these firms need to cultivate company-wide competencies and skills that can effectively integrate strategic capabilities from the headquarters with the local knowledge held by the overseas subsidiary¹⁵.

While capable of generating the aforementioned positive effects, MNC exploitation in Indonesia simultaneously produces several adverse impacts on the lives of related social communities. It is not uncommon to find case studies where cooperation between the MNC and the local government exacerbates these negative consequences for the social group. For example, studies of extractive expansion in Indonesia show how cooperation between state authorities and corporate actors can reorganize land and resource governance in ways that privilege accumulation over local livelihoods. Capital accumulation is enabled through permits, infrastructure provision, and rent-seeking, while new economic intermediaries—speculators, brokers, and politically connected landholders—profit from leasing or reallocating land for corporate use. This fusion of political authority and economic interest can rapidly increase the exchange value of land, deepen inequality, and erode customary rights, creating a structural context in which corporate “development” projects generate social conflict rather than shared welfare.¹⁶

Based on the findings of prior researchers, several contentious topics can be synthesized: (1) A Contradictory Situation Regarding MNC Behavior: Multinational Corporations actively engage in Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) initiatives while simultaneously conducting Natural Resource exploitation

¹⁵ Y. R. Park et al., “Corporate Social Responsibility in International Business: Illustrations from Korean and Japanese Electronics MNEs in Indonesia,” *Journal of Business Ethics* 129, no. 3 (2015): 747–761, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10551-014-2212-x>.

¹⁶ D. Bachriadi and E. Suryana, “Land Grabbing and Speculation for Energy Business: A Case Study of ExxonMobil in East Java, Indonesia,” *Canadian Journal of Development Studies* 37, no. 4 (2016): 578–594, <https://doi.org/10.1080/02255189.2016.1197825>

that harms local communities; (2) Ambiguity of National Interest: The national interest is implicitly defined in a way that significantly benefits foreign corporations while concurrently detrimentally affecting the populace.; (3) Fusion of Political Power and Economic Interests: The merging of political authority with economic goals increasingly obscures whose interests the government genuinely prioritizes.

Human Security

Preliminary findings from the literature review indicate that among all previous studies discussing this topic, none have specifically addressed the interests of local communities, whose security is the most threatened in this context. The author employs the theoretical approaches of Structural Violence and Human Security in analyzing the Freeport case in Papua. Human Security, or the concept of Human Safety, first gained global attention after the Cold War due to the increasing openness of political and intellectual spaces. According to Franks and Richmond (2005), in its broadest interpretation, Human Security refers to “freedom from want” and “freedom from fear.”¹⁷ One of the fundamental issues within the concept of Human Security is Human Rights. In addition, the presence of multinational corporations (MNCs) also contributes to the diffusion of Human Rights norms.¹⁸ The presence of the Freeport MNC has also driven human rights violations committed by government security forces aligned with Freeport in the conflict with the separatist movement of the Free Papua Movement (OPM).¹⁹ This discourse has subsequently driven ongoing militarization of the region and practices of impunity toward human rights violators. As a result, the human rights situation in Papua has remained unchanged or worsened compared to previous periods. Various human rights cases in Papua have never been brought to fair and impartial trials.²⁰

¹⁷ O. P. Richmond and J. Franks, *Human Security and the War on Terror*, ed. F. Dodds and T. Pippard (Routledge, 2013).

¹⁸ A. Guáqueta, “Harnessing Corporations: Lessons from the Voluntary Principles on Security and Human Rights in Colombia and Indonesia,” *Journal of Asian Public Policy* 6, no. 2 (2013): 129–146, <https://doi.org/10.1080/17516234.2013.814306>

¹⁹ K. McKenna, “Corporate Security Practices and Human Rights in West Papua,” *Conflict, Security and Development* 15, no. 4 (2015): 359–385, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14678802.2015.1071975>

²⁰ Aliabbas Al Araf et al., *Securitization in Papua: The Implication of Security Approach towards Human Rights Condition in Papua* (Imparsial, 2011). ([Jurnal Universitas Padjadjaran](#))

The United Nations (UN) identifies two principal dimensions of human security: freedom from fear and freedom from want, focusing on the individual rather than the state as the primary subject of protection. Concurrently, with the expansion of globalization, contemporary human security issues have undergone an evolution, reflecting the emergence of "new wars" characterized by transformations in their actors, objectives, methodologies, and financing.²¹ In this context, the traditional security approach is considered inadequate for confronting the increasingly complex humanitarian and environmental challenges globally. The concept of human security now places greater emphasis on human development and well-being, transcending mere physical violence and material damage. As a concept, human security broadens the definition of security to encompass not only state security but also the protection of individuals from physical, economic, health, and environmental threats.²² In contrast to the traditional security approach, which centers on the state, human security focuses on the comprehensive well-being and safety of the individual. Setiawan et al., (2022) highlights the application of human security within the context of Papuan special autonomy as an endeavor to mediate conflict and enhance the protection of indigenous communities amidst the challenges of development and social tension.

Structural Violence

In the Papuan context, human security is highly relevant given the protracted conflict and the socio-economic marginalization experienced by the indigenous population. Structural violence, a term popularized by Johan Galtung (1969), referring to a form of violence concealed within social and political structures which produces systemic injustice and suffering without necessarily employing direct physical violence. Within the context of human rights, Ho (2007) explicates how social, political, and economic structures can systemically oppress communities in ways that are not always overtly apparent. In Papua, this structural violence is evidenced through large-scale development policies such as the MIFEE project (Merauke Integrated Food and Energy Estate), which led to the dispossession of land rights from the indigenous Malind community, diminishing

²¹ M. Kaldor, "In Defence of New Wars," *Stability* 2, no. 1 (2013), <https://doi.org/10.5334/sta.at>.

²² UNDP, *Human Development Report* (Oxford University Press, 1994).

their quality of life, and eradicating access to their traditional livelihoods²³. This structural violence simultaneously exacerbates marginalization and triggers protracted horizontal conflict.

Furthermore, armed conflict and counterinsurgency operations in Papua intensify human insecurity both physically and psychologically, as civilians face threats from multiple armed actors and live under chronic surveillance and fear. During the COVID 19 pandemic, these vulnerabilities were compounded: restrictions on mobility and strained health services interacted with ongoing violence, leaving the most vulnerable communities exposed simultaneously to disease risk and coercion.²⁴ This intersection of armed violence, weak public services, and impunity illustrates how structural violence operates in practice—harm is produced not only through direct attacks, but also through institutional failures that predictably deprive indigenous communities of protection and basic needs.

The human security issues in Papua are further aggravated by the failure of special autonomy implementation, which frequently prioritizes the traditional security approach over the protection of the social and economic rights of the local population. Setiawan et al., (2022) argues that without the full recognition of indigenous rights and the mitigation of structural violence, the achievement of Papuan welfare development will be severely impeded. This failure also fuels the persistence of conflict and erodes public trust in the central government, thereby creating a cycle of violence that is challenging to resolve through security policies alone.

Critical Development

As demonstrated by critical development studies, the discourse surrounding development is permeated by economic and political interests rather than being a neutral endeavor. From a postcolonial perspective, development often functions as a mechanism of control that engenders power differentials between global actors and local communities, or between the center and the periphery. Since the colonial era, development has been construed as the affirmation of economic and

²³ D. Suryani, "Structural Violation of Indigenous Human Rights in Indonesia: A Case Study of Merauke Integrated Food and Energy Estate (MIFEE) in Papua," *Jurnal Masyarakat & Budaya* 18, no. 1 (2016): 97–109.

²⁴ S. S. Prameswari and N. A. Husna, "Insurgency, Counterinsurgency and Human Security: A Case Study of Armed Violence in Papua during the COVID-19 Pandemic," *Jurnal Hubungan Internasional* 11, no. 1 (2022): 19–31, <https://doi.org/10.18196/jhi.v11i1.12558>

political power within colonized territories. External interventions focused on resource exploitation were justified through narratives of "progress." This situation is not confined to the colonial period but persists into the modern era²⁵

A similar pattern is evident in the development initiatives undertaken in Papua by the Indonesian government and other transnational actors. By asserting that development will furnish infrastructure, healthcare services, and education, these actors neglect more fundamental issues: the structural marginalization of the indigenous Papuan population, their exclusion from political processes, and the violation of their customary land rights. Constructing roads, bridges, or schools may ostensibly signal progress, yet the reality is that such projects often intensify the dependency of the Papuan community on the central government and large corporations operating in the region. Consequently, development in Papua may be conceptualized as a continuation of colonial practices, albeit in an altered form²⁶

The failure of development in Papua is not merely a technical issue but is fundamentally rooted in the misalignment of political and economic systems that position indigenous communities as passive beneficiaries, rather than as subjects entitled to determine the trajectory of development. This process effectively reinforces dependency and compels communities to abandon their traditional ways of life in favor of integration into a market economy controlled by the government and corporations, often with military support that secures projects while simultaneously enacting repression. Consequently, instead of delivering prosperity, development in Papua has deepened the political and social isolation of the local population.

ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

Human Security

The concept of Human Security comprises interdependent and integrated components. This concept acknowledges the universalism of life claims rooted in a sense of solidarity among societies. HS is primarily individually-oriented, concerning how people live and operate within society, the extent of their freedom of expression, and their access to markets and other social opportunities. The concept also maintains a causal relationship with deterioration, such as conflict, economic or financial crises, health crises, natural disasters, and various

²⁵ D. Szablowski and B. Campbell, "Beyond the Resource Curse: Extractive Industries as Development Actors," *Canadian Journal of Development Studies* 40, no. 1 (2019): 85–92.

²⁶ *ibid*

conditions that expose individuals to insecurity. Therefore, besides emphasizing human well-being, human security is driven by values related to the security, stability, and sustainability of development objectives. In this regard, human security underscores the universality and primacy of a set of fundamental rights and freedoms essential for human life. HS furthermore makes no distinction between types of human rights civil, political, economic, social, or cultural. Thereby addressing threats and violations in a multidimensional and comprehensive manner.²⁷

Following UNDP's human security approach, this study operationalizes insecurity in seven interrelated dimensions: economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community, and political security. In the Freeport–Papua case, these dimensions connect events to lived impacts—for example, layoffs threaten economic and food security; restrictions on BPJS and access to medical facilities undermine health security; tailings disposal and repeated environmental violations jeopardize environmental security; intimidation and coercive policing erode personal and community security; and the persistence of impunity and limited access to fair legal remedy weakens political security. Using these categories prevents the analysis from collapsing diverse harms into a single “conflict” label and instead specifies which protections are absent, for whom, and through what mechanisms.²⁸

Critical Discourse Analysis – CDA

Discourse Analysis is a multidisciplinary approach that delves into the use of language within socio-cultural contexts to reveal meanings, ideologies, power relations, as well as the production and reproduction of knowledge within society. This framework is rooted in the understanding that language is not neutral but is laden with social, political, and historical dimensions²⁹.

Norman Fairclough (1995) highlights the three-dimensional model in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), consists of:

1. Text Analysis (*Description*): This involves linguistic analysis of the text itself, including vocabulary, sentence structure, and rhetorical strategies.

²⁷ M. Yousuf Bhat, “Human Security and Global Challenges-Neoliberal Perspective,” *International Journal of Innovative Research and Scientific Studies* (2018).

²⁸ UNDP, *Human Development Report* (Oxford University Press, 1994).

²⁹ N. Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language* (Longman, 1995).

2. Discourse Practice Analysis (*Interpretation*): This focuses on the processes of text production and consumption, analyzing how texts are created, distributed, and interpreted.
3. Social Practice Analysis (*Explanation*): This examines the broader social context and power relations influencing and influenced by the discourse, including historical, cultural, and institutional factors.

In addition to Fairclough, other figures have also contributed to the development of this analytical framework, such as Teun van Dijk with his *Cognitive and Social Structure in Text*³⁰. Dijk pays particular attention to the relationship between language, thought (cognition), and social structure. He then further elaborates on Discourse Analysis in three broad dimensions:

1. Text Structure: Analysis that maps how messages and ideologies are constructed linguistically.
2. Social Cognition: Acts as a link between the use of language in texts and the social structure of society, because social actors bring certain knowledge and biases when forming a discourse, so Dijk calls it “social schema” and “social representation.”
3. Social Context: Focus on analyzing power relations, domination, and social inequality as reflected in language practices.

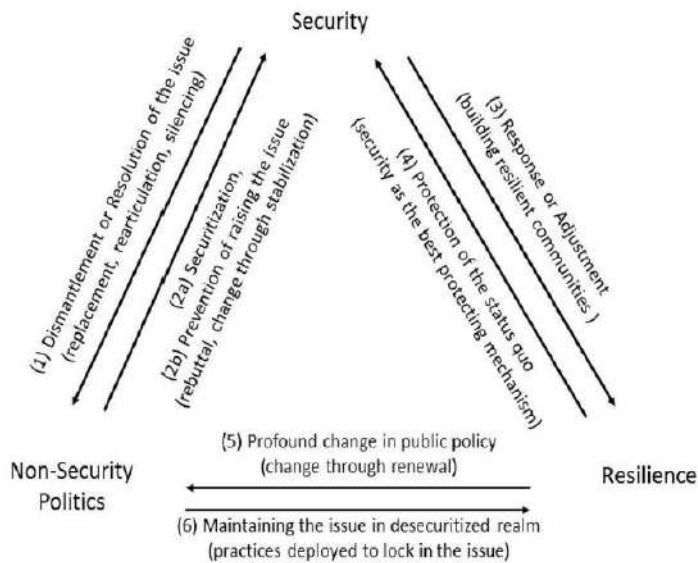
Thus, both Discourse Analysis theorists provide a complex foundation for this research framework, not only for in-depth analysis of linguistic structure but also for the dynamic relationship among language, thought, and social structure in the production and reception of discourse.

Triangular Relationship of Security, Resilience and non-Security Politics

Various critical contributions to security studies have been developed. One of these is the theory of the Triangular Relationship of Security, Resilience, and non-Security Politics, formulated by Philippe Bourbeau and Juha A. Vuori in their scholarly journal article titled *Security, Resilience and Desecuritization: Multidirectional Moves and Dynamics*. The article elucidates the distinct socio-political processes among the concepts of Securitization, Desecuritization, and Resilience. They present these three concepts in the following diagram:³¹

³⁰ T. A. van Dijk, *Discourse and Power* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2017).

³¹ P. Bourbeau and J. A. Vuori, “Security, Resilience and Desecuritization: Multidirectional Moves and Dynamics,” *Critical Studies on Security* 3, no. 3 (2015): 253–268, <https://doi.org/10.1080/21624887.2015.1111095>



source: Philippe Bourbeau & Juha A. Vuori (2015) Security, resilience and desecuritization: multidirectional moves and dynamics, *Critical Studies on Security*, 3:3, pp. 255

The diagram illustrates three conditions that define the position of a public issue: Security, non-Security Politics, and Resilience. The relationship among these three components is delineated by arrows pointing to one another, explaining the processes that can shift a public issue's position into another condition.

The first line connects the Security condition and the non-Security Politics condition. When viewed from the perspective of Security, the process occurring is termed Desecuritization, wherein a security issue undergoes a shift and becomes more politicized, transitioning into a non-security issue. On the second line, when viewed from the non-Security Politics perspective, this process is named Securitization, which signifies the transformation of a political issue into a security issue.

The third and fourth lines in the nexus relate Security and Resilience. From the Security perspective (point three), it explains how resilience can adjust its condition to a security issue, which differs from the processes of Securitization and Desecuritization. The resilience referred to here pertains to how community and social resilience are built to face global security issues. Point four, explained

from the Resilience perspective, describes how resilience can become a means to protect a society's 'way of life' by promoting the implementation of security policies.

The subsequent nexus links Resilience with non-Security Politics. From the Resilience perspective (point five), if an issue's primary focus is to maintain the status quo, under certain conditions it may shift and become an issue of non-Security Politics. Conversely, from the non-Security Politics perspective, if an issue undergoes the practice of resilience, the related issue will become locked in that position, subsequently remaining a resilience issue.

In summary, the analytical framework intentionally combines structural and discursive perspectives. Human security provides the outcome space (what kinds of insecurity are produced), while structural violence and critical development explain why these insecurities persist through institutionalized marginalization within an extractive political economy. Critical discourse analysis then shows how such arrangements are legitimized and contested through language, and Bourbeau & Vuori's security–resilience–(non)security triangle helps specify the political dynamics through which the Papua issue is repeatedly securitized and “managed” rather than resolved. Read together, these approaches treat resource nationalism not as a purely economic policy of share ownership, but as a struggle over authority, representation, and the everyday security of indigenous communities.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

From the outset, the initial cooperation contract between Indonesia and Freeport was demonstrably disadvantageous to Indonesia. This contract granted mining rights for thirty years within a concession area totaling 250,000 hectares, coupled with a three-year corporate tax exemption. Furthermore, Indonesia imposed no equity requirements, and Freeport had no obligations whatsoever toward the traditional Papuan communities holding land rights, specifically the Amungme and Kamoro tribes. The cooperation contract did not mandate that Freeport pay compensation to the traditional landowners, nor was it required to participate in local or provincial development. Crucially, the agreement contained no regulations concerning environmental management. The Papuan communities, harmed by the terms of this contract, persistently staged resistance. This resistance eventually led to the formation of an agreement between PT Freeport Indonesia and the Amungme tribe in 1974.³²

³² D. Leith, “Freeport and the Suharto Regime 1965–1998,” *The Contemporary Pacific* 14, no. 1 (2002): 69–100.

The agreement, known as the “1975 January Agreement,” stipulated the recognition of the concept of *hak ulayat* in Indonesia. This term denotes the customary rights (or *hak adat*) of indigenous communities over the land they have traditionally utilized for hunting and gathering. Subsequent to this agreement, the Government of Indonesia formally acknowledged the right to compensation for *hak ulayat* (customary land rights). This compensation was rendered to the communities in the form of recognition (*rekognisi*), paid to them in exchange for the relinquishment of their customary land rights³³. The ensuing mining activities in fact had a significant impact on the lives of communities around the mining area. On April 29, 1996, Thom Beanal, a leader of the Amungme Tribe, filed a \$6 billion lawsuit in the New Orleans District Court on behalf of all indigenous inhabitants affected by Freeport's activities in West Papua. The lawsuit accused Freeport of Human Rights (HR) violations, including torture, execution, and cultural genocide. Furthermore, the lawsuit contained testimony about massive environmental damage resulting from the tailings disposal carried out by Freeport. The lawsuit was also based on reports of the killing of three indigenous Papuans in Timika for protesting the violence committed by Freeport.³⁴

PT Freeport Indonesia (PTFI) has actually undertaken Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) actions to address various business risks. The various CSR activities organized by PTFI offer three value benefits: PTFI in the Community, PTFI in the Environment, and Human Rights. Under the value point of PTFI in the Community, PTFI has three main programs: Health, Economy, and Infrastructure Development. Regarding the health issue, PTFI has built several hospitals, such as Mitra Masyarakat Hospital, Waa Banti Hospital, several health clinics in Mimika, and various other health programs. For the economic program, PTFI has also implemented various Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprise (MSME) Development Programs (PP-UMKM) and Revolving Funds. Other economic programs are village-based, such as Fisheries Programs, Livestock Programs, etc. Concerning the infrastructure development program, PTFI has also constructed numerous basic facilities or infrastructure in Mimika Regency.³⁵ The final value upheld by PTFI in its CSR activities is the Human Rights value. On its official website, in 2018, PTFI stated that it had employed approximately 30,000

³³ D. Leith, “Freeport and the Suharto Regime 1965–1998,” *The Contemporary Pacific* 14, no. 1 (2002): 69–100.

³⁴ *ibid*

³⁵ PTFI, *Sustainability at PTFI* (2024).

people, of which 25% were indigenous Papuans. However, upon closer scrutiny, various facts presented by PTFI on its online platform seem to be mere rhetoric.

Even after PT Freeport Indonesia (PTFI) had been operating for over fifty years, various violations have continued to occur, particularly concerning environmental and Human Rights (HR) infractions. According to the Ministry of Environment and Forestry, PTFI has committed at least 48 environmental violations. These include 31 findings of violations related to AMDAL/RKL-RPL (Environmental Impact Analysis/Environmental Management and Monitoring Plans), environmental permits, water pollution, air pollution, and violations of waste and B3 (Hazardous and Toxic Materials) management.³⁶ The Ministry of Environment and Forestry (KLHK) imposed sanctions on PTFI for every violation committed. KLHK also issued Decree (SK) 175/2018, concerning Freeport's tailings management at the Ajkwa deposition site or Modified Ajkwa Deposition Area (ModADA) in Mimika, Papua. The decree mandates the reduction of the total solid matter in the mine waste from PTFI is also required to create an ecosystem study or a waste management roadmap for the next 12 years. From 1974 to 2018, the tailings waste flowed along the Aghwagon River to the Ajkwa River.³⁷

Between 2017 and 2019, PTFI's unilateral termination of employment (PHK)—affecting approximately 8,000 workers and disproportionately impacting indigenous Papuans—became a key trigger of multidimensional human insecurity.³⁸ The immediate effect is economic insecurity (loss of income) that quickly translates into food insecurity and heightened household vulnerability, while reported restrictions on access to company housing, hospitals, and schools following the terminations and strike-related dismissals directly undermine health and community security. These harms are not incidental; they arise from an extractive dependency structure produced over decades, in which environmental degradation erodes traditional livelihoods and pushes local residents toward wage

³⁶ F. J. Kuwado and D. Meiliana, "Menteri LHK: PT Freeport Indonesia Selesaikan 35 dari 48 Sanksi Administratif," *Kompas*, July 27, 2018, <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2018/07/27/22594801/menteri-lhk-pt-freeport-indonesia-selesaikan-35-dari-48-sanksi-administratif>

³⁷ L. Arumingtyas and I. Nugraha, "Peta Jalan Pengelolaan Limbah dan Kajian Lingkungan Freeport, Seperti Apa?" *Mongabay*, January 10, 2019, <https://mongabay.co.id/2019/01/10/peta-jalan-pengelolaan-limbah-dan-kajian-lingkungan-freeport-seperti-apa/>

³⁸ I. Syambudi, "8.000 Karyawan Di-PHK, Pemprov Papua Minta Freeport Pekerjaan Lagi," *Tirto.id*, February 2, 2019.

labor in the mine. Investigative reporting has linked substandard mining practices and tailings disposal to ecosystem damage that contributes to flooding and deforestation, thereby weakening environmental security. The scale of social disruption is also reflected in demographic transformation: indigenous Papuans declined from 96% of the population in 1971 to 59% by 2005, intensifying community insecurity and perceptions of dispossession. Taken together, this pattern illustrates structural violence—predictable and preventable harm generated through institutional arrangements that privilege extraction and control over indigenous welfare.³⁹

From a critical discourse perspective, the labor conflict is also a struggle over naming and responsibility. Corporate and state narratives tend to reframe collective protest as an individual disciplinary problem—workers are described through managerial categories such as “absence,” “efficiency,” or as having “resigned,” language that individualizes what is fundamentally a political-economic dispute over rights and livelihoods. At the same time, the divestment process is narrated as an achievement of “sovereignty” and “resource control,” encouraging public celebration while displacing attention from the material consequences borne locally. This discursive pairing—sovereignty pride at the national level and disciplinary vocabulary at the workplace level—depoliticizes claims for justice and normalizes exceptional measures (evictions, service restrictions, securitized policing) as ordinary “governance.” As a result, Papuan workers are positioned as objects of “management” rather than rights-bearing citizens entitled to protection and remedy.

In addition to threatening the individual economic welfare of the Papuan population, the presence of Freeport also threatens the lives of its workers. PTFI was proven to have committed Human Rights violations in the event of the Big Gossan tunnel collapse. The tunnel collapse occurred on May 14, 2013, killing at least 28 workers. PTFI was deemed negligent for allowing the project to proceed without supervision. The incident was allegedly caused by water seepage from the roof rock mass, originating from surface water infiltrating the rock mass structure, leading to instability. Inspection of the underground tunnel conditions had never been conducted previously. Due to this negligence, the lives of dozens of Freeport workers were at risk⁴⁰.

³⁹ J. Vidal, “Fossil Fuels,” *The Guardian*, March 19, 2008, <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2008/mar/19/fossilfuels.indonesia>

⁴⁰ “VOA Indonesia: Komnas HAM: PT Freeport Langgar HAM dalam Kasus Big Gossan,” *VOA Indonesia*, 2014.

It was not only that incident; Freeport is also alleged to have committed many other Human Rights (HR) violations. Following the series of unilateral termination of employment (PHK) cases carried out by PTFI against thousands of its employees, PTFI also fired approximately 4,200 workers who participated in a labor strike conducted in response to the mass terminations. Those who were terminated were also forcibly evicted from company housing, and PTFI prohibited access to company hospitals and schools. Lokataru (a Non-Governmental Organization) specializing in HR issues revealed that there were 33 cases where workers were forced out of their residences, and at least 15 workers died due to lack of medical treatment at Freeport-owned hospitals.⁴¹

This series of events demonstrates that the presence of PTFI in Papua has not only eliminated the traditional livelihoods of the inhabitants due to the environmental damage from mining waste, but also threatens the safety and individual lives of Papuan residents, even those who had worked for the mining company. Instead of the Papuan inhabitants, as the traditional landowners of the island they have occupied for hundreds of years, being able to live prosperously, they are instead forced to feel unsafe in their own land because of the arrival of the first foreign Multinational Corporate exploiting their territory.

Efforts of Freeport Workers in Achieving Resilience

This phenomenon of the threat to human security experienced by the Papuan community working at PTFI can be categorized as an individual security issue. This aligns with several elements within the concept of human security as articulated by Martin & Owen (2015):

1. Clear focus on individual human lives (these contrasts, for instance, with the aggregate, technocratic notion of 'national security' - the preferred interpretation of 'security' in military contexts).
2. Reasoned concentration on the risk of loss of human life, not on the overall expansion of effective freedoms in general (contrasting with the broader objectives of promoting 'human development').
3. The selected focus is on the 'negative side' in emphasizing the more fundamental human rights (rather than the entire range of human rights).

⁴¹ ICP, *Special Report: Human Rights Violations and Environmental Degradation Associated with Mining Activities Conducted by PT Freeport Indonesia in West Papua* (2020),

[https://tapol.org/sites/default/files/PT Freeport Indo tail of violations in Papua Dec20.pdf](https://tapol.org/sites/default/files/PT%20Freeport%20Indo%20tail%20of%20violations%20in%20Papua%20Dec20.pdf). (tapol.org)

Based on the aforementioned elements, the Human Rights violations experienced by the Papuan community following PTFI's presence can indeed be categorized as a human security issue. The threat has reached the individual level. The concentration of risk is predicted to cause harm to human life as an individual entity. For instance, due to PTFI, Papuans who were traditionally fishermen lost their livelihoods because of maritime ecosystem damage from mining waste. Although some later worked for PTFI, this did not guarantee a better life. The mass layoffs (PHK) and various Human Rights violations committed by PTFI mean that the Papuan people, who depend on Freeport, must face these threats daily. The focus on the issues between PTFI and its indigenous Papuan workers is fundamental because it directly relates to their everyday existence.

Applying Bourbeau and Vuori's triangular relationship of Security, Resilience, and non Security Politics helps clarify why the human security crisis around PTFI becomes protracted rather than resolved. In this model, the Freeport conflict is repeatedly pulled toward the Security–Resilience nexus: the state frames Papua as a security matter requiring exceptional control, while Papuan workers and customary institutions are pushed into resilience as a practical strategy for survival and rights-claiming. In other words, securitization justifies coercive governance and narrows political debate, while resilience becomes a bottom up adjustment—strikes, litigation, mutual aid, and advocacy—to endure insecurity without addressing its structural drivers. This dynamic helps explain why the problem remains locked in a cycle of insecurity: as long as the issue is governed primarily through security logics, the underlying structural violence that produces human insecurity is neither de securitized nor fully politicized as a rights and welfare agenda.

*(3) Response or Adjustment
(building resilient communities)*

Security -----> *Resilience*
*source: Philippe Bourbeau & Juha A. Vuori (2015) Security, resilience and
desecuritization: multidirectional moves and dynamics, Critical Studies on
Security, 3:3, pp. 255*

The Security Issue within that nexus refers to the threats posed by PTFI to the Papuan community, both those who worked for the company and those who maintained their traditional livelihoods. Both entities are equally targeted by threats because PTFI's actions have the potential to eliminate their sources of income on their own land. Crucially, their efforts to gather economic material are aimed at sustaining their individual or family lives. This becomes fatal if, even in

feel threatened daily. Here is a summary of the actors and socio-legal efforts regarding PTFI: the matter of survival, they must.

Table 1: Summary of Actors and Socio-Legal Efforts Regarding PTFI from various Source: adapted CNN, BBC, Tirto.id, Detik.com

No	Actor	Period of Incident	Primary Issue	Form of Action and Demand	Conflict Status (2025)
1	Former PTFI Workers (approx. 8,000 people)	2017 – 2025 (ongoing)	Mass Layoffs (PHK) (Absence without Leave vs. Efficiency)	Industrial Relations Court (PHI) Lawsuit, Advocacy by the DPD RI (Regional Representatives Council) (March 2024), Labor Strike	Unresolved and requires Presidential-level political intervention.
2	Local Communities (Orang Asli Papua/OAP)	2019 – 2025 (ongoing)	Employment and Inclusion	Demand for an increased proportion of OAP workers (>40% of 27,000 total workforce).	Ongoing because many OAP are still not absorbed into employment at PTFI.
3	Traditional Institutions (Lemasa/Lemekso)	2021 – 2025 (ongoing support)	Social Stability of the Papuan community still disturbed by the impact of the 2017 Mass Layoffs.	Public statements, legal advocacy for former PTFI workers and OAP.	Traditional Institutions still function as a Resilience Buffer against various social shocks.

Based on these various efforts, it can be seen that even the Papuan community members who were already working at PTFI have not yet experienced a comfortable and secure condition. They have made significant efforts to urge the government to enforce firm policies against PTFI. This is aimed at achieving a position of resilience. Resilience is also viewed by some as a promising avenue for achieving sustainable poverty alleviation and for limiting the power of the police that has exploited citizens' vulnerabilities. This process of resilience occurs as a response to a security condition.⁴² This statement of the theory is also relevant to the efforts to achieve a condition of resilience undertaken by the Papuan

⁴² D. E. Davis, *Urban Resilience in Situations of Chronic Violence* (2012).

Community as a response to the occurrence of Human Rights violations that threaten their daily lives.

In a meeting of DPR Commission III on January 15, 2025, Jerry Jarangga, a representative of the former PTFI workers, stated that since the divestment of 51% of PTFI shares by Indonesia in 2017, hundreds of people have died as a result of the exploration carried out by PTFI.

*” We became hostages so that the government could not seize the 51% stake. Out of that 51%, there were thousands of victims and even hundreds of deaths due to the inability to obtain medical treatment. Our rationale for conducting the labor strike was Freeport's implementation of policies not stipulated in the laws and regulations. Subsequently, our access to BPJS/health services was universally terminated. ”*⁴³

Jarangga's testimony makes explicit the human security costs that disappear in official narratives of divestment and “national pride.” His account links share acquisition to concrete consequences: the withdrawal of BPJS and medical access, livelihood collapse, and reported deaths among dismissed workers. In CDA terms, this is a counter discourse that re-politicizes what corporate communication frames as an industrial relations “efficiency” issue; it insists that the appropriate referent object is not the state's ownership percentage but the lives of Papuan workers and families. Read through structural violence, the deaths and deprivation described are not accidental side effects but predictable outcomes of institutional arrangements that allow corporate discipline, service restriction, and political delay to substitute for remedy. This is why the paradox persists: a celebratory discourse of resource nationalism at the national level coexists with a managerial discourse that downplays rights violations at the local level, thereby prolonging insecurity for the Papuan community affected by the 2017–2019 terminations.

CONCLUSION

PT Freeport Indonesia (PTFI) in Papua from 2017 to 2025 demonstrate a fundamental conflict between the Indonesian state's pursuit of resource nationalism and the guaranteed human security of the indigenous Papuan community. Despite the government's increasing pride in acquiring a majority stake in PTFI (set to reach 63% by October 2025), this national sovereignty has not translated into improved societal welfare. Instead, the narrative of

⁴³ J. Jarangga and TVR Parlemen, *Komisi III DPR RI RDPI dengan Perwakilan Pekerja PHK Sepihak PT Freeport Indonesia & Perpat Babel* [Broadcast], January 15, 2025.

development and security, advanced by both the corporation and the state, has paradoxically functioned to deepen social exclusion and legitimize violence. This situation raises a central dilemma: what is the benefit of majority ownership if it merely generates new human security threats?

The most acute manifestation of this paradox is the unresolved labor conflict that began with the 2017 strike and culminated in the dismissal of roughly 8,000–8,300 workers over 2017–2019, predominantly indigenous Papuans. This was not a narrow industrial dispute; it triggered cascading, multidimensional human security harms—loss of income and livelihoods (economic and food security), eviction and heightened fear (personal and community security), and the reported termination of BPJS and access to medical care and schooling (health and community security), which worker representatives link to preventable deaths. Interpreted through structural violence, these outcomes reflect institutionalized patterns of exclusion that persist even after Indonesia’s share acquisition. At the same time, workers’ lawsuits, strikes, and parliamentary advocacy demonstrate resilience from below, but the continuing absence of a definitive remedy shows how resilience is forced upon communities when securitized governance displaces rights-based solutions.

Ultimately, the persistence of mass terminations, service deprivation, and impunity indicates that majority share ownership is a weak indicator of “sovereignty” if it is not converted into rights-based governance. If the state’s controlling stake is to have meaning, it must be used to de securitize Papua’s policy space and to impose enforceable human security benchmarks on PTFI: restoring access to health care and education for affected families, ensuring fair labor remedy and legal accountability, and strengthening independent environmental and human rights oversight that includes indigenous institutions. These steps would shift public discourse from celebrating ownership percentages to evaluating whether extraction governance protects lives. They would also recognize that Papuan resilience—strikes, legal action, and customary solidarity—is not a substitute for state responsibility but evidence of a citizenry demanding that resource nationalism deliver human security rather than reproduce structural violence.

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