

A Normative Study on Human Rights Protection in Armed Conflicts in Papua During the Prabowo Era

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ABSTRACT

The escalation of security operations in Papua under the Prabowo Subianto administration has exacerbated the armed conflict, causing severe humanitarian impacts on civilians. This reality highlights a critical gap between security measures and the state's constitutional and international obligations to protect fundamental rights. This research aims to analyze the alignment of security policy with these legal norms and to propose a constitutional-humanitarian framework for policy reform to enhance human rights protection in the conflict. The method used is normative-juridical with statutory, conceptual, and case-based approaches. Primary, secondary, and tertiary legal materials are analyzed qualitatively through systematic interpretation and synchronization of norms. The research findings reveal a significant gap between legal norms and operational implementation, particularly regarding civilian protection, proportionality in the use of force, and accountability for violations. This research offers a novel approach through the constitutional-humanitarian alignment model—a mechanism that integrates constitutional norms and humanitarian law into operational instructions, civilian protection protocols, and a multi-level oversight system. This mechanism is designed to ensure security policies align more closely with national and international legal standards. The study concludes that constitutional alignment is a strategic step to strengthen state legitimacy, minimize the conflict's impact on civilians, and increase the effectiveness of handling the armed conflict in Papua.

Keywords: *Human Rights; Armed Conflict; Papua; Security Policy.*

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INTRODUCTION

Armed conflict in Papua continues to be a major issue in national security governance. The increase in security operations at the beginning of Prabowo Subianto's administration had a significant impact on civilians in various regions such as Intan Jaya, Yahukimo, and Mountainous Papua (Gwijangge & Ayaq, 2025). Reports of mass displacement, the halt of education and health services, and the increase in civilian casualties show that this conflict is not only related to security aspects, but also touches on fundamental issues regarding the protection of human rights (Simamora et al., 2025). In the context of the state of law, the protection of civilians is a constitutional obligation that cannot be overridden by any reason (Broek, 2022).

Various national and international legal instruments stipulate that the state is obliged to protect inalienable rights, including the right to life, the right to a sense of security, and the right to be free from violence (Irfan et al., 2024). Article 28I paragraphs (1) and (4) of the 1945 Constitution, Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 39 of 1999 concerning Human Rights, and the Constitutional Court Decision (Constitutional Court Decision Number 27/PUU-VIII/2010) affirm the absolute principle of the protection of fundamental rights (Hardiyanto & Saryono, 2023). In the context of non-international armed conflicts such as in Papua, the principles of distinction, proportionality, and prudence as stipulated in international humanitarian law are standards that must be followed by state apparatus (Wasiati, 2022).

Despite clear normative standards, the implementation of security policies presents a number of problems (Balozian & Leidner, 2017; Niemimaa & Niemimaa, 2017). The lack of

accountability, the absence of operational guidelines that are integrated with human rights principles, and the widespread impact on vulnerable groups create a serious gap between norms and implementation (Simamora et al., 2025) This condition shows that there is a gap that has implications for conflict handling models (Wardhani & Syahuri, 2024) Based on this, this study formulates two main focuses, namely: first, an analysis of the suitability of the Prabowo-era security policy with the obligation to protect human rights; and second, the preparation of a model of constitutional alignment so that security policies meet national and international legal standards (Thawley, Crystallin, & Verico, 2024).

This research presents innovations in the form of the concept of constitutional-humanitarian alignment that integrates the principles of human rights, constitution, and humanitarian law in one operational framework. The purpose of this research is to find the appropriate form of relationship between security policies and human rights protection in the armed conflict in Papua, as well as to produce normative recommendations according to the principles of the rule of law. Furthermore, it seeks to formulate a constitutional alignment model to bridge the norm-implementation gap. The benefits of this research are twofold. Practically, it is expected to provide a concrete and operational policy framework for security forces and policymakers to ensure that operations minimize humanitarian impacts and uphold human rights, thereby strengthening state legitimacy and conflict resolution efforts in Papua. Theoretically, this research contributes to the development of legal science, particularly in enriching the discourse on constitutional law and international humanitarian law intersection, and offers a novel "constitutional-humanitarian alignment" model as a reference for similar studies in other conflict contexts.

METHOD

This study employed a normative-juridical method, focusing on the analysis of legal norms governing human rights protection and the application of humanitarian law in security policy in Papua. The approaches used included a legislative approach, a conceptual approach, and a case approach (Marzuki, 2017).

The legal materials consisted of primary legal materials—namely, the 1945 Constitution, the Human Rights Law, the Human Rights Court Law, security sector legal instruments, and the 1949 Geneva Conventions along with principles of international humanitarian law—and secondary legal materials in the form of books, journal articles, state agency reports, and relevant independent agency reports. All legal materials were analyzed using normative qualitative analysis through systematic interpretation and synchronization of norms. Conclusions were drawn deductively from legal provisions as the basis for evaluating security policy implementation in Papua.

Data collection was conducted through library research on primary legal materials (laws, regulations, and international legal instruments), secondary materials (scientific literature, journals, and institutional reports), and tertiary materials (dictionaries, encyclopedias). The collected data were analyzed qualitatively and normatively using legal interpretation techniques (grammatical, historical, systematic, teleological), vertical and horizontal synchronization, normative comparative analysis, and critical analysis. The research conclusions were compiled deductively by evaluating security policy implementation in Papua against the established legal framework.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Compatibility of the Security Policy of the Prabowo Era with the Obligation to Protect Human Rights

Normative Basis of State Obligations in Armed Conflict in Papua

The protection of human rights in armed conflict is an absolute state obligation in the Indonesian legal system (Asshiddiqie, 2006) Article 28I paragraph (4) of the 1945 Constitution emphasizes that the protection, promotion, enforcement, and fulfillment of human rights are the obligations of the state, especially the government. This provision is not facultative, but rather a constitutional obligation that must be fulfilled under any circumstances, including when the state faces security threats or conflict situations (Mujiburohman, 2017)

The Indonesian Constitution places the right to life, the right to be free from torture, the right to be free from inhuman treatment, and the right to be recognized as a subject of law as *non-derogable rights* (Zulfikar, Mulyadi, & Muhamad, 2023) In the context of Papua, the situation of armed conflict does not provide room for the state to ignore these rights. Any use of armed force must follow the principles of constitutional law, especially constitutional supremacy, respect for fundamental rights, and limitations on power based on law.

Law No. 39 of 1999 concerning Human Rights provides a more detailed normative strengthening of the basic rights of citizens, including the right to security, the right to education, the right to health, and the right to protection from violence (Simamora et al., 2025) Law Number 26 of 2000 concerning the Human Rights Court emphasizes that the state is obliged to take action against gross human rights violations in a firm, transparent, and accountable manner (Musaddad et al., 2024) This norm creates an active *obligation (positive obligation)* for the state to prevent, investigate, and take action against any alleged human rights violations, including those that occur in security operations in Papua (Suryono, 2022)

At the international level, Indonesia as a state party to the 1949 Geneva Convention is bound by international humanitarian law standards (Katjong & Yanuaria, 2024) Although Additional Protocol II of 1977 has not been ratified, its main principles have become customary international law binding on all countries, including Indonesia. Four main principles of humanitarian law must be applied in non-international conflicts, namely:

1. The Principle of Distinction.
2. The Principle of Proportionality.
3. The Principle of Necessity.
4. Precautions).

Thus, every security operation in Papua is required to meet two legal standards simultaneously: Indonesian constitutional standards and international humanitarian law standards (Mujiburohman, 2017).

Dynamics of Armed Conflict in Papua in the Era of the Prabowo Government

The armed conflict in Papua showed an increase in intensity at the beginning of Prabowo Subianto's administration. The increase can be seen from the increasing number of security operations, the deployment of troops to the Central Highlands region, and the increase in gun contact between state apparatus and armed groups.

Areas such as Intan Jaya, Yahukimo, and Papua Pegunungan are the main locations of operations. The deployment of large numbers of officers and the use of heavy weapons around

residential areas created conditions that worsened the humanitarian situation. Mass displacement occurred in various areas due to public fear of the intensity of gunfire and pursuit operations (Andatu & Mediatati, 2025).

Another impact that arises is the cessation of social activities of the community. Schools cannot operate because teachers and students are displaced. The health center stopped providing health services due to medical personnel leaving the location. Logistical access is hampered and many residents have lost their source of livelihood because they are afraid to return to their gardens (Wasiati, 2022).

All of these conditions put civilians in a very vulnerable position. The state should ensure that any security operation does not undermine or even eliminate the basic rights of civilians.

Table 1. The Gap between Norms and Implementation of Human Rights Protection in Papua

Protection Aspects	Normative Standards	Field Reality
Right to life	Absolutely protected	Civilian casualties due to crossfire
The right to feel secure	The state is obliged to guarantee	Mass displacement
Use of force	Must be proportionate	Use of weapons in residential areas
Education	Can't stop	Schools are closed
Health	Must be available	Healthcare facilities stop
Distinction	Civilians must not be attacked	Civilian areas are the location of operations
Accountability	Mandatory investigation	Reports are not acted upon

Source: Author's analysis based on legal norms and field condition reports

Disharmony of Security Policy and the Principle of the Rule of Law

Disharmony can be seen from several main aspects in the implementation of security operations in Papua. First, the use of force does not reflect the principle of proportionality. Reports related to the use of weapons around settlements indicate that operational standards have not yet strictly regulated restrictions. Second, the absence of integrated operational guidelines causes security units to have different interpretations regarding field actions. This inconsistency creates legal uncertainty. Third, the accountability mechanism has not been effective. Alleged human rights violations are not publicly investigated or do not result in legal proceedings. The lack of transparency reduces public trust in law enforcement agencies. Fourth, vulnerable groups; children, women, and the elderly, have not been the center of attention in security operations. Even though international humanitarian law requires special protection for vulnerable groups. Fifth, the greater impact of the operation on indigenous Papuans raises constitutional issues related to the principle of equality before the law (Irfan et al., 2024).

Evaluation of Security Policy Alignment with Legal Standards

The assessment of the alignment of security policies in the Prabowo era was carried out based on three legal standards: the constitution, national law, and international humanitarian law.

Table 2. Evaluation of Papua's Security Policy Alignment

Parameter	Legal Standards	Actual Condition	Alignment Level
Constitution	Mandatory human rights protection	Civilians severely affected	Low
Human Rights Act	Education and health must not be stopped	Both sectors have come to a halt	Low
Human Rights Court Law	Mandatory investigation	Not done	Not fulfilled
Humanitarian law	Differentiation, proportionality	Affected civilian areas	Low
Governance	Mandatory transparency	Limited information	Not optimal

Source: Author's evaluation based on constitutional law, human rights law, and international humanitarian law standards

The mismatch between norms and policy implementation has a significant impact on state governance. First, the risk of structural human rights violations increases due to weak controls and accountability. Second, the state's legitimacy in the eyes of the Papuan people has decreased due to the impact of operations that are detrimental to civilians. Third, weak law enforcement reduces the authority of the principle of the rule of law. Fourth, Indonesia's reputation in international forums has the potential to be affected by criticism of human rights violations (Hutubessy & Engel, 2019).

Constitutional Alignment as a Model for Security Policy Reform

Constitutional-humanitarian alignment is a policy idea built to integrate constitutional principles (constitutional law) and international humanitarian law into all stages of security operations in Papua. This model not only contains a normative view, but also offers a detailed operational mechanism so that the implementation of security policy does not depend on the discretion of the apparatus or a purely militaristic approach. Thus, constitutional alignment becomes a framework that not only provides principled direction, but also ensures that state actions on the ground are always within the limits of the law (Zahidi & Fuad, 2024).

This idea was born from the need to close the gap that has been emerging between legal norms and policy practices. The Indonesian legal system already provides a powerful tool for the protection of human rights, but these instruments are not fully integrated in security policy design (Syamsir, 2022). As a result, operational actions on the ground often ignore or do not prioritize the protection of civilians (Simamora et al., 2025) Constitutional alignment seeks to build a bridge between the two domains through a systematic, multi-tiered mechanism that can be implemented by state institutions directly.

General Structure of the Novelty Mechanism

The model of constitutional alignment is built through four main stages: (1) harmonization of norms; (2) regulatory transformation; (3) procedural integration; and (4) tiered supervision.

These four stages do not stand alone, but form a chain of mechanisms that work from the policy planning stage to the operational evaluation stage. This chain ensures that the security approach is inseparable from constitutional principles, as well as preventing the abuse of authority. This mechanism is *closed-loop*, meaning that each stage influences each other and generates government feedback for policy improvements (Simamora et al., 2025)

To explain the mechanism of novelty in a structured way, the following table is compiled as an overview of the overall framework.

Table 3. Framework of Constitutional Alignment Mechanism

Mechanism Stage	Key Focus	Processes Involved	Operational Output
Harmonization of Norms	Unification of constitutional principles and humanitarian law	Normative analysis, standardization	Unified legal framework
Regulatory Transformation	Elaboration of norms to operational policies	Preparation of regulations, SOPs, guidelines	Operational legal instructions
Procedural Integration	Implementation of norms in action on the ground	Training, simulation, risk mapping	Civil protection protocols
Tiered Supervision	Control, evaluation, and accountability	Internal–external supervision	Reports, corrections, investigations

Source: Author's proposed conceptual framework for constitutional-humanitarian alignment

Norm Harmonization Stage

Harmonization of norms is the first stage in the alignment mechanism. At this stage, all constitutional norms, human rights law, international humanitarian law, and other implementing regulations are collected and compiled in one unified legal framework. This stage is not purely administrative, but is a conceptual process that demands an in-depth analysis of the relationships between norms, potential overlaps, and legal vacancies that can give rise to different interpretations in the field.

For example, the principle of distinction in humanitarian law must be harmonized with the right to life as an inalienable right in the constitution. This alignment resulted in the operational principle that the use of force should be based on accurate identification of combatant and civilian positions. Harmonization also includes the integration of the principles of non-discrimination, child protection, and state obligations in the investigation of human rights violations (Ismail, 2023)

The main output of this stage is in the form of an integrated legal framework that forms the basis of all operational policies. With a unified legal framework, there is no gray area that allows the authorities to carry out excessive justification.

Regulatory Transformation Stage

The regulatory transformation stage is a stage to translate the integrated legal framework into operational instructions that are technical in nature. Internal regulations such as SOPs, operating documents, tactical guidelines, and the code of ethics of the apparatus must adopt norms that have been harmonized. This transformation ensures that legal principles do not stop at the abstract level, but are structured in regulations that become a direct reference for the implementation of security operations (Syamsir, 2022).

At this stage, the mechanism of novelty lies in the instructional *embedding approach*, that is, the insertion of constitutional principles and humanitarian law in operational instruction. For example, each operating order must include normative references, contain limitations on the use of force, and explain the legal consequences of the violation.

With this mechanism, there is no longer any room for the authorities to claim the "absence of guidelines", since every operational document has explicitly integrated legal principles.

Procedural Integration Stage

Procedural integration is the most crucial stage because it is at the meeting point between norms and field actions (Katjong & Yanuaria, 2024). At this stage, the constitutional alignment model is translated into the Civil Protection Protocol, which is a pre-operational document that becomes mandatory guidance before military or police action is taken.

The protocol includes mapping the civilian population, the determination of safe zones, the identification of vulnerable groups, geographic risk analysis, evacuation procedures, emergency communication procedures, and restrictions on the use of force. Thus, the security apparatus cannot begin operations without clear procedures for the protection of civilians.

To clarify the mechanism of this stage, here is the table.

Table 4. Procedural Integration Mechanism

Procedural Components	Contents of the Mechanism	Function
Civil Mapping	Identification of population, vital locations, service facilities	Defining safe and sensitive areas
Risk Analysis	Geographical evaluation, potential victims, exit routes	Reduce potential civil losses
Safe Zone	Designation of territories without armed operations	Protecting vulnerable groups
Limitation of Strength	Prohibition of the use of certain weapons in civilian areas	Maintaining proportionality
Humanitarian Coordination	Communication with medical, school, logistics	Ensuring the continuity of public services
Operation Simulation	Test scenarios before surgery	Validation of civil protection readiness

Source: Author's design of operational protocols based on integrated legal principles

Tiered Supervision Stage

Tiered supervision is the most significant element of novelty because it creates an integrated control system that does not depend on just one institution. This mechanism works in three layers:

1. Internal supervision of the unit.
2. Legal-constitutional oversight by state agencies.
3. Public oversight through open reports.

What makes this mechanism new is not only the supervision structure, but also the design of the mutual locking system. This means that one layer cannot close the findings of another layer. If internal oversight does not follow up, an independent agency takes over. If an independent agency does not publish the results, public transparency forces the report to be opened.

This system makes impunity even more difficult because there are no loopholes to cover up violations. This oversight also ensures that policy recommendations from violation reports are actually implemented in SOP revisions, training improvements, or evaluation of apparatus

actions. To see how these mechanisms work as an integrated system, the following table describes the relationships between the stages in more detail.

Table 5. Constitutional Alignment Novelty System

Phase	Input	Process	Output	Impact
Normative Harmonization	Constitutional norms & IHL	Standardization of principles	Unified legal framework	Elimination of norm conflicts
Regulatory Transformation	Unified legal framework	Preparation of operational instructions	New SOPs and guidelines	Operational legal certainty
Procedural Integration	SOP & guide	Mapping, risk analysis	Civil protection protocols	Pre-operative civil protection
Tiered Supervision	Field data	Audit, investigation	Policy reports & corrections	Accountability & improvement

Source: Author's construction illustrating the integrated novelty mechanism

The Impact of Newness in Strengthening the Rule of Law

This mechanism of novelty strengthens the principle of the rule of law in several aspects. First, the state of law requires that power be exercised based on law. With the mechanism of harmonization and regulatory transformation, the actions of the apparatus no longer depend on personal interpretation, but on instructions bound by constitutional norms. Second, this mechanism prevents excessive actions that often arise in conflict situations. With civil protection protocols in place, the risk of civilian casualties can be significantly reduced. Third, the tiered supervision system creates public trust because the evaluation and accountability process is no longer closed (Zahidi & Fuad, 2024). Fourth, this new mechanism makes Indonesia's security policy more compatible with international standards, thereby strengthening the country's legitimacy in the global context.

The novelty of this research lies in the integration of constitutional and humanitarian legal mechanisms that have been treated as separate legal regimes. Previous literature has tended to place constitutional law in the realm of political civil rights protection, while humanitarian law is seen as the domain of military operations (Katjong & Yanuaria, 2024). This research brings the two together into one operational policy system. Thus, this novelty is not only at the theoretical level, but also in the design of policy mechanisms that ensure consistency between the constitutional mandate and security practices.

CONCLUSION

This research reveals that security policies in Papua during the Prabowo Subianto era were not fully aligned with constitutional obligations and international humanitarian law principles, despite the state's legitimate authority to maintain territorial integrity against armed groups. On the ground, this misalignment led to mass displacement, disrupted access to education and health services, and widespread civilian harm, underscoring a serious gap between legal norms and field implementation. The disharmony also undermined state legitimacy and governance through lacking transparency, weak accountability, and absent human rights-compliant operational guidelines, thereby heightening risks of structural violations. The study proposes a constitutional alignment model for security policy reform to

better protect civilians and ensure consistency with binding legal obligations. For future research, empirical studies could evaluate the practical implementation of this model through field observations and stakeholder interviews in ongoing Papua operations.

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