

## **TERRITORIAL OPERATION STRENGTHENING STRATEGY OF KODAM XVII/CENDERAWASIH IN SUPPORTING CONTEMPORARY TOTAL WAR: A SWOT STUDY ON HR, INFRASTRUCTURE, AND GEODEMOGRAPHICS OF PAPUA**

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### **Abstract**

*National defence faces increasingly multidimensional and hybrid threats that extend beyond conventional conflict. Papua's difficult geography, development disparities, demographic dynamics, and security challenges require Kodam XVII/Cenderawasih to strengthen adaptive and integrated territorial operations. This study analyses the strategic condition of Kodam XVII/Cenderawasih territorial operations based on human resources, infrastructure, and Papua's geodemographic characteristics and formulates strategies for strengthening them. This study employs a qualitative descriptive approach using semi-structured interviews, observation, and document analysis. Data were analysed using SWOT by identifying Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats, followed by IFAS and EFAS matrices to determine the strategic position and formulate strategic alternatives. The calculation produced a Strengths score of 1.73 and a Weaknesses score of 0.83, resulting in an internal coordinate of +0.90. Externally, Opportunities scored 1.73 and Threats 0.83, producing an external coordinate of +0.90. The SWOT coordinate of (+0.90; +0.90) places the strategy in Quadrant I, indicating a dominant Strengths–Opportunities (SO) strategy. Five strategies were identified: strengthening multidimensional territorial human-resource competencies; integrating defence infrastructure with regional connectivity; developing a geodemographic information system; strengthening TNI–government–community synergy; and developing an adaptive territorial operations model based on technology and community resilience. Territorial-operation strengthening should leverage Kodam XVII/Cenderawasih's internal strengths to maximise external opportunities through integration. Implementation should be phased through personnel competency development, improved connectivity, data integration, stronger cross-sectoral coordination, and periodic evaluation based on territorial-readiness indicators. The strategy is directed towards developing predictive, data-driven, responsive, and community-resilience-oriented territorial defence capability for addressing threats.*

**Keywords:** *Territorial Operations; Kodam XVII/Cenderawasih; Contemporary Defence; SWOT; Papua*

## Abstract

Pertahanan negara menghadapi perubahan ancaman yang semakin multidimensional, hibrida, dan tidak terbatas pada konflik konvensional. Kondisi Papua, dengan karakter geografis yang sulit, disparitas pembangunan, dinamika demografi, serta tantangan keamanan, menuntut penguatan operasi teritorial Kodam XVII/Cenderawasih yang adaptif dan terintegrasi. Penelitian ini bertujuan menganalisis kondisi strategis operasi teritorial Kodam XVII/Cenderawasih berdasarkan sumber daya manusia, infrastruktur, dan geodemografi Papua serta merumuskan strategi penguatannya. Penelitian menggunakan pendekatan deskriptif kualitatif melalui wawancara semi-terstruktur, observasi, dan analisis dokumen. Data dianalisis menggunakan SWOT melalui identifikasi faktor Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, dan Threats, kemudian disusun dalam matriks IFAS dan EFAS untuk menentukan posisi strategis dan alternatif strategi. Hasil perhitungan menunjukkan skor Strengths sebesar 1,73 dan Weaknesses sebesar 0,83 sehingga koordinat internal mencapai +0,90. Pada faktor eksternal, Opportunities memperoleh skor 1,73 dan Threats 0,83 sehingga koordinat eksternal mencapai +0,90. Koordinat SWOT sebesar (+0,90; +0,90) menempatkan strategi pada Kuadran I, sehingga strategi dominan adalah Strengths–Opportunities (SO). Lima strategi yang dihasilkan meliputi penguatan kompetensi multidimensi sumber daya manusia teritorial, integrasi infrastruktur pertahanan dengan konektivitas wilayah, pengembangan sistem informasi geodemografi, penguatan sinergi TNI–pemerintah–masyarakat, serta pembangunan model operasi teritorial adaptif berbasis teknologi dan ketahanan masyarakat. Penguatan operasi teritorial perlu memanfaatkan kekuatan internal Kodam XVII/Cenderawasih untuk mengoptimalkan peluang eksternal secara terpadu. Implementasi strategi perlu dilakukan bertahap melalui pengembangan kompetensi personel, peningkatan konektivitas, integrasi data, penguatan koordinasi lintas sektor, dan evaluasi berkala berbasis indikator kesiapan wilayah. Strategi diarahkan untuk membangun kemampuan pertahanan wilayah yang prediktif, berbasis data, responsif, dan berorientasi pada ketahanan masyarakat dalam menghadapi ancaman.

**Kata kunci:** Operasi Teritorial; Kodam XVII/Cenderawasih; Pertahanan Kontemporer; SWOT; Papua

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## INTRODUCTION

National defence in the contemporary era faces increasingly complex, multidimensional, and evolving threats that do not necessarily take the form of conventional military attacks. Law No. 3 of 2002 on National Defence establishes national defence as an effort to safeguard national sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the safety of the nation against various forms of threats (Republic of Indonesia, 2002). As threats evolve, they may simultaneously emerge across military, political, economic, social, informational, cyber, and human-security dimensions. Consequently, modern defence cannot rely solely on combat power, but requires an integrated defence capability encompassing the organisation, human resources, processes, technology, and social

environment. Contemporary defence literature emphasises that defence capability should be understood as a systemic construct that integrates organisational capacity, human resources, processes, technology, and the operational environment (Andersson et al., 2023). Moreover, hybrid warfare increasingly exhibits characteristics of totality because military, economic, informational, political, and cyber instruments may be employed simultaneously, whilst civilian populations and critical infrastructure may also become targets (Berndtsson et al., 2023).

These developments are highly relevant to the concept of *contemporary total war*, which in this study is understood not merely as large-scale conventional warfare, but as a form of conflict that integrates multiple instruments of national power and transforms territory, society, information, infrastructure, and human resources into interconnected components of the defence environment. A *whole-of-society* approach has consequently become increasingly important, as hybrid threats cannot be effectively addressed by military institutions acting in isolation (Clingendael Institute, 2023). Within the Indonesian context, territorial operations therefore have a strategic role because they connect military preparedness with the social, geographical, demographic, and developmental characteristics of the region. The Indonesian Army's territorial development function is also directed towards preparing the territory and its supporting resources at an early stage within the framework of the Universal Defence System (*Sistem Pertahanan Semesta*) (TNI AD, n.d.).

The strategic importance of this approach is particularly evident in Papua. Papua constitutes a strategically important region in eastern Indonesia, characterised by challenging geographical conditions, extensive mountainous and forested areas, remote settlements, and a land border with Papua New Guinea. These geographical characteristics create significant challenges for personnel mobility, logistical distribution, communications, territorial surveillance, and rapid operational response. The Government of Papua Province reported that approximately 60.79% of Papua's morphology consists of mountainous terrain, whilst 39.20% comprises lowland areas. Furthermore, approximately 43.3% of the territory has very steep slopes exceeding 40% (Government of Papua Province, 2024). These characteristics demonstrate that Papua's geography is not merely an operational setting; rather, it constitutes a strategic variable that directly influences the effectiveness of territorial operations.

**Table 1. Strategic Facts Concerning Papua**

| Dimension                | Data/Facts | Defence Implications                                                                    |
|--------------------------|------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Mountainous morphology   | 60.79%     | Increases the complexity of troop mobility and logistical distribution                  |
| Very steep slopes (>40%) | 43.3%      | Restricts ground access and requires terrain-adaptive capabilities                      |
| Papua HDI, 2024          | 73.83      | Indicates improvements in human development, although disparities remain across regions |

| Dimension                 | Data/Facts                                                               | Defence Implications                                                     |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Papua Highlands HDI, 2024 | 54.43                                                                    | Indicates substantial disparities in human development                   |
| Conflict and violence     | 2023–2024 among the most violent years recorded in ACLED's Papua dataset | Requires stronger early-warning and territorial operational capabilities |

*Source: Government of Papua Province (2024); BPS-Statistics Indonesia, Papua Province (2024); BPS-Statistics Indonesia, Papua Highlands Province (2024); ACLED (2025).*

The social and demographic dimensions are equally significant. BPS-Statistics Indonesia reported that the Human Development Index (HDI) of Papua Province reached 73.83 in 2024, increasing from 73.23 in 2023, whereas the HDI of Papua Highlands Province stood at only 54.43 (BPS-Statistics Indonesia, Papua Province, 2024; BPS-Statistics Indonesia, Papua Highlands Province, 2024). This substantial difference reflects disparities in human development capacity across regions. From a territorial operations perspective, disparities in education, health, economic opportunities, access to information technology, and connectivity may affect the state's ability to strengthen social resilience, establish effective communication with local communities, and conduct early detection of potential security disturbances.

These challenges intersect with the actual security dynamics in Papua. ACLED reported that 2023 and 2024 were among the most violent years in Papua since its Indonesia dataset began recording conflict in 2015. In May 2025 alone, 29 clashes between the TPNPB and security forces were recorded, representing a substantial increase from six clashes in the preceding month (ACLED, 2025). Conflict has also expanded into new geographical areas rather than remaining concentrated in traditional conflict locations. ACLED reported that since 2021, clashes have occurred in more than 20 new locations across Papua (ACLED, 2022). These data indicate that the threat environment in Papua has a dynamic spatial character and therefore requires territorial operations capable of continuously identifying and responding to changes in the operational environment.

Within this context, Kodam XVII/Cenderawasih occupies a strategic position as the Indonesian Army's regional command responsible for supporting defence preparedness in Papua. Its territorial command structure is required not only to conduct security operations, but also to undertake territorial development, strengthen defence-area resilience, establish cooperation with regional governments, and foster close relations between the Indonesian military and local communities. In 2026, the Commander of Kodam XVII/Cenderawasih stated that the establishment of a new territorial command in Central Papua was necessary to shorten the chain of command because of the extensive operational area and the complexity of security challenges (ANTARA, 2026). This development indicates that command span, personnel capacity, and infrastructure support remain important strategic issues in the effective management of Papua's territory.

The current condition (*Das Sein*) reveals three principal problems. First, in terms of human resources, the nature of contemporary threats and Papua's demanding terrain require personnel who possess not only military competencies, but also expertise in territorial operations, social communication, local cultural understanding, territorial intelligence, technological literacy, and adaptation to challenging environments. Second, in terms of infrastructure, limited connectivity and difficult terrain create obstacles to the deployment of personnel, logistical distribution, communications, and rapid responses to security disturbances. Third, in terms of geodemographics, variations in social conditions, disparities in human development, population distribution, and the geographical characteristics of mountainous and remote areas create the need for differentiated territorial approaches across Papua.

Conversely, the desired condition (*Das Sollen*) requires territorial operations to become adaptive, data-driven, responsive to changes in the threat environment, and capable of integrating human resources, defence infrastructure, and geodemographic characteristics within a coherent strategic framework. Territorial operations should not merely focus on responding after security disturbances occur, but should emphasise early warning, prevention, defence-area empowerment, community resilience, and sustained preparedness. This approach is consistent with the development of comprehensive defence concepts that position society as an essential component of national resilience and deterrence against contemporary threats (Andersson et al., 2023; Berndtsson et al., 2023).

Accordingly, a research gap exists between the demands of contemporary defence, which increasingly require *whole-of-society* and adaptive territorial operations, and the realities of Papua, which are characterised by complex human-resource conditions, infrastructure limitations, and distinctive geodemographic characteristics. There remains a need for research that simultaneously examines these three dimensions as an integrated basis for formulating a strategy to strengthen the territorial operations of Kodam XVII/Cenderawasih. Therefore, the study entitled “Territorial Operation Strengthening Strategy of Kodam XVII/Cenderawasih in Supporting Contemporary Total War: A SWOT Study on Human Resources, Infrastructure, and Geodemographics of Papua” is important for identifying strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats and for formulating a more adaptive territorial-operation strategy in response to the evolving threat environment and the distinctive characteristics of Papua.

## **RESEARCH METHODS**

This study employs a qualitative descriptive approach using SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats) analysis as the principal analytical tool. Qualitative descriptive research is intended to provide a comprehensive and straightforward account of a phenomenon based closely on empirical data, participants' experiences, and the actual conditions observed in the field (Sandelowski, 2000). This approach is appropriate because the study seeks to describe and understand the current condition of territorial operations of Kodam XVII/Cenderawasih, particularly in relation

to human resources, defence infrastructure, and Papua's geodemographic characteristics, rather than statistically testing causal relationships.

SWOT analysis is employed to systematically identify internal and external strategic factors affecting territorial operations. Internal factors consist of strengths and weaknesses, particularly concerning personnel capacity, organisational capability, infrastructure availability, and territorial operational readiness. External factors consist of opportunities and threats, including geographical conditions, demographic dynamics, socio-political developments, technological changes, and the contemporary security environment. SWOT is suitable because it provides a structured framework for translating qualitative findings into strategic alternatives and is widely recognised as a situation-analysis technique for strategic planning (Gürel & Tat, 2017).

Data will be collected through semi-structured interviews, observation, and document analysis. Informants will be selected purposively based on their knowledge, authority, and direct involvement in territorial operations and regional security. The proposed institutions to be interviewed include Kodam XVII/Cenderawasih, Korem/satuan kewilayahan under Kodam XVII/Cenderawasih, Polda Papua, Pemerintah Provinsi Papua, Bappeda Provinsi Papua, and relevant national defence and security institutions operating in Papua. Where access and research permissions are granted, additional perspectives may be obtained from Bakamla, BNPP, and relevant local government agencies.

The qualitative data will subsequently be coded and categorised into internal and external strategic factors. These factors will then be organised into the IFAS and EFAS matrices, followed by the SWOT matrix to formulate SO, WO, ST, and WT strategies. This analytical process is expected to produce a context-specific strategy for strengthening territorial operations of Kodam XVII/Cenderawasih in supporting contemporary total war.

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

### **Discussion**

#### **1. Overview of the Strategic Analysis Results**

The findings indicate that strengthening the territorial operations of Kodam XVII/Cenderawasih needs to be understood within the context of Papua's highly complex geographical, demographic, social, and security environment. Territorial operations can no longer be viewed merely as routine territorial development activities, but should be positioned as a strategic instrument for strengthening territorial preparedness, enhancing relations between security institutions and local communities, improving early-warning capabilities, and supporting national resilience in responding to contemporary threats. In confronting hybrid threats, defence capability increasingly depends on the ability of the state to integrate security institutions, infrastructure, government agencies, and society in a coordinated manner (Bajarūnas, 2020). This is particularly relevant to Papua, where challenging geographical conditions, uneven development, and conflict dynamics mean

that territorial control depends not only on the presence of military forces, but also on the state's ability to establish connectivity and strengthen social resilience.

The research findings were subsequently classified into four SWOT dimensions: Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats. Internal factors comprise human-resource capacity, experience of territorial units, command structures, territorial development capabilities, and relationships with local stakeholders. Weaknesses include limited specialised personnel competencies, uneven infrastructure, mobility constraints, and inadequate integration of geodemographic information. External opportunities include infrastructure development in Papua, advances in information technology, support from central and regional governments, and opportunities for enhanced cross-sectoral cooperation. Meanwhile, threats include armed conflict dynamics, challenging terrain, isolation of certain communities, the spread of information that may influence public perceptions, and changing patterns of security threats.

This approach is consistent with Pugu et al. (2020), who demonstrate that infrastructure development in Papua's border areas is closely connected to human security and the state's capacity to address illegal cross-border activities. Infrastructure development is therefore not merely a matter of economic development, but also has strategic implications for the state's capacity to govern and secure its territory.

## 2. IFAS and EFAS Calculations

Based on the identified strategic factors, weighting was conducted with a total weight of 1.00 for internal factors and 1.00 for external factors. Ratings were assigned on a scale of 1–4, with higher ratings indicating stronger organisational capacity to respond to the relevant factor.

**Table 1. IFAS Matrix for Strengthening Territorial Operations**

| <b>Internal Factors</b>                                       | <b>Weight</b> | <b>Rating</b> | <b>Score</b> |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|
| <b>Strengths</b>                                              |               |               |              |
| Experience and capacity of territorial units                  | 0.12          | 4             | 0.48         |
| Command structure and territorial-unit network                | 0.11          | 4             | 0.44         |
| Territorial development and social communication capabilities | 0.10          | 3             | 0.30         |
| Experience in dealing with Papua's operational terrain        | 0.09          | 3             | 0.27         |
| Relations with government and local communities               | 0.08          | 3             | 0.24         |
| <b>Total Strengths</b>                                        | <b>0.50</b>   |               | <b>1.73</b>  |
| <b>Weaknesses</b>                                             |               |               |              |
| Limited specialised personnel competencies                    | 0.12          | 2             | 0.24         |
| Uneven infrastructure and connectivity                        | 0.11          | 2             | 0.22         |
| Mobility constraints in hard-to-reach areas                   | 0.10          | 2             | 0.20         |
| Suboptimal integration of geodemographic data                 | 0.09          | 1             | 0.09         |
| Limited information-technology support                        | 0.08          | 1             | 0.08         |
| <b>Total Weaknesses</b>                                       | <b>0.50</b>   |               | <b>0.83</b>  |

|                   |             |             |
|-------------------|-------------|-------------|
| <b>Total IFAS</b> | <b>1.00</b> | <b>2.56</b> |
|-------------------|-------------|-------------|

The results in Table 1 indicate that the *Strengths* score is **1.73**, whereas the *Weaknesses* score is **0.83**. Therefore, the internal strategic coordinate is:

$$X = \text{Strengths} - \text{Weaknesses} = 1.73 - 0.83 = +0.90$$

The positive value demonstrates that Kodam XVII/Cenderawasih's internal strengths are greater than its weaknesses. Although challenges remain in personnel, infrastructure, and technology, the organisation possesses substantial internal assets that can be leveraged to strengthen territorial operations.

**Table 2. EFAS Matrix for Strengthening Territorial Operations**

| External Factors                                           | Weight      | Rating | Score       |
|------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|--------|-------------|
| <b>Opportunities</b>                                       |             |        |             |
| Government support for infrastructure development in Papua | 0.12        | 4      | 0.48        |
| Advances in information and communication technology       | 0.11        | 4      | 0.44        |
| Support from central and regional governments              | 0.10        | 3      | 0.30        |
| Strengthening cross-sectoral coordination                  | 0.09        | 3      | 0.27        |
| Increasing attention to territorial resilience             | 0.08        | 3      | 0.24        |
| <b>Total Opportunities</b>                                 | <b>0.50</b> |        | <b>1.73</b> |
| <b>Threats</b>                                             |             |        |             |
| Armed-conflict dynamics                                    | 0.12        | 2      | 0.24        |
| Extreme geographical conditions                            | 0.11        | 2      | 0.22        |
| Isolation of certain areas and communities                 | 0.10        | 2      | 0.20        |
| Changing threat and information patterns                   | 0.09        | 1      | 0.09        |
| Potential cross-border security disturbances               | 0.08        | 1      | 0.08        |
| <b>Total Threats</b>                                       | <b>0.50</b> |        | <b>0.83</b> |
| <b>Total EFAS</b>                                          | <b>1.00</b> |        | <b>2.56</b> |

The *Opportunities* score is **1.73**, while the *Threats* score is **0.83**. Therefore:

$$Y = \text{Opportunities} - \text{Threats} = 1.73 - 0.83 = +0.90$$

The SWOT coordinates are consequently (+0.90; +0.90).

### 3. Strategic Position: Quadrant I – SO Strategy



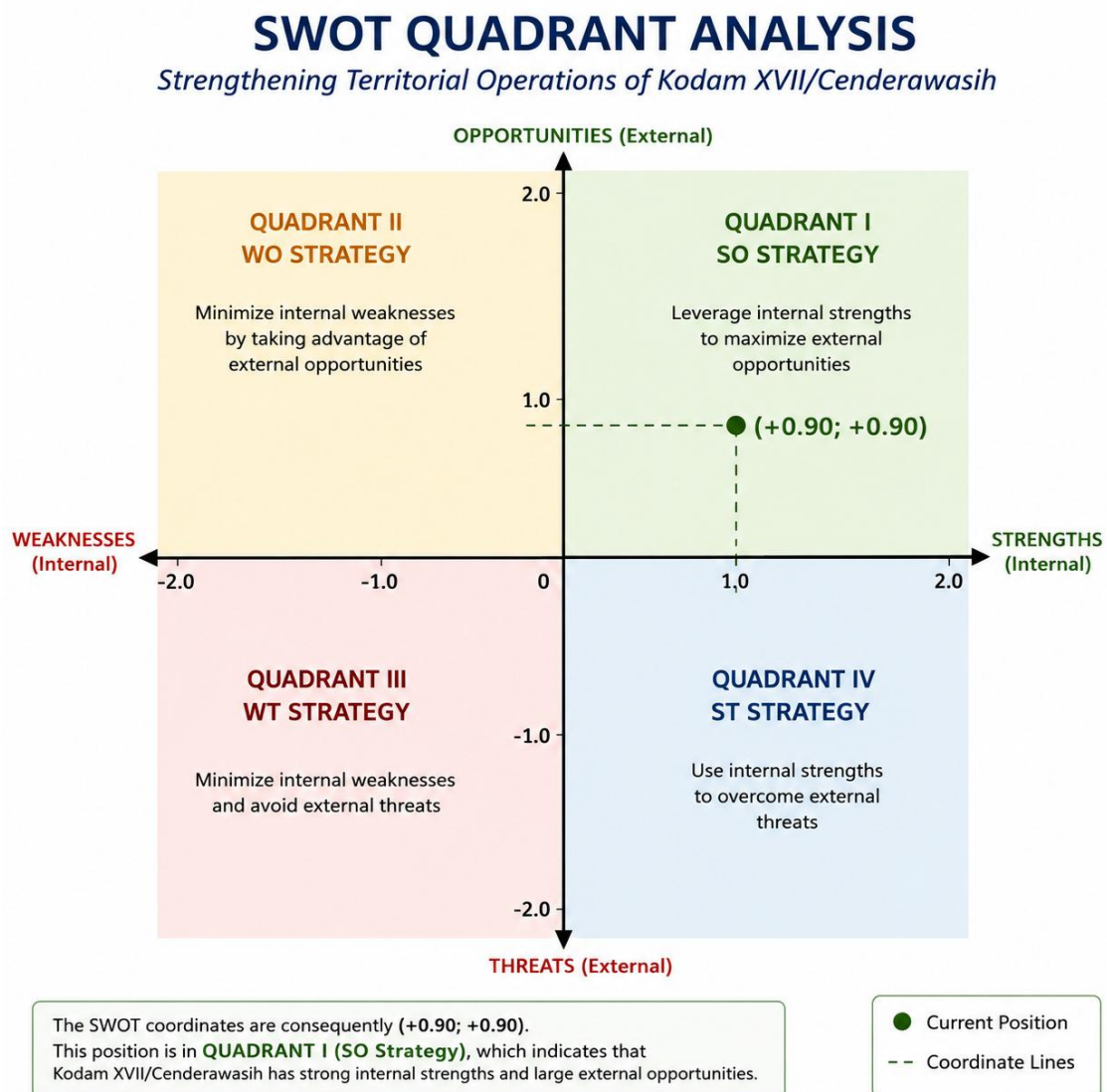


Figure 1 SWOT Quadran  
Source : Data Diolah peneliti, 2026

The coordinates **(+0.90; +0.90)** place the strengthening of Kodam XVII/Cenderawasih's territorial operations in Quadrant I, indicating a situation in which the organisation possesses relatively strong internal capabilities while simultaneously facing substantial external opportunities. The appropriate strategic orientation is therefore an SO (*Strengths–Opportunities*) strategy, namely, utilising internal strengths to maximise available external opportunities.

This finding is important because it indicates that territorial-operation challenges should not be addressed solely through a defensive approach or by concentrating exclusively on internal deficiencies. Instead, existing organisational strengths should be used as strategic leverage to capitalise on technological developments, infrastructure programmes, government support, and opportunities for cross-sectoral collaboration.

SWOT analysis should be understood as an instrument for connecting internal and external factors to formulate strategic alternatives. Lohrke et al. (2022) explain that SWOT can support strategic formulation, although it should be applied critically to ensure that the complexity of strategic problems is not excessively reduced into simple categories. Accordingly, the SWOT results in this study should not be regarded as the final decision-making mechanism, but rather as a foundation for formulating strategic priorities for strengthening territorial operations.

#### 4. SO Strategy 1: Strengthening Territorial Human Resources through Multidimensional Competencies

The first SO strategy is to optimise the experience and capabilities of territorial personnel to develop human resources capable of addressing the characteristics of contemporary threats in Papua. The strengths represented by the experience of territorial units and their understanding of the operational environment should be combined with opportunities for technological development, institutional support, and increasing demand for adaptive defence capabilities.

Territorial personnel require more than basic military competencies. They need capabilities in social communication, local cultural understanding, social mapping, digital literacy, information analysis, geodemographic assessment, and coordination with regional governments and communities. This is important because contemporary threats increasingly operate across multiple domains. Bajarūnas (2020) argues that hybrid threats are dynamic, requiring governments and societies to continuously develop their resilience and capacity to respond to changing threat patterns.

In Papua, this strategy could be implemented through competency-based territorial training integrating military training with social and territorial knowledge. Training modules could include community engagement, conflict analysis, social mapping, strategic communication, media literacy, information technology, and geographical analysis. Such an approach would develop personnel who are not only capable of responding to security disturbances but are also able to function as a bridge between defence interests and community needs.

This strategy would also address the weakness associated with limited specialised competencies. By leveraging existing operational experience and external opportunities for capacity development, Kodam XVII/Cenderawasih can build more adaptive territorial human capital. The experience of individual personnel would consequently be transformed into organisational capability through systematic training, knowledge documentation, lessons learned, and continuous professional development.

#### 5. SO Strategy 2: Integrating Defence Infrastructure with Regional Connectivity Infrastructure

The second SO strategy is to utilise the existing territorial command network to optimise the development and utilisation of Papua's strategic infrastructure and connectivity. Infrastructure in this context includes transportation, communications, energy, operational-support facilities, and digital infrastructure.

Papua's geographical conditions give infrastructure a strategic value that extends beyond development. Pugu et al. (2020) demonstrate that infrastructure development in Papua's border areas is closely related to human security, economic activity, and efforts to address illegal cross-border trade. Consequently, regional connectivity can simultaneously strengthen state presence and improve the capacity to respond to security disturbances.

The SO strategy should therefore focus on synchronising territorial operational requirements with government development programmes. Kodam XVII/Cenderawasih needs to establish a strategic infrastructure-needs map based on regional risk priorities. Areas characterised by limited accessibility, high security risks, or strategic border locations could receive priority in infrastructure development.

Strengthening communication infrastructure is equally important. Adequate communication networks enable territorial units to improve the speed of information exchange and coordination. In the context of hybrid threats, protecting digital and communication infrastructure forms an important component of societal and national resilience (Scherer et al., 2024).

This strategy does not imply that infrastructure development should become the responsibility of the military alone. Rather, Kodam can act as a strategic actor that identifies defence requirements and integrates them with national and regional development planning. This approach can facilitate the development of dual-use infrastructure, namely infrastructure that supports civilian needs during peacetime while simultaneously strengthening defence preparedness during crises.

#### 6. SO Strategy 3: Developing a Geodemographic Information System for Territorial Operations

The third SO strategy is to develop a geodemographic information system as a basis for territorial operational decision-making. This strategy combines the strength of the territorial command network with opportunities created by advances in information technology to address the weakness of fragmented territorial data.

Geodemographics should not be limited to population statistics. It should encompass population distribution, social characteristics, accessibility, public facilities, economic conditions, mobility patterns, geographical conditions, infrastructure, and security-risk indicators. Integrating these datasets would produce a more comprehensive territorial picture.

Data-driven approaches have become increasingly important because hybrid threats may exploit vulnerabilities within communities and infrastructure. Research on hybrid threats indicates that resilience requires the identification of vulnerabilities in communities, critical infrastructure, communication systems, and social networks in an integrated manner (Bajarūnas, 2020).

Kodam XVII/Cenderawasih could develop a territorial geodemographic dashboard integrating spatial and non-spatial information. Such a system could support the identification of priority areas, accessibility mapping, population profiling, and territorial development planning.

Geodemographic information would also enable more precise territorial strategies. A uniform approach across Papua may not be effective because different regions possess different social and geographical characteristics. A geodemographic approach would therefore facilitate differentiated strategies for urban, inland, mountainous, coastal, and border areas.

Ultimately, this strategy would shift territorial operations from an approach dominated by experience towards evidence-based territorial operations. Decisions would not rely solely on commanders' perceptions or periodic reports, but would be supported by regularly updated territorial data.

#### 7. SO Strategy 4: Strengthening TNI–Government–Community Synergy for Territorial Resilience

The fourth SO strategy is to use the strengths of the territorial network to expand cooperation among the Indonesian Defence Forces, regional governments, security institutions, public-service agencies, and local communities. This strategy reflects the development of the *whole-of-society defence* concept, which positions defence as a shared responsibility involving multiple state and societal actors.

The *whole-of-society* approach is increasingly relevant because contemporary threats exceed the capacity of any single institution. Gomez Arrocha et al. (2026) argue that national resilience against complex threats requires integration among government, society, the private sector, and social infrastructure. In Papua, this approach can be translated into stronger coordination among Kodam XVII/Cenderawasih, provincial and regency governments, the Indonesian National Police, border-management authorities, Bappeda, community leaders, religious leaders, and civil-society organisations.

Kodam's strength lies in its territorial command network and its proximity to local communities. This network constitutes important social capital for establishing effective communication and coordination. Nevertheless, such relationships should be developed through participatory and trust-based approaches.

Enhanced synergy can be implemented through territorial coordination forums, joint crisis-response exercises, information exchange, joint vulnerability mapping, and community empowerment programmes. This approach positions communities as active components of territorial resilience rather than merely recipients of security policies.

Territorial operations can therefore evolve towards networked territorial resilience. Kodam continues to perform its defence functions in accordance with its mandate, while regional governments and communities strengthen the social, developmental, and public-service dimensions of resilience. Such integration can enhance the state's ability to prevent threat escalation while strengthening public trust and state presence throughout Papua.

#### 8. SO Strategy 5: Developing an Adaptive Territorial Operations Model Based on Technology and Community Resilience

The fifth SO strategy is to develop an adaptive territorial operations model integrating human resources, infrastructure, technology, geodemographics, and

community resilience. This strategy represents a synthesis of the previous strategies and constitutes the overarching direction emerging from the SWOT analysis.

An adaptive model is necessary because contemporary threats are not static. Threats may evolve from conventional security disturbances into disinformation, social infiltration, communication disruption, localised conflict, or combinations of several forms of threat. Research on communities and civil defence demonstrates that society constitutes an important component of resilience against hybrid threats because contemporary threats may target social cohesion and public trust (Holshek, 2025).

In practical terms, the adaptive territorial operations model can be constructed around four interconnected dimensions. First, people, involving the development of personnel competencies and community networks. Second, infrastructure, involving improved connectivity and operational-support facilities. Third, information, involving the integration of geodemographic and territorial information. Fourth, coordination, involving stronger inter-agency cooperation.

This model would enable Kodam XVII/Cenderawasih to move from a reactive territorial operation approach towards an adaptive territorial operation approach. Operations would not begin only after threats emerge, but would be preceded by strategic-environment monitoring, vulnerability identification, community-capacity development, and enhanced unit preparedness.

The model also provides a basis for continuous evaluation. Each region could be assessed using indicators such as human-resource readiness, infrastructure accessibility, quality of geodemographic data, inter-agency coordination, and response capability. Evaluation results could subsequently be used to revise territorial strategies periodically.

Overall, SO Strategy 5 represents an integrative approach because it connects Kodam's internal strengths with available external opportunities. It therefore strengthens not only military capabilities but also the broader resilience of the territorial environment.

#### 9. Strategic Synthesis of the Findings

Based on the IFAS and EFAS results, the coordinates (+0.90; +0.90) place the strengthening of Kodam XVII/Cenderawasih's territorial operations in Quadrant I, indicating that the dominant strategic orientation should be SO (*Strengths–Opportunities*). The finding demonstrates that Kodam possesses internal assets that can be further developed to capitalise on external opportunities.

Five principal strategies are therefore identified: (1) strengthening territorial human resources through multidimensional competencies; (2) integrating defence infrastructure with regional connectivity infrastructure; (3) developing a geodemographic information system; (4) strengthening TNI–government–community synergy; and (5) developing an adaptive territorial operations model based on technology and community resilience.

These five strategies demonstrate that strengthening territorial operations cannot be achieved through isolated improvements in personnel or infrastructure. Instead, it requires the development of an integrated territorial defence ecosystem encompassing human resources, technology, infrastructure, data, geography, demography, and society.

This approach is consistent with contemporary defence thinking, which increasingly emphasises cross-sectoral resilience and societal participation in addressing multidimensional threats (Mazurkiewicz, 2026).

The strategic contribution of this study therefore lies in shifting the perspective from territorial operations as routine territorial activities towards territorial operations as an adaptive defence capability. In the context of Papua, territorial operations should be developed to become more predictive, integrated, data-driven, and oriented towards community resilience, enabling Kodam XVII/Cenderawasih to contribute more effectively to Indonesia's national defence system in responding to the characteristics of *contemporary total war*.

## CONCLUSION

The study concludes that strengthening the territorial operations of Kodam XVII/Cenderawasih is necessary to respond to Papua's complex contemporary defence environment. The IFAS calculation produced a Strengths score of 1.73 and a Weaknesses score of 0.83, resulting in an internal coordinate of +0.90. The EFAS calculation produced an Opportunities score of 1.73 and a Threats score of 0.83, resulting in an external coordinate of +0.90. Therefore, the SWOT coordinate of (+0.90; +0.90) places Kodam XVII/Cenderawasih in Quadrant I, indicating that internal strengths and external opportunities are dominant. The appropriate strategic orientation is consequently Strengths–Opportunities (SO).

Five strategies were identified. First, territorial personnel should develop multidimensional competencies covering military, social, cultural, technological, and geodemographic capabilities. Second, defence infrastructure should be integrated with connectivity to improve mobility, communications, logistics, and state presence. Third, geodemographic information should be integrated into territorial planning and decision-making. Fourth, cooperation among the TNI, government, communities, and other stakeholders should be strengthened to build territorial resilience. Fifth, these elements should be integrated into an adaptive territorial operations model that is predictive, data-driven, technology-enabled, and responsive to local conditions.

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