

POLICY BRIEF SERIES ON ADAPTIVE SOCIAL PROTECTION FOR INDIGENOUS PAPUANS

RESEARCH TEAM

Nila Warda

Asep Kurniawan

Dyan Widyaningsih

Sylvia Andriyani

Dimitri Swasthika Nurshadrina

SUMMARY

Twenty years after the implementation of the Special Autonomy Law (UU Otsus) No. 21 of 2001, Papua and West Papua remain the two provinces with the highest poverty rates and the lowest human development indices in Indonesia. Despite the affirmative policies mandated by UU Otsus for indigenous Papuans (OAP), disparities persist between OAP and non-OAP communities in various dimensions. This makes OAP the most vulnerable group facing the covariate shocks of the COVID-19 pandemic since 2020 and the ongoing conflicts. In this context, the role of social protection becomes crucial to enhance the resilience of OAP and prevent further vulnerability and marginalization.

The SMERU Research Institute, with support from the Kurawal Foundation, conducted a study to investigate gaps in existing social protection measures addressing the needs of OAP, using the adaptive social protection (ASP) framework. The study combined quantitative approach, involving secondary data processing, and qualitative approach based on primary data collection in Kabupaten (District of) Jayawijaya of Papua and Kabupaten Sorong of West Papua in October–November 2022.

The study identified various efforts to address OAP vulnerability undertaken by actors from different sectors, including the central government, provincial and *kabupaten* governments in the Papua region, as well as nongovernmental actors. However, the coverage of social assistance and social security schemes from the central government in the Papua region, especially in conflict-prone *kabupaten*, is significantly lower than the average coverage of similar schemes in other regions. Moreover, although OAP are more vulnerable than non-OAP, the coverage of both social assistance and social security for both communities is not substantially different. On the one hand, the lack of integration between social assistance-social security schemes and empowerment programs prevents OAP from improving their capacities and livelihoods. On the other hand, available empowerment programs tend to overlook the specific characteristics of OAP as a customary law community (MHA), thus failing to develop the livelihoods of OAP. Specifically, in the context of internally displaced persons (IDPs) who are victims of conflict in the Papua region, the existing social protection system is still unresponsive to the needs of OAP as IDPs and is not adaptive to their specific situations. This results in a low fulfilment of basic needs for OAP in their displaced locations.

Based on these study findings, we have formulated a series of five policy briefs on adaptive social protection for OAP. The first policy brief presents recommendations for four key features in the design of ASP for OAP, providing an overview of the other four policy briefs. Two of these four policy briefs focus on transformative livelihood development schemes for OAP, each directed towards the central government and local governments. Meanwhile, the remaining two policy briefs emphasize the optimization of handling IDPs to be executed by both the central government (the fourth policy brief) and local governments (the fifth policy brief).

¹ These findings are based on 2021 Statistics Indonesia (BPS) data before the division of the Papua region into six provinces.

² Covariate shocks are shocks affecting large numbers of people and/or communities at once.



Photo: Jefri Manase Mobalen

BUILDING RESILIENCE OF INDIGENOUS PAPUANS THROUGH ADAPTIVE SOCIAL PROTECTION

Nila Warda, Asep Kurniawan

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Indigenous Papuans (OAP) are the most vulnerable group in facing covariate shocks¹, especially due to the ongoing conflict in the Papua region. To build the long-term resilience of OAP, it is imperative to enhance collaboration among stakeholders and multisectoral synergy to implement comprehensive social protection within the framework of adaptive social protection (ASP). The central government and local governments can refer to the Master Plan for the Acceleration of Development for Papua (RIPPP) as a shared guideline. This policy brief recommends four key features in the design of ASP for OAP as part of the efforts to implement RIPPP, which are

- prioritizing programs from local governments to fill the gaps in protective and preventive social protection schemes from the central government,
- enhancing the adaptive capacity of OAP by integrating protective-preventive social protection schemes with the promotive schemes,
- transforming the livelihoods of OAP² using an incremental approach³, and
- protecting OAP who have become internally displaced persons (IDPs) due to conflicts in the Papua region through social protection that is responsive to the needs of IDPs.

¹ Covariate shocks are shocks affecting large numbers of people and/or communities at once.

² targeting the root causes in order to create a systemic change in society, at least at the community level

³ progressing gradually in a steady step-by-step process

BACKGROUND

Law No. 21 of 2001 on Special Autonomy (UU Otsus of 2001) has mandated affirmative policies for OAP. However, disparities between OAP and non-OAP communities are still evident in various dimensions, one of which is reflected in poverty indicators. In 2012, in West Papua, the poverty rate among OAP was 51.7%, while the poverty rate of non-OAP was 12.8%. In Papua, the poverty rate among OAP was 37.4%, while non-OAP communities were only at 5.3%.⁴ This makes OAP the most at-risk group in facing covariate shocks due to the COVID-19 pandemic since 2020 and the ongoing conflict (Devereux, 2016). Amid this situation, the role of social protection becomes crucial to strengthen the resilience of OAP and prevent them from becoming more vulnerable and marginalized.

Efforts to build the long-term resilience of OAP cannot be carried out through a single program alone. The central government needs to coordinate between ministries and institutions, as well as with local governments, to synergize various programs towards a common goal. In this regard, RIRPP, as part of the extension of Law on Special Autonomy No. 2 of 2021 (UU Otsus of 2021), can serve as a shared reference. RIRPP is then divided into phases over five-year periods, with the details outlined in the Action Plan for the Acceleration of Development for Papua (RAPPP).

Collaboration among stakeholders and synergy between programs to build the resilience of OAP can be achieved within the framework of ASP. In this framework, social protection goes beyond protective functions, through social assistance, and preventive functions, through social security. Social protection even includes promotive functions to enhance the capacity of OAP and expand sources of income, as well as transformative functions to address injustice. Given the broad scope of ASP, a strong commitment from the government is needed, from planning and implementation to evaluation.

The government has already demonstrated commitment to implementing ASP by incorporating it into the National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN) 2020–2024. The government is also prioritizing social transformation and placing ASP as its foundation, which will be reflected in the National Long-Term Development Plan (RPJPN) 2025–2045 and RPJMN 2025–2029. In the effort to implement RIRPP and RAPPP, the design and implementation of ASP need to be tailored to the context of OAP. Thus, the social protection scheme is expected to be responsive to various shocks currently occurring in the Papua region and adaptive to the risks and characteristics of OAP as a customary law community (MHA). This policy brief recommends four key features in the design of ASP for OAP.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Recommendation 1: Prioritize programs from the local governments to fill the gaps in protective and preventive social protection schemes from the central government.

The local governments need to initiate regional social assistance and social security programs to cover OAP classified as poor and vulnerable, who are not included in the central government's programs. This includes programs to realize the three development priorities in RIRPP, namely, Papua Sehat (Healthy Papua), Papua Pintar (Smart Papua), and Papua Produktif (Productive Papua). The protective and preventive social protection scheme plays a role as a buffer to prevent the worsening of vulnerability due to shock risks. However, the coverage of social assistance and social security schemes by the central government in the Papua region is much lower than the average in other areas, specifically 14.66% compared to 21.31%.⁵ Meanwhile, even though OAP is more vulnerable than non-OAP communities, the coverage of social assistance and social security between the two groups is not significantly different.⁶ To ensure that local government programs can effectively fill the gaps in central government programs, the local governments need to use the same database as the one used by the central government and supplement it with disaggregated data for OAP, in accordance with the mandate of RIRPP.

Recommendation 2: Enhance the adaptive capacity of OAP by integrating protective-preventive social protection schemes with the promotive schemes.

The government needs to link the functions of social protection by ensuring that OAP who are the recipients of social assistance programs (protective function) and social security programs (preventive function) are also included in empowerment programs for livelihood development (promotive function). The promotive social protection scheme plays a role in increasing the income sources of OAP, enabling them to have adaptive capacity in times of shocks. With the integration of social protection functions, efforts for the livelihood development of OAP will be optimal, as household expenditures are already alleviated through social assistance and social security programs. Currently, several ministries have implemented various empowerment programs targeting OAP, although not specifically designated for them. However, recipients of these programs may not necessarily access social assistance and social security programs. Not only is this due to the low coverage of social assistance and social security programs, but also due to the lack of systematic efforts to ensure connectivity between the programs. Therefore, the database for the implementation of social assistance, social security, and empowerment programs should also be integrated.

⁴ Calculated from the 2012 Indonesia Family Life Survey-East (IFLS-East). There is no newer data available to analyze the differences in poverty rates between OAP and non-OAP communities.

⁵ This figure was calculated from the 2021 National Socioeconomic Survey (Susenas) based on the number of beneficiaries of Noncash Food Assistance (BPNT)/Rice for Prosperous Families (Rastra), Family of Hope (PKH), Prosperous Family Card (KKS), Smart Indonesia Program (PIP), Social Assistance (Bansos) for Older Population and People with Disability programs. The figure was divided by the number of the bottom 40% according to the criteria of each program, and then averaged across programs.

⁶ The average access to PKH, Rastra, Indonesia Health Card (KIS), Smart Indonesia Card (KIP), and Cash Transfer for Poor Students (BSM) in West Papua is 10% for OAP and 13% for non-OAP communities (Village Administration and Information System/SAIK+ 2022). Meanwhile, the average in Papua is 6.7% for OAP and 5% for non-OAP communities (Information System of Papuans/SIO Papua 2022).

Recommendation 3: Transform the livelihoods of OAP using an incremental approach.

As a strategy to achieve Productive Papua, empowerment programs in the Papua region, whether initiated by the central government or local governments, need to prioritize OAP and be designed according to their characteristics. As MHA, OAP do not view nature as an economic commodity, but as a livelihood source that needs to be preserved and sustainably utilized collectively. Therefore, empowerment programs should be based on the kinship relationships prevalent in the local community and on the common livelihoods they engage in on a daily basis. Thus, the direction of empowerment is not to introduce new livelihood sources, but to enhance the productivity of existing livelihood sources.

The empowerment process also needs to be carried out incrementally in accordance with the stages of development in the livelihoods of OAP. To identify these stages, a participatory approach, as mandated in RIPPP, needs to be implemented, especially at the community level. Some best practices in the empowerment process of OAP, both by the government and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), indicate that a participatory approach accompanied by continuous mentoring can enhance the capacity of OAP and expand their sources of income. However, this process must be carried out continuously and cannot be achieved in a short period. To support this process, development targets in the Papua region outlined in RIPPP and RAPP should emphasize the equal distribution of achievements among its communities to ensure that economic growth does not exclude marginalized groups. In this regard, the development of small-scale industries with simple technologies is more suitable for the characteristics and stages of development of OAP. Meanwhile, the development of large-scale industries, especially those involving potentially harmful commodities to the local environment, such as extractive industries or palm plantations, needs to be strictly limited.⁷

⁷ See Policy Brief Series on Adaptive Social Protection for Indigenous Papuans No. 2/Dec/2023 and No. 3/Dec/2023.

⁸ Based on calculations from the 2018 Susenas data, there were almost no households in the bottom 40% group in Maybrat, Lanny Jaya, and Nduga accessing PKH. However, better access was observed with the National Health Insurance for Premium Assistance Beneficiaries (JKN-PBI) or BPNT/Rastra (averaging around 78%). Meanwhile, in Intan Jaya, all households in the bottom 40% were not covered by PKH, BPJS PBI, and BPNT/Rastra.

⁹ See Policy Brief Series on Adaptive Social Protection for Indigenous Papuans No. 4/Dec/2023 and No. 5/Dec/2023.

Recommendation 4: Protect OAP who have become IDPs due to conflicts in the Papua region through social protection that is responsive to the needs of IDPs.

With the ongoing conflict in the Papua region, the design of ASP for OAPs needs to specifically consider the vulnerabilities of OAP who have become victims and are forced to flee to other areas in Papua. Although the social disaster resulting from the conflict is also a form of covariate shocks, similar to natural and other non-natural disasters, IDPs as conflict victims in the Papua region face unique vulnerabilities. The conflicts in the Papua region does not occur between communities, but between armed criminal groups (KKB) and armed forces. In addition to creating regulatory reference ambiguities in handling victims, this also complicates the process of delivering basic needs assistance to IDPs. The difficulty in delivering aids is also due to the fact that IDPs are scattered in the homes of local residents, although they remain in groups.

To ensure that social protection instruments can be responsive to the needs of IDPs, especially in areas at risk of conflicts, such as Kabupaten Nduga, Maybrat, Intan Jaya, and Lanny Jaya, the government, especially local governments, needs to expand the coverage of social assistance and social security programs. The access of poor communities to social assistance and social security programs in these areas tends to be lower compared to the provincial averages, both in Papua and West Papua provinces.⁸ With equal access to social assistance and social security, the government will find it easier to modify the social protection scheme when conflicts arise, forcing people to flee to other areas. Moreover, it is also necessary to modify the mechanism of program distribution. Considering the traumatic experiences of IDPs due to armed clashes between KKB and armed forces, the distribution of social assistance in the form of goods should minimize the involvement of the Indonesian National Armed Forces/Police (TNI/Polri), as is commonly done in handling victims of natural disasters. By specifically considering the safety of victims, social protection programs can effectively prevent the worsening of IDP's vulnerabilities, hence gradually strengthening their resilience amid the conflicts that occur.⁹ ■

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Jl. Cikini Raya No. 10A,
Jakarta 10330 Indonesia

6221-3193 6336

6221-3193 0850

smeru@smeru.or.id

smeru.or.id

[@SMERUInstitute](https://www.facebook.com/SMERUInstitute)

The SMERU Research Institute

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The SMERU
Research Institute

Translator: Mohammad
Gabriell Firdausy Erfan

Design: Novita Maizir
Layout: Heru Sutapa

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Photo: Jeffri Manase Mobale

PROMOTING TRANSFORMATIVE LIVELIHOOD DEVELOPMENT FOR INDIGENOUS PAPUANS

Dyan Widyaningsih, Nila Warda

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Indigenous Papuans (OAP) experience higher poverty rates and lower life achievements compared to non-OAP community members. The central government is striving to improve the livelihoods of OAP through social assistance, social security, and empowerment programs. However, this study finds that these efforts have not been optimal in enhancing the adaptive capacity and well-being of OAP. This policy brief proposes several recommendations to enhance the development of OAP livelihoods by optimizing existing empowerment programs, specifically by

- refining the design and implementation of empowerment programs through a contextual cultural approach,
- prioritizing local individuals in the recruitment of program facilitators at the village level, and
- ensuring that OAP participants in empowerment programs also receive protective and preventive measures in the form of assistance and social security.

BACKGROUND

The Papua region was among the priority areas for addressing extreme poverty in 2022.¹ When comparing OAP and non-OAP communities in the Papua region, the poverty rate of OAP is three to seven times higher than that of non-OAP communities. OAP also have lower life achievements than non-OAP communities: (i) food insecurity and prevalence of stunting is higher among OAP, (ii) the percentage of OAP giving birth in health facilities is two to three times lower, (iii) more than 70% of OAP are not attending school or have only completed primary education, and (iv) OAP employment is still predominantly in the primary sector with low added value.² The low livelihood achievements of OAP are exacerbated by their vulnerability to natural and social disasters, including non-natural shocks due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

In addition to providing social assistance and social security, the central government is making efforts to improve the livelihoods of OAP through empowerment programs, such as the Remote Indigenous Community Empowerment Program (PKAT) from the Ministry of Social Affairs and the Integrated Village Transformation Program (TEKAD) from the Ministry of Villages, Development of Disadvantaged Regions, and Transmigration. Within the framework of adaptive social protection (ASP), these programs are already categorized as promotive. Both programs aim to enhance the capacity and expand the income sources of local communities. However, this study finds that these efforts have not provided significant leverage for the development of OAP livelihoods because the programs are not specifically designed for OAP. This results in (i) the lack of specificity towards OAP and not fully addressing OAP within the poor population; (ii) being less contextual with the characteristics of OAP; and (iii) the lack of direction to enhance the adaptive capacity of OAP. Existing empowerment programs are also not always accompanied by structured support mechanisms at the village or community level. This policy brief recommends transformative livelihood development strategies for OAP, that is to enable existing empowerment

programs to be more responsive to the characteristics of OAP and capable of enhancing their adaptive capacity.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Recommendation 1: Refine the design and implementation of empowerment programs through a contextual cultural approach.

Effective social protection for indigenous communities should be designed by integrating two aspects: respect for their cultural integrity and efforts to support their livelihoods and income-generation activities (ILO, 2018). Therefore, efforts to develop transformative livelihood programs for OAP need to be carried out through an approach that is culturally appropriate with their context. This can be achieved by:

a) Emphasizing the incremental³ progress toward the program's success (rather than just acceleration)

The incremental design and implementation of programs increase the potential for program success, thereby enhancing the confidence and morale of OAP.

b) Relying on community and kinship relationships

This can minimize the risk of conflicts and enhance collaboration among OAP, potentially increasing the success of the program.

c) Leveraging local potential

This needs to be done through participatory identification to improve the sustainability of business commodities in the empowerment activities.

d) Using the appropriate and simple technology

The intended technology should be (i) appropriate with the needs, culture, and business commodities of OAP, and (ii) operable independently by OAP. This will not only enhance the capacity of OAP, but also help them adapt to changes to become more economically empowered.



Photo: Jeffri Manase Mobalen

¹ Out of 212 *kabupaten* (districts)//*kota* (cities) that were prioritized for extreme poverty reduction in 2022, 12 *kabupaten/kota* were in West Papua, and 27 *kabupaten/kota* were in Papua (TNP2K, 2022).

² calculated from the 2012 IFLS East and 2010 Population Census

³ progressing gradually in a steady step-by-step process

Recommendation 2: Prioritize local individuals in the recruitment of program facilitators at the village level.

To support the design and implementation of empowerment programs that are appropriate with the context of OAP, facilitators are needed up to the village level, with a recruitment mechanism that applies a cultural approach. Hence, the recruitment of program facilitators should prioritize local OAP or non-OAP community members who can communicate in the same language as the accompanied OAP, understand the customs and mindset of OAP, recognize available local potentials, and possess technical skills related to the livelihood sector being developed. This can boost the motivation of accompanied OAP, increase their confidence and convenience, and minimize the risk of conflicts, therefore potentially increasing the success of the program. Additionally, this can encourage investments in human resources that support the resilience of OAP, both as individuals and as a community.

Recommendation 3: Ensure that OAP participants in empowerment programs also receive protective and preventive measures in the form of assistance and social security.

Referring to the ASP framework, efforts to develop the livelihoods of OAP should be implemented comprehensively. In other words, these efforts should encompass protective programs to help OAP sustain themselves, preventive programs to avoid the worsening of OAP vulnerabilities, as well as promotive and transformative programs to develop their livelihoods. To this end, empowerment program managers should foster collaboration with ministries/institutions and local governments to ensure that OAP targeted by the program also receive protective and preventive social protection programs. This can be achieved through the following measures:

a) The OAP targeted by empowerment programs must be registered in the integrated database used by the government as a reference for the implementation of social protection programs and poverty reduction programs. According to Law No. 13 of 2011⁴, integrated

data⁵ serves as a basis for the government to provide assistance and/or empowerment (Article 11).

b) The OAP targeted by empowerment programs must have identification documents as a prerequisite to be proposed for inclusion in the integrated database and to become recipients of protective and preventive social protection programs.

According to Circular of the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) No. 11 of 2020⁶, the data of population identification number (NIK) of social assistance recipients must match the population data at the Population and Civil Registration Agency. Program implementers/facilitators at the region level must be encouraged to proactively facilitate the creation and harmonization of population documents, especially for OAP identified as participants in empowerment programs. This will not only increase the opportunities for OAP to access various social protections that support their basic needs, but also encourage empowerment programs, such as PKAT and TEKAD, to become transformative protection programs. ■

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⁴ on the Handling of the Poor

⁵ Based on Regulation of the Minister for Social Affairs No. 5 of 2019 on the Integrated Social Welfare Data Management, integrated data in Indonesia is the Integrated Social Welfare Data (DTKS) managed by the Ministry of Social Affairs.

⁶ on the Use of Integrated Social Welfare Data (DTKS) and Non-DTKS Data in Providing Social Assistance to the Community



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Jl. Cikini Raya No. 10A,
Jakarta 10330 Indonesia

6221-3193 6336

6221-3193 0850

smeru@smeru.or.id

smeru.or.id

@SMERUInstitute

The SMERU Research Institute

@smeru.institute

The SMERU
Research Institute

Translator: Mohammad
Gabiell Firdausy Erfan

Design: Novita Maizir
Layout: Heru Sutapa

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Photo: Jeffri Manase Mobalen

DEVELOPING THE LIVELIHOODS OF INDIGENOUS PAPUANS THROUGH LOCAL GOVERNMENTS' TRANSFORMATIVE PROGRAMS

Dyan Widyaningsih, Asep Kurniawan, Nila Warda

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Indigenous Papuans (OAP) have higher poverty rates and lower livelihood achievements compared to non-OAP community members. However, a study conducted by SMERU has found that government efforts to develop the livelihoods of OAP have not been optimal in enhancing their basic capabilities and well-being. This policy brief recommends efforts to develop OAP livelihoods through optimizing the role of local governments by

- a) supplementing regional protectionist regulations on the protection of OAP livelihoods with transformative livelihood development initiatives,
- b) mapping customary territories that support livelihood development and improve the basic capacity of OAP, and
- c) harmonizing the OAP population data to facilitate their access to social protection programs.

BACKGROUND

The poverty rate of OAP is three to seven times higher than that of non-OAP community members in the Papua region. OAP also have lower livelihood achievements than non-OAP community members: (i) OAP are more vulnerable to food insecurity and have a higher prevalence of stunting, (ii) the percentage of OAP giving birth in health facilities is two to three times lower, (iii) more than 70% of OAP are either not attending school or have only completed elementary education, and (iv) the OAP employment sector is still predominantly in the primary sector with low value-added.¹ The low livelihood achievements of OAP are exacerbated by their vulnerability to natural and social disasters, including non-natural shocks due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

Local governments have made several efforts to address the vulnerability of OAP. Through social protection programs that specifically target the OAP, the Papua Provincial Government has implemented the BANGGA Papua Program in three *kabupaten* (districts). The Papua and West Papua Provincial Governments also implement the PROSPEK/PROSPPEK program for village empowerment. In particular, to protect OAP in the face of economic competition with non-OAP community members, some local governments have enacted regional protectionist regulations, such as (i) Regulation of Kabupaten Jayawijaya No. 1 of 2013² which sets quotas for OAP and non-OAP motorcycle taxi (*ojek*) drivers, and (ii) Regulation of the *Kabupaten* Head of Sorong No. 7 of 2017³ that governs the utilization of marine resources; this regulation of the *kabupaten* head is implemented in the form of division of fishing areas between OAP and non-OAP community members. However, this study finds that these local government efforts have not significantly leveraged the development of OAP livelihoods because they have not been supplemented by efforts to enhance the capacities of OAP, in addition to the weak enforcement of these regional regulations. Therefore, this policy brief recommends several strategies for the local governments to improve the livelihood achievements of OAP.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Recommendation 1: Supplement regional regulations on the protection of OAP livelihoods with transformative livelihood development initiatives.

Local governments need to be more responsive and innovative in initiating transformative regional programs for the development of OAP livelihoods. In line with the mandate of Law No. 2 of 2021⁴, reiterated in Government Regulation No. 106 of 2021⁵, the government must prioritize OAP in economic activities and employment opportunities.⁶ In this regard, the steps taken by local governments to enact regulations protecting OAP from business competition with non-OAP community members align with both regulations. However, without capacity building and efforts to develop OAP livelihoods, these regulations that restrict business competition cannot bring significant improvements to the livelihoods of OAP, especially when their enforcement is weak.

Local governments have the opportunity to design and implement transformative regional livelihood programs with existing regulations, such as Government Regulation No. 106 of 2021, Presidential Regulation No. 24 of 2023⁷, and Regulation of the Minister for Home Affairs No. 77 of 2020⁸. These three regulations empower local governments to implement community empowerment programs for sustainable development of OAP livelihoods, in addition to granting them the authority to plan regional social assistance and social security programs.

In designing transformative livelihood development programs, local governments need to integrate empowerment activities with the fulfilment of basic needs—contextual to OAP—by, among other things, (i) emphasizing the incremental⁹ progress toward the program's success (rather than just acceleration), (ii) relying on community and kinship relationships, (iii) leveraging local potential and using the appropriate and simple technology, and (iv)



¹ calculated from the 2021 IFLS East dan 2010 Population Census

² on Motorcycle Taxi Control

³ on Customary Law and Local Wisdom in the Management and Protection of Marine Resources in Malaumkarta Village of Makbon District of Kabupaten Sorong

⁴ on the Second Amendment to Law No. 21 of 2001 on Special Autonomy for Papua Province

⁵ on the Authority and Implementation Institutions of Special Autonomy Policy for Papua Province

⁶ Article 38 of Law No. 2 of 2021 and Article 20 and 22 of Government Regulation No. 106 of 2021

⁷ on the 2022–2041 Master Plan for the Acceleration of Development for Papua

⁸ on Technical Guidelines for Regional Financial Management

⁹ progressing gradually in a steady step-by-step process

prioritizing local community members in recruiting program facilitators.¹⁰ These efforts will enhance the capacity of OAP and help them adapt to changes, hence achieving the goal of developing OAP livelihoods.

Recommendation 2: Map customary territories that support livelihood development and improve the basic capacity of OAP.

The mapping of customary territories aims to identify the available potential in each customary territory to be developed for the livelihoods of OAP, especially in improving human quality and reducing their lag behind non-OAP community members. The mapped potential includes not only natural and physical resources, but also human and social capital. The Master Plan for the Acceleration of Development for Papua (RIPPP) already includes mapping of potential and resources based on seven customary territories.¹¹ This mapping needs to be conducted to the smallest level in accordance with the implementation region of empowerment programs to ensure that the plans and utilization outcomes do not conflict with local cultural values. Therefore, the mapping process needs to be participatory, involving the customary territories' landowners.

To complement the results of customary territory mapping, *kabupaten/kota* (city) governments should (i) ensure the availability of a regularly-updated disaggregated data system between OAP and non-OAP community members contextual to Papua; (ii) identify the needs and challenges of OAP livelihood development; and (iii) develop minimum service standards contextual to Papua.

Recommendation 3: Harmonize the OAP population data to facilitate their access to social protection programs.

Kabupaten/kota governments need to be more proactive in creating and harmonizing population documents, especially for OAP identified as meeting the criteria for recipients of regional programs. According to Circular of the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) No. 11 of 2020¹², the data of population identification number (NIK) of social assistance recipients must match the population data at the Population

and Civil Registration Agency. Meanwhile, approximately 13% of the population in West Papua Province and 33% of the population in Papua Province are not yet registered with an NIK. These figures are quite significant compared to the national figure, where only 3.5% of the population does not have an NIK.¹³ Without ownership of civil registration documents, the access of OAP to various government programs will be hindered. ■

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¹⁰ Policy Brief Series on Adaptive Social Protection for Indigenous Papuans No. 2/Dec/2023.

¹¹ Presidential Regulation No. 24 of 2023

¹² on the Use of Integrated Social Welfare Data (DTKS) and Non-DTKS Data in Providing Social Assistance to the Community

¹³ calculated from the 2021 Susenas



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Jl. Cikini Raya No. 10A,
Jakarta 10330 Indonesia

6221-3193 6336

6221-3193 0850

smeru@smeru.or.id

smeru.or.id

@SMERUInstitute

The SMERU Research Institute

@smeru.institute

The SMERU
Research Institute

Translator: Mohammad
Gabriell Firdausy Erfan

Design: Novita Maizir
Layout: Heru Sutapa

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OPTIMIZING THE HANDLING OF INTERNAL DISPLACEMENT DUE TO ARMED CONFLICTS IN THE PAPUA REGION

Sylvia Andriyani, Nila Warda

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Several challenges remain in the handling of internal displacement due to armed conflict in the Papua region, such as the internally displaced persons (IDPs) being scattered in various locations and their reluctance to participate in the registration and assistance distribution process that involves armed forces. To optimize the handling of internal displacement in the Papua region, this policy brief recommends several strategies that need to be implemented by the central government:

- developing specific guidelines for the implementation of handling of internal displacement due to armed conflicts in Papua,
- modifying social assistance and social security programs to address the vulnerabilities of the IDPs, and
- optimizing the role of the National Disaster Management Agency (BNPB) to support the Ministry of Social Affairs (Kemensos) in handling internal displacement.

BACKGROUND

The prolonged conflicts between the armed forces and armed criminal groups (KKB) in the Papua region has resulted in social disasters with many casualties, especially the indigenous Papuans (OAP). Based on the data collected by The Commission for the Disappeared and Victims of Violence (KontraS), as of December 2022, the number of IDPs from the conflicts has reached 60,642 people, with 732 reported deaths. They are from Kabupaten (District of) Maybrat, Nduga, Pegunungan Bintang, Intan Jaya, Yahukimo, and Puncak (KontraS, 2023). Some conflict victims in Kabupaten Maybrat have sought refuge in Kabupaten Sorong, whereas those in Kabupaten Nduga have fled to Kabupaten Jayawijaya.

The central government has made efforts to address the internal displacement situation in the Papua region, including providing food assistance and implementing a special social protection scheme through the Adaptive Family of Hope Program (PKH Adaptif). However, this study identifies gaps in the handling of internal displacement in the Papua region that need to be addressed. This is related to the scattered locations of IDPs in other kabupaten, residing in relatives' homes or rental houses, or establishing new homes on the customary land of local tribes. Additionally, the involvement of the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) in the internal displacement handling process is faced with rejection due to the trauma experienced by the IDPs. They perceive TNI as a party involved in the conflicts that forced them to flee their homelands. By prioritizing the IDPs as the main focus, this policy brief recommends three strategies that the central government needs to implement to optimize the handling of internal displacement due to armed conflicts in Papua.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Recommendation 1: Develop specific guidelines for the implementation of handling of internal displacement due to armed conflicts in Papua.

The government needs to formulate guidelines for the implementation of handling of IDPs that specifically addresses the victims of armed conflicts in Papua. This is crucial because there are currently no regulations that can be fully used as a reference for the handling of IDPs resulting from such conflicts. Existing laws, such as Law No. 7 of 2012¹ and Law No. 24 of 2007², are not precisely applicable, as conflicts or social disasters in the Papua region are not limited to conflicts between the community groups.³ Both laws do not cover conflicts involving the TNI/Indonesian Police Forces (Polri) and KKB. Meanwhile, Government Regulation in Lieu of Law No. 23 of 1959⁴ also cannot be implemented without the declaration of a state of emergency in the Papua region (Achmad, 2023).

Nevertheless, by removing the causes and involved parties, the articles regulating internal displacement handling in Law No. 7 of 2012 and Law No. 24 of 2007 can still be used

as references and complemented with regulations for the implementation of handling internal displacement that specifically addresses the victims of armed conflicts in Papua. Besides providing legal certainty, such regulations would serve as a guide for the stakeholders to handle internal displacement in Papua appropriately, both in terms of determining the form of protection programs and mechanisms for program distribution. These implementation guidelines need to address at least two aspects: (i) modifying social assistance and social security programs by Kemensos to address the vulnerabilities of the IDPs, and (ii) optimizing the role of BNPB in supporting Kemensos in handling internal displacement in the Papua region. These implementation guidelines should be supported by rules that strengthen collaboration between the two institutions, ensuring that internal displacement handling proceeds in a synergistic and effective manner.

Recommendation 2: Modify social assistance and social security programs to address the vulnerabilities of the IDPs.

The government needs to modify regular social assistance and social security programs to be more adaptive to the situations and vulnerabilities faced by the conflict victims who have fled to various locations in Papua. Some forms of program modifications that need to be implemented by the central government are as follows:⁵

a) Modifying the National Health Insurance (JKN)

The coverage of the National Health Insurance-Premium Assistance Beneficiaries (JKN-PBI) among the 40% poorest households in several conflict-prone areas in Papua is significant, such as in Kabupaten Maybrat (84%) or Kabupaten Lanny Jaya (56%).⁶ The government needs to ensure that IDPs who are participants in JKN can still access JKN services. This can be done by facilitating IDPs outside their domiciles, especially those in other kabupaten, to change their choice of primary health facilities to the nearest primary health facility from the evacuation location. Although health services during a disaster response should not be guaranteed by the JKN program,⁷ there are still regulatory gaps that can be exploited. Firstly, there has been no declaration of a state of emergency in conflict areas in Papua. Secondly, the health services needed by the IDPs are not directly caused by the conflicts, but rather by other health disruptions, whether pre-existing before the displacement or arising due to the limited sanitation facilities in the evacuation location.

b) Horizontal expansion of the Noncash Food Assistance (BPNT)/Sembako program through adjustment with livelihood assurance programs⁸

While the access of the bottom 40% to the BPNT/Sembako program in conflict-prone *kabupaten* in Papua is relatively substantial, there is still a gap for IDPs not covered by this program.⁹ In this regard, the government can close this gap through the livelihood assurance program by adjusting the amount of assistance and distribution mechanisms.

¹ on the Handling of Social Conflicts

² on Disaster Management

³ According to Law No. 7 of 2012, social conflict is defined as a dispute and/or physical confrontation with violence between two or more social groups that occurs over a certain period and has a broad impact, resulting in insecurity and social disintegration, thereby disrupting national stability and hindering national development. Meanwhile, social disaster, as per Law No. 24 of 2007, is a disaster caused by events or a series of events caused by humans, including social conflicts between groups or communities within society, and terrorism.

⁴ on the Revocation of Law No. 74 of 1957 (State Gazette No. 160 of 1957) and Stipulation of State of Emergency

⁵ See Policy Brief Series on Adaptive Social Protection for Indigenous Papuans No. 5/Dec/2023 for recommendations for local governments to modify social assistance.

⁶ calculated from the 2018 Susenas

⁷ Presidential Regulation No. 82 of 2018 on Health Insurance

⁸ According to Regulation of the Minister for Social Affairs No. 10 of 2020, livelihood assurance is assistance provided to communities/disaster victims in the form of cash for additional food provisions given while residing in temporary or permanent shelters and in emergency conditions, including emergency alert, emergency response, and emergency transition to postdisaster recovery.

⁹ For example, the program coverage is 76% in Maybrat and 70% in Puncak. In other areas, the program coverage is very low, such as in Nduga, which is only 19%.

c) Flexibility in the distribution mechanisms of social assistance, including BPNT/Sembako, Adaptive PKH, and other social assistance

Flexibility is particularly necessary because IDPs often reside outside their domicile for an extended period. In this case, the verification and validation process should allow for discrepancies in the address of residence during displacement compared to the registered address in the program recipient database. Additionally, the cash distribution mechanism needs to be coordinated to take place through distribution points in the area where the IDPs temporarily reside. This way, they can still access social assistance from their evacuation locations.

Modifications to social assistance can be implemented after the government conducts a census of IDPs, allowing identification of their access to existing social assistance. Besides IDP census, the government also needs to ensure regular updates to the social assistance recipient database. Furthermore, the central government needs to expand social assistance coverage in conflict-prone areas. The larger the coverage of social assistance in normal situations and the more flexible the distribution mechanisms in conflict situations, the less need there is for horizontal expansion.

Recommendation 3: Optimize the role of BNPB to support Kemensos in handling internal displacement

In Law No. 24 of 2007, BNPB is tasked with formulating and determining disaster mitigation policies and handling IDPs (Article 20). To support Kemensos in addressing the vulnerabilities of IDPs, BNPB needs to undertake at least two actions: (i) mapping conflict-prone areas in Papua so that Kemensos can use the mapping results for conflict prevention efforts and to enhance the coverage of social assistance and social security; and (ii) formulating technical guidelines for Regional Disaster Management Agencies (BPBD) related to IDP data collection and fulfilment of basic needs;¹⁰ this includes coordination between BPBD in conflict areas and BPBD where IDPs temporarily reside. The IDP data can be utilized by Kemensos to determine appropriate modifications to social assistance. With the optimal roles of BNPB and BPBD, the government can minimize the involvement of TNI in internal displacement. Apart from causing deep trauma for IDPs, the legitimacy of TNI's presence is also questionable because there are no explicit rules establishing the status of conflict or danger in Papua as stated in Law No. 7 of 2012 or Government Regulation in Lieu of Law No. 23 of 1959. As an alternative, Polri can be involved in handling the IDPs to ensure security in the distribution of basic needs by applying humanistic and

dialogical principles as directed by the Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia (Posko Presisi, 2023). This approach has normatively been regulated in Articles 14 and 19 of Law No. 2 of 2002¹¹ which emphasize that the police, in carrying out their duties, must uphold human rights and act in accordance with religious norms, decency, and morality. With such an approach, resistance from the IDPs in the data collection and social assistance distribution process can be avoided. ■

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¹⁰ See Policy Brief Series on Adaptive Social Protection for Indigenous Papuans No. 5/Dec/2023 for the optimization of BPBD's role.

¹¹ on the Indonesian Police Force



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Jl. Cikini Raya No. 10A,
Jakarta 10330 Indonesia

6221-3193 6336

6221-3193 0850

smeru@smeru.or.id

smeru.or.id

@SMERUInstitute

The SMERU Research Institute

@smeru.institute

The SMERU
Research Institute

Translator: Mohammad
Gabiell Firdausy Erfan

Design: Novita Maizir
Layout: Heru Sutapa

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Foto: Pelesma Mabel

EMPHASIZING THE ROLE OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENTS IN ADDRESSING INTERNAL DISPLACEMENT DUE TO ARMED CONFLICTS IN THE PAPUA REGION

Asep Kurniawan, Nila Warda

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Internal displacement due to armed conflict in the Papua region poses various vulnerabilities, stemming from difficulties in meeting basic needs and trauma resulting from armed violence, both by the Indonesian National Armed Forces/Police (TNI/Polri) and the Papuan armed criminal groups (KKB). Several initiatives by the local governments, if optimized, could assist the internally displaced persons (IDPs) in overcoming these vulnerabilities. This policy brief recommends strategies for the local governments, including:

- modifying social protection programs to address the specific needs of the IDPs,
- conducting comprehensive displacement data collection and ensuring regular updates to social protection program target data, and
- optimizing the role of the Regional Disaster Management Agency (BPBD) and multi-actor collaboration in displacement management.

BACKGROUND

Several areas in the Papua region remain characterized by high conflict intensity, with frequent clashes between TNI/Polri and KKB. Civilians, predominantly indigenous Papuans, become victims of these conflicts, leading to displacement as they flee their villages to avoid danger. According to The Commission for the Disappeared and Victims of Violence

(KontraS) records up to December 2022, the number of IDPs reached 60,642, with 732 reported deaths. These individuals hail from at least six *kabupaten* (districts): Pegunungan Bintang, Intan Jaya, Yahukimo, Puncak, Maybrat, and Nduga (KontraS, 2023).

Vulnerabilities Faced by the IDPs

The research team interviewed IDPs from Kabupaten Maybrat in Kabupaten Sorong and those from Kabupaten Nduga in Kabupaten Jayawijaya. The interviews revealed various vulnerabilities, including difficulties accessing basic services due to the lack of identification documents, challenges in securing housing and covering daily expenses due to limited job opportunities, and prolonged trauma from armed violence by both TNI/Polri and KKB. This trauma is manifested in the rejection of TNI/Polri involvement in handling displacement. Maybrat's IDPs in Sorong refused TNI-led data collection, while Nduga's IDPs in Wamena (the capital of Kabupaten Jayawijaya) rejected assistance due to the involvement of TNI/Polri as escort during assistance distribution.

Local Government Efforts in Displacement Management in Papua

Local governments in Papua have made efforts to manage internal displacement. The governments of Kabupaten Maybrat and Kabupaten Nduga provided food assistance and facilitated children's education. However, these efforts were found to be incidental and therefore insufficient to fully address the vulnerabilities of the displaced persons.

The suboptimal management by the local governments is attributed to the lack of specific guidance for handling displacement victims of armed conflict. Existing regulations only govern conflicts between community groups and do not precisely address conflicts involving TNI/Polri and KKB.¹ Despite this, the local governments can play a more significant role in displacement management by prioritizing efforts to address vulnerabilities and incorporating religious and cultural approaches. This policy brief recommends three strategies for the local governments to optimize the management of displacement due to armed conflict in Papua.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Recommendation 1: Modify social protection programs to address the specific needs of the IDPs.

The local governments need to be more responsive to the IDPs' needs by modifying various social protection programs to quickly and accurately respond to those needs. The modifications include—but are not limited to—beneficiary criteria, distribution mechanisms, and the duration and amount of assistance. These adjustments should ensure the fulfilment of the IDPs' needs, preferably until the rehabilitation, reconstruction, and return phases. The study identified local initiatives that, if optimized, would help the displaced persons overcome their vulnerabilities:

- a) Utilize available programs/policies as social assistance programs

This study found an initiative by a village head in Maybrat, who converted the entire Village Fund (DD) into Direct Cash Transfer (BLT) for distribution to IDPs in Sorong. This initiative should be institutionalized through a regional head policy to be replicated by other villages whose residents are also displaced. This policy should be consulted with the relevant ministries, citing reasons why DD cannot be used for village development activities until residents can return.² Besides ensuring displaced persons' BLT receipt from DD, this policy can establish supervision mechanisms to prevent fund mismanagement.

- b) Expand social assistance and social security coverage for IDPs not covered by the existing social protection system

Expansion is crucial to providing protection for IDPs not registered in the existing social assistance and social security programs. The expansion policy can be implemented by increasing the budget to sufficiently meet the needs of distributing social assistance and social security to unregistered displaced persons. The conversion of all DD into BLT, as mentioned earlier, can be a form of expansion if provided to IDPs not covered by existing social assistance and social security.

Another expansion example found in this study is the memorandum of understanding between Kabupaten Nduga and Kabupaten Jayawijaya to ensure free healthcare services for the IDPs in Jayawijaya. This step can be considered an expansion of the National Health Insurance (JKN). In this case, the Government of Kabupaten Nduga allocated a budget of one billion rupiah to finance healthcare for Nduga's IDPs treated at Wamena Hospital. This guarantee was provided to all residents with Nduga IDs without screening whether they were registered in the JKN system (Adisubrata, 2022). However, such cooperation needs to be strengthened through more robust institutionalization, at least in the form of joint regulations between regional heads. With joint regulations, displaced persons' protection efforts will have a strong legal basis and bind all parties involved.



¹ See Policy Brief Series on Adaptive Social Protection for Indigenous Papuans No. 4/Dec/2023 regarding legal gaps in the regulation of armed conflict involving state armed forces.

² Regulations from these ministries change almost every year. The latest regulations referred to in this policy brief are Regulation of the Minister for Villages, Development of Disadvantaged Regions, and Transmigration No. 8 of 2022 on the Priority Use of Village Fund in 2023 (Chapter II letter c No. 9) and Regulation of the Minister for Finance No. 201/PMK.07/2022 on Village Fund Management (Article 36 paragraph 3).

Recommendation 2: Conduct comprehensive displacement data collection and ensure regular updates to social protection program target data.

The *kabupaten/kota* government of the IDPs' origin must promptly conduct data collection and periodically update the data of displaced persons in other *kabupaten/kota*. Displacement data collection should at least include geographical and ethnographic location distribution; population identification number (NIK) ownership and ID presence; and participation in social assistance/social security programs and evidence of the participation. Simultaneously, the *kabupaten/kota* government of the IDPs' origin can issue IDs, including for those who left behind their IDs when they fled.³ ID ownership and presence are crucial as requirements for IDPs to access healthcare services at their displacement location. Moreover, the IDPs' ID can be used to match their data with the integrated data of the social protection program targets managed by the central government. Matched data will open opportunities for displaced persons to access social protection programs from the central government.

Recommendation 3: Optimize the role of BPBD and multi-actor collaboration in displacement management.

Displacement data collection and basic needs assistance distribution will be more effective if local governments emphasize the role of BPBD. There are two reasons for this. Firstly, there is a strong legal basis. Based on Law No. 24 of 2007 on Disaster Management, BPBD's functions include coordinating the planned, integrated, and comprehensive implementation of disaster management, including displacement management (Article 20). Secondly, disaster management already adopts cultural and religious approaches.⁴ With this approach, displacement management aligns with local cultural contexts and is more acceptable to displaced persons. Alongside this, BPBD collaborates with religious institutions and local nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). This study found that churches and humanitarian activists from local NGOs are well-received by IDPs, amidst their trauma toward TNI/

Polri and declining trust in the government. These churches and local NGOs are also ready and prepared to handle displaced persons through their foundations and schools. Religious approaches and work procedures that uphold Papua's culture would be better if institutionalized in regional regulations—Law No. 24 of 2007 allows the realization of this institutionalization.⁵ With this, coordination and collaboration among parties in displacement management can be conducted more systematically. ■

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³ Based on Susenas 2021 data, the ownership of identification documents in the Papua region is still relatively low. Approximately 13% of the population in West Papua Province and 33% of the population in Papua Province are not yet registered with NIK. In the study areas, about 73% of the population in Kabupaten Nduga and 7.8% of the population in Kabupaten Maybrat do not have NIK. On the national level, only 3.5% of the population does not have NIK.

⁴ Referring to the Regulation of the Head of the National Disaster Management Agency No. 17 of 2010 on General Guidelines for the Implementation of Rehabilitation and Reconstruction After Disasters and the Regulation of the Head of the National Disaster Management Agency No. 12 of 2014 on the Participation of Business Institutions in Disaster Management, disaster management is carried out by respecting the social, cultural, and religious backgrounds of the community and using the local social, cultural, and customary approaches.

⁵ Article 25 of Law No. 24 of 2007 states, "Further provisions regarding the formation, functions, duties, organizational structure, and working procedures of regional disaster management agencies are regulated by regional regulations."



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Jl. Cikini Raya No. 10A,
Jakarta 10330 Indonesia

6221-3193 6336

6221-3193 0850

smeru@smeru.or.id

smeru.or.id

@SMERUInstitute

The SMERU Research Institute

@smeru.institute

The SMERU
Research Institute

Translator: Budhi Adrianto

Design: Novita Maizir

Layout: Heru Sutapa

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