

# I am Here

Voices of Papuan Women  
in the Face of Unrelenting Violence



I am Here: Voices of Papuan Women  
in the Face of Unrelenting Violence



## I am Here: Voices of Papuan Women in the Face of Unrelenting Violence

### Edition

First, March 2019

Translated and updated from a report published in Indonesian, “Sa Ada Di Sini: Suara Perempuan Papua Menghadapi Kekerasan yang Tak Kunjung Usai”

### Authors

Galuh Wandita, Selviana Yolanda, Sorang Saragih, Zandra Mambrasar, Magdalena Kafiar, Beatrix Gebze, Paskalena Daby, Tegan Molony

### Translators

Galuh Wandita, Sorang Saragih

### Editor in Indonesian

Dodi Yuniar

### Editors in English

Galuh Wandita, Karen Campbell-Nelson, Tosca Lloyd, Clevyra Wang, Sorang Saragih

### Facilitators and Photographers

Agusta Melani Sorabut, Ani Sipa, Beatrix Gebze, Benny Kosay, Benny Wetipo, Charles Pombos, Cornelius Tuwong, Desi Natalia Daimbia, Elsa Sroyer, Emmanuela Kania Mamonto, Ertina Wetipo, Linda Assem, Magdalena Kafiar, Margaretha Wetipo, Maria Imbiri, Maria Kanden, Maria Kosay, Maria Pabika, Monaliza Upuya, Paskalena Daby, Rosario Baru, Sarce Linda Wambrauw, Selestinus Boi Jupjo, Selviana Yolanda, Sigit D. Pratama, Susana Simbiak, Tineke Krey, Veronika Tri Kanem, Yafet Rolo, Yeta Adelina Wabiser, Yuliana Teraka

### Cover Photo

A woman carries a *noken* (Papuan traditional woven bag) in front of a *honai* (Papuan traditional house) in Wamena.

### Design

Rizkyka Ulfa Saraswati

### Production Manager

Agnes Chen

Published by Asia Justice and Rights (AJAR) in cooperation with *el-Adpper* [Advocacy Institute for Women’s Care], *KPKC Gereja Kristen Injili di Tanah Papua* [Commission on Justice, Peace, and the Integrity of Creation of the Evangelical Christian Church in Papua], *Lembaga Studi dan Advokasi HAM Papua/ELSHAM Papua* [Institute for the Study and Advocacy of Human Rights in Papua], and *Yayasan Humi Inane Wamena* [Foundation for Women’s Voices of Wamena].

Supported by Misereor



Dedicated to Yusan Yeblo (1951-2019), a beacon of light for indigenous women’s rights in Papua, whose dedication spanned five decades. Your wisdom and spirit will be missed; your legacy lives with us.

Dedicated also to Ulrich Dornberg (1957-2019), a friend who shared our dream of a better Indonesia, who walked the talk with us and was undeterred in his empathy for indigenous women in Papua.



# Table of Contents

Chapter 1 – Introduction	7
Chapter 2 – Historical Background	8
Chapter 3 – Research Process and Methodology	12
Chapter 4 – Key Findings	20
Chapter 5 – Lessons in Using Participatory Methods	60
Chapter 6 – Recommendations	66
Annex – Key Information on the Participatory Action Research (PAR) Process	82

# I am Here



## 1. Introduction

“This is me. I am here.” [*Ini saya. Sa ada di sini.*] We chose this as the title of this report because it reflects a key moment in our participatory action research. An indigenous woman from Keerom District, facing the impact of a palm oil plantation on her land, feels empowered by the knowledge she discovered through our joint research. The action research has given the women self-confidence to speak out. “I have learned that what I once felt, I don’t need to feel anymore: that my position was in the back, in the kitchen; the ones in front are the men, because that is the custom here . . . We have been trained to speak out. This is me, I am here.”

Through this research, we have found that Papuan women suffer the impact of continued violence and discrimination, and struggle for the recovery and survival of their families and communities. Despite special protections for indigenous Papuans, including women’s empowerment, provided under Papua’s Special Autonomy status, rapid changes have left many of them far behind. “The President has coddled the menfolk with Special Autonomy funds. They have all run to the cities to get drunk. We women must wear short pants and do everything,” observed a woman from Wamena.

This publication compiles action research conducted from 2013–18 by members of the Papuan Women’s Working Group (PWG), an informal group established as a collaboration between Asia Justice and Rights (AJAR) and five Papuan organisations. The purpose was threefold: 1) to strengthen the voices of women victims of violence; 2) to take steps to counter impunity with practical local action; and 3) to strengthen understanding about the social-economic causes and impact of violence as experienced by indigenous women.

This action research included participatory tools to document the experiences and voices of Papuan women. We created a process for “listening-in” to women who were speaking candidly about their own lives.<sup>1</sup> Key themes were documented and reflected upon by members of the working group and other experts. The PWG, together with *Komnas Perempuan* (the National Commission on Violence against Women), launched a narrative and video report based on the stories of 170 indigenous women, in Bahasa Indonesia at the Papuan Governor’s Office in July 2017. In 2018, we conducted another round of action research involving 79 participants. This report includes the cumulative findings and key themes that emerged from this new round of action research, bringing the total participants to 249.

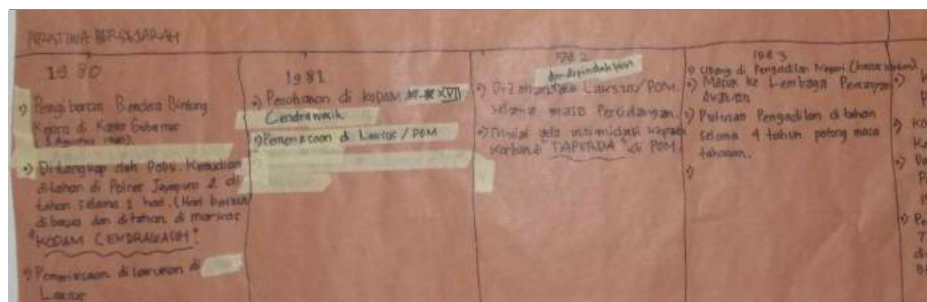
1. Some quotations in this report come from family members and community leaders whose voices were recorded by PAR facilitators during visits to the homes and communities of the 249 women participants.



During the New Order Era, along with Aceh and East Timor, Papua was designated a “military operations zone” where security operations resulted in mass human rights violations.<sup>9</sup> Indonesian military action in Papua gave rise to an armed resistance group in the 1960s known as the Organisation for Papuan Independence (*Organisasi Papua Merdeka*, OPM). Armed conflict continued to flare, fuelled by the presence of transmigrants<sup>10</sup> from other parts of Indonesia, natural resource extraction through mining and logging, and the persistent use of violence by state security forces in the face of dissent.

After the fall of President Suharto, a group of Papuan leaders informed President B. J. Habibie of their continued desire for independence. Recognizing the need to address this sentiment, the Indonesian government made some concessions. Prohibitions on calling the province “Papua” and raising the Morning Star Flag were lifted, and in 2001, a Special Autonomy Law was passed to promote and protect indigenous Papuan interests. The law states that 80% of provincial revenue remains in the province, Papuan culture is preserved, and a Papuan People’s Council (Majelis Rakyat Papua, MRP) is established as a statutory body to protect the interests of indigenous Papuans. However, many Papuans believe the promises for reform presented under Papua’s Special Autonomy Bill have been broken. To date, a truth commission and a human rights court are yet to be established in Papua; there has been little acknowledgement by the Indonesian government of past violations; and Papuans continue to feel that their existence, way of life, and traditional connection to land are threatened.

The Special Autonomy Law could have been an opportunity to address the historical wrongs in Papua using a transitional justice approach. However, the two-decade period for special autonomy is nearing its end without much evidence of political will to implement the provisions that could have contributed to ending the cycle of violence.



A community timeline documents participants’ life histories, including incidents of violations they experienced in the past.

9. See Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Human Rights Violations (KPP-HAM) in Papua/Irian Jaya, 8 May 2001 (for Abepura and for Wasior/Wamena cases); Report of the National Investigation Commission on the Killing of Theys Eluay, 2002; and Report on Torture at Tiginambut, Puncak Jaya, 2011.

10. The transmigration programme was a government policy to convert forest areas into large-scale colonial project areas. By 1984, the government had relocated 3.6 million people from Java, Bali, Madura, and Lombok islands to Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Moluccas, and Papua islands. During the 1970s and 1980s, the transmigration programme focused on the development of subsistence agriculture. In the 1990s until the programme officially ended in 1999, the emphasis changed to supplying labour for Industrial Plantation Forests (HTI) and palm oil plantations. See KKP report, *Reclaiming Indonesia*, 2014, 156.

Table 1. Status of Transitional Justice Mechanisms in Papua<sup>11</sup>

Transitional Justice Component	Provision in Special Autonomy
Truth-Seeking	Establishment of a TRC tasked with “historical clarification and reconciliation” (Article 46), and creation of a representative office of the National Human Rights Commission
Judicial Accountability	Establishment of a Human Rights Court (Article 45:2)
Reparations	No explicit provisions, but the TRC and Human Rights Court could have a reparations component, and the law itself was an acknowledgement of past abuses.
Institutional Reform	Special measures to ensure fulfilment of the rights of indigenous Papuans to employment and to be elected to strategic positions in government and state institutions, and recognition of traditional customs. Established the Papuan People’s Council ( <i>Majelis Rakyat Papua, MRP</i> ), a statutory body with several functions including: to oversee appointments to the highest positions of the executive and legislative institutions in Papua; to approve government agreements with any parties that have an impact on the protection of indigenous people’s rights; to act as a spokesperson for complaints on indigenous rights; and to provide input to provincial executive and legislative bodies on the protection of indigenous rights. Article 43 acknowledges and protects customary land rights and requires consultation with traditional landowners for any change in usage. The law also provides for the establishment of local parties (Article 28), and the establishment of a flag and song as “a cultural symbol . . . not to be positioned as a symbol of sovereignty” (Article 2). In Article 47, the law protects the rights of indigenous women and articulates the obligation to make every effort to position them as equal partners to men.

12. Table 1 has been reproduced with some modifications from *The Past That Has Not Passed: Human Rights Violations in Papua Before and After Reformasi* (ICTJ, 2012).

## Research Process & Methodology



### 3. Research Process and Methodology

AJAR and PWG have adapted methods from AJAR's manual, *Stone & Flower: A Guide for Understanding and Action for Women*, to develop participatory action research tools. Central to this method is the creation of safe spaces for indigenous women to gather and share their experiences of violence, trauma, and impunity. Exercises aim to strengthen the understanding of women survivors, empower them, facilitate a collective healing process, and build solidarity and networking among the participants. Because the topics discussed can be traumatic and sensitive, life-affirming tools help women survivors to share their experiences and issues with each other, and provide space for self-reflection and mutual support for action.

PWG adopted this approach, weaving into it the Papuan context, using local languages, metaphors, symbols of nature, and skills that are familiar to Papuan women. The tools below were reviewed and adapted for this research through fieldwork conducted with the PWG and facilitators from 2015–2018<sup>12</sup>

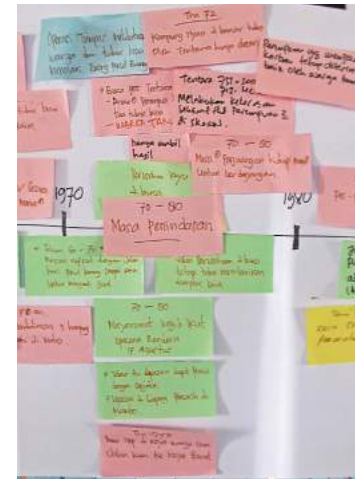
- **Stone and Flower:** Participants were invited to choose a stone or flower to describe whether the rights to truth, justice, healing, and a life free from violence existed in their personal, family, and community life. Their reasons for choosing a stone (if negative) or a flower (if positive) for each were discussed in the group.
- **Timeline:** Participants used a timeline to understand the violence experienced by women before, during, and after conflict. In this way they compiled a collective history with a broader perspective than an individual alone could achieve.
- **Community Mapping:** Participants were asked to draw a map of their community, highlighting their homes, infrastructure, locations where specific violations occurred, and key features of their survival (sources of water and food), their health (including sanitation), and education facilities. The exercise includes identification of obstacles to accessing these basic needs.
- **Resource Mapping:** Women described to each other their sources of livelihood and how these have changed over time, reflecting on how conflict has affected their livelihoods. This process deepened women's knowledge of the risks and constraints they face as well as possible mitigation strategies, such as ways to access current services and to seek needed support.
- **Body Mapping:** Borrowing from the women's health movement, a body map helped women to identify their most pressing health issues, and to discuss the availability and accessibility of health services. This exercise also was an opportunity for women to discuss the violence they experience in their everyday lives. Once a woman's silhouette was drawn on a large sheet of paper, she used different colours to mark sites of pain and of joy on her silhouette before discussing them.

12. For more information on the methodology, see AJAR's manual, *Stone & Flower: A Guide to Understanding and Action for Women Survivors* <[www.asia-ajar.org/files/stone%20%26%20flower.pdf](http://www.asia-ajar.org/files/stone%20%26%20flower.pdf)>. In 2018, AJAR and PWG produced a short training video for Papuan women facilitators.



- Photos Tell Stories, Stories with Photos: Facilitators visited the homes of women to create a photo story about their lives, including photos and explanations of locations and objects that have particular meaning to the women.
- Memory Boxes: Each participant filled a box with objects that represent sweet or bitter memories and wrote a story on postcards about her life (one postcard for each ten years of a woman's life). After giving time to fill the boxes (a week or more, depending on the process), participants came together to share. Each participant was given a turn to open her box and describe the contents to the group.

The action research process was supplemented by a literature review, creation of a video documentary,<sup>13</sup> and consultation with experts.



Above, stones and leaves (a substitution for flowers) indicate a participant's levels of dissatisfaction and satisfaction with truth, justice, healing, and freedom from violence.

Opposite page, PAR tools engage participants in reflection and analysis. Clockwise from top left: Timeline; Community Mapping; Body Mapping; Memory Boxes; Photos Tell Stories, Stories With Photos; and Resource Mapping.



13. See AJAR's video documentary on the 2013-2017 research findings, *Sa Ada Di Sini (I am Here)* with English subtitle <[www.asia-ajar.org/2018/07/sa-ada-di-sini-i-am-here-a-film-about-women-in-papua/](http://www.asia-ajar.org/2018/07/sa-ada-di-sini-i-am-here-a-film-about-women-in-papua/)>.

### Phases of the research process

This participatory action research was conducted over a period of six years. It began with 11 women, facilitated by ELSHAM Papua, who formed the Papuan Women's Working Group (PWG) in 2013. In 2015, more indigenous women and their organizations joined the process. PWG has now completed three cycles of participatory action research. To date, 249 indigenous women have participated in this action research.

#### Phase 1: Developing participatory action research tools with survivors (2013-2014).<sup>14</sup>

In July 2013, AJAR and ELSHAM Papua developed a method for participatory action research, involving 11 survivors from Jayapura and Biak. Participants spoke about the violence they experienced and their strategies for survival. The methods were designed to integrate healing, documentation, advocacy, empowerment, and solidarity. After six months of fieldwork, a workshop was held in January 2014. The findings from Papua, along with findings from Indonesian areas of past conflict (Aceh, Yogyakarta, Kupang, and Buru Island), were compiled in *Enduring Impunity: Women Surviving Atrocities in the Absence of Justice*. This report (first published in Indonesian together with Komnas Perempuan) tells the stories of 60 women across Indonesia and focuses on violations of their civil and political rights.

#### Phase 2: Mapping socio-economic challenges faced by indigenous women (2015-2016).<sup>15</sup>

To strengthen data, PWG mapped violations of and challenges related to social, economic, and cultural rights faced by indigenous Papuan women in five locations: Merauke, Jayawijaya, Keerom, Jayapura, and Sorong. Beginning in November 2015, the team worked for six months and involved a number of young women facilitators. This phase included not only survivors of violence, but also marginalized indigenous women, in order to gain a deeper understanding of the socio-economic challenges facing women across Papua.

**Phase 3: Organizing for action and advocacy (2018-2015).**<sup>16</sup> In response to Phase 1 and Phase 2 that included findings of systematic and widespread violations, PWG undertook more research. From December 2015 to May 2016, facilitators collected information and conducted fieldwork with Papuan women in Merauke, Jayawijaya, Keerom, and Sorong who face issues related to natural resource conflict, transmigration, state and domestic violence, as well as emerging forms of urban poverty. From November 2016 to May 2017, PWG also began action research with women who live along the border with Papua New Guinea (PNG) and inside palm oil plantations. In 2018, PWG conducted another cycle of action research in Merauke, Jayawijaya, Keerom, and Biak, involving 79 indigenous women.

14. IDRC and the European Union supported the first action research on gender justice covering three countries: Myanmar, Timor-Leste, and Indonesia, including Papua. See Dodi Yuniar and Matt Easton (eds), *Enduring Impunity: Women Surviving Atrocities in the Absence of Justice* (AJAR, 2015), <[www.asia-ajar.org/2015/11/enduring-impunity-women-surviving-atrocities-in-the-absence-of-justice/](http://www.asia-ajar.org/2015/11/enduring-impunity-women-surviving-atrocities-in-the-absence-of-justice/)>.

15. MAMPU and the European Union supported the second phase, with a focus on Papua.

16. Misereor supported the third phase of action research. This cumulative report is also supported by Misereor.

### Participants and research locations

This report brings together the voices of 249 Papuan women from six regencies who have experienced a wide range of violations and discrimination related to civil and political rights as well as to economic, social, and cultural rights. The PAR process included women who work as subsistence farmers; small-scale traders (selling their garden produce); weavers of traditional bags (*noken*); widows and single mothers; survivors of violence; women living in border areas, transmigration areas and plantations; and people living with HIV/AIDS. In each location, the facilitators built on existing relationships and networks that had been nurtured by the church and local NGOs working in the area.



Table 2. PAR Locations and Their Characteristics<sup>17</sup>

Regency & Province	Village & District	Characteristics	No. of Participants
Jayapura Regency, Papua	Skouw Sae, Skouw Mabo, and Skouw Yambe Villages, Muara Tami District; Jayapura City	These villages are relatively poor compared to the transmigration villages nearby. In the past, security forces considered Skouw a "red" zone for military operations as it was a centre of OPM activities. Electricity has been available only since 2014. Key issues raised by participants were the absence of transportation and the low quality of health care services.	9
	Besum Village, Namblong District and Genyem Village, Nimboran District	From the end of the 1970s into the 1980s this area was a military operations zone when Indonesian security forces searched for members of OPM. Security posts were built in these villages during that period.	3
Keerom Regency, Papua	Workwana Village, Arso District; Yamara Village, East Arso District; Wosley Village, Senggi District	Workwana is a village formed from the unification of two older villages, Wor and Kwana. After residents returned from refugee camps in PNG in 1985, they were placed in small government-built wooden houses known as "social houses." Yamara and Wosley Villages were designated as transmigration areas in the 1990s. Palm oil plantations, logging, and gold mining are found in Yamara and Wosley.	25
	Skofro, Kriku, and Tapos Villages, East Arso District	Skofro, Kriku, and Tapos are located on the Indonesian-PNG border. Due to the unity of culture, language, and livelihoods on both sides of the border, people from these three villages cross into PNG every day via a Indonesia-Papua New Guinea Cross Border National Post ( <i>Pos Lintas Batas Negara</i> , PLBN) without need to show a passport.	21
Sorong Regency, West Papua	Maibo Village, Aimas District	This village of indigenous people from the Klaibing clan face many challenges around natural resources as part of their ancestral land was taken as a forest concession in 1989 by the private company, PT Intim Pura.	15
	Sorong City, Aimas District	Like Maibo, Sorong City is located in the bird's head area of Western Papua. Participants from Sorong provided insight into the challenges faced by poor indigenous women living in an urban context.	7
Merauke Regency, Papua	Asmat Saman, Merauke District	Asmat Saman is located in the southern part of Papua. The focus in this location was on poor indigenous women who have lived in Merauke for generations, but whose families migrated long ago from the neighbouring ethnic groups of Asmat and Mappi.	24
	Salor settlements in Ivi Mahad Village, Kurik District	These settlements in Ivi Mahad Village are located in the southern part of Papua and, like many areas of Merauke, share a border with PNG. Ivi Mahad is the cultural/ritual centre of the Marind Clan. This village is another indigenous village opened up to transmigration, driving the conversion of forest into rice fields.	12

	Sota Village, Sota District	Initially this village, located in the eastern part of Merauke, was a settlement of indigenous Papuans. However, since 1995 it was opened to receive local transmigrants (from other areas of Papua) and transmigrants from Java.	17
	Nauken Jerai District	This district comprises five Papuan indigenous villages—Kuler, Onggaya, Tomer, Tomerau, and Kondo. The influx of transmigrants (beginning in 1995), mostly from Sulawesi and the Moluccas, have had an impact on the first three villages, and interethnic marriage is common there. Meanwhile, indigenous Papuans are still dominant in the two other villages, Tomerau and Kondo. All villagers in this district, including the transmigrants, still rely on the forests and sea to meet their daily needs.	35
	Manda Village, Bugi District	Manda is a village of indigenous Papuans located in the highlands about 50 km from the district capital, Wamena. Most settlers here are widows because their husbands and other male family members were killed during the conflict in 1977–78.	28
	Wamena Town, Kurulu District and Musatfak District	The capital of Jayawijaya Regency, Wamena is the only entry point to all other central highland districts.	21
Biak Numfor Regency	South and North Biak District, West Biak District, and Biak City	These areas have experienced conflict since 1969. Ongoing issues relate to customary land, specifically the problem of claiming, releasing, and seizing customary land by the military and LAPAN (National Institute of Aeronautics and Space).	32
<b>TOTAL</b>			<b>249</b>



PAR locations in Papua and West Papua

17. In Indonesia, administrative units for non-urban areas begin with a province (first level) that consists of several regencies (*kabupaten*). A regency, in turn, consists of several districts (*kecamatan*), while a district consists of several villages (*desa*). A town (*kota*, short for *kotamadya*) is considered "urban" and, administratively, is treated similar to a regency.

## Key Findings



### 4. Key Findings

Despite 18 years of special autonomy in Papua, many indigenous Papuan women continue to live far from the benefits of development, and continue to face different forms of violence. Our participatory research identified key issues that were repeatedly raised by the participants in the seven regencies.

#### 4.1. Violence against Papuan women continues; the promise not to repeat is unfulfilled.

Violence against women in Papua is a critical public health and human rights issue, a finding that affirms those from previous inquiries<sup>18</sup>. The forms of violence perpetrated against women are wide-ranging. The PWG documented cases of domestic violence; state violence such as conflict over natural resources loss of indigenous lands, and sexual violence related to political conflict (Table 3), and violence and discrimination experienced by women when they were children (Table 4). Women spoke of violence in the past and its long-term impact on their health and social economic welfare, as well as the impact of ongoing political and domestic violence.

- **Of the 249 women participants, 65 of them experienced state violence.** Despite these incidents constituting human rights violations, none of the women received redress from the state. Civil society initiatives to assist these victims have been inconsistent.

The majority of women who experienced state violence spoke about the military operations against OPM in the Central Highlands covering three periods: 1977–78, 2005, and 2007. The intergenerational impact of conflict-related violence was raised by a number of these women, with some speaking about the loss of their father, uncle, or other family members. Some spoke about their husbands dying during war, while one woman spoke about the death of her husband when they fled to the forest during a military operation. Three women spoke about how their children were tortured and then killed by soldiers.

Women spoke of the sexual violence that took place in Jayapura and Jayawijaya Regencies during the conflict in the 1970s–80s. Some who were teenagers at that time had to stop going to school because the situation was unsafe. Impunity for these violations has left them feeling traumatized and fearful.

Victims of sexual violence continually face difficulties in speaking out due to shame, fear of stigma and judgement, concerns about confidentiality, and lack of confidence in the rule of law—all of which are insurmountable barriers to accessing justice.

18. For example, see *Stop Sudah!: Kesaksian Perempuan Papua Korban Kekerasan dan Pelanggaran HAM 1963-2009*, the 2012 PWG report on violence and human rights violations from 1963–2009; and UN Women's Project Overview, "Joint Programme on Combating Violence against Women and Girls in Papua Province Indonesia". UN Women claimed that the rate of violence against women and girls in Papua was 4.5 times higher than the national rate <[www.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/admin-resource/Combating%20Violence%20against%20Women%20and%20Girls%20in%20Papua%20Province%20Indonesia-UZJ03\\_2.pdf](http://www.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/admin-resource/Combating%20Violence%20against%20Women%20and%20Girls%20in%20Papua%20Province%20Indonesia-UZJ03_2.pdf)>.

Table 3. Violations by the State

Type of Violation by the State	Number
Illegal detention	6
Torture	7
Attempted shooting	3
Sexual violence	4
Husband/family member disappeared or killed	18
Husband/family member detained	2
Loss or destruction of property	35
Loss of indigenous lands	22
<b>TOTAL</b> number of violations experienced by 65 women	<b>97</b>

Women also spoke about the loss of indigenous lands due to the state that includes development projects (e.g., building a space station, state-owned palm oil plantations, etc.) and the presence of the military. The loss of land has had a singularly negative impact on Papuan culture and livelihoods.<sup>20</sup>

20. Section 4.3 below provides further information regarding the loss of indigenous lands and resources and the impact on women. Of the 65 participants who suffered violations by the state, more than 22 women experienced land grabbing, displacement, etc. (including three women who mentioned they suffered loss of indigenous land not by the state but by family members), but a clear count of them is only available for these 22 who are from North Biak and South Biak Districts. They are victims of indigenous land grabbing by LAPAN (National Institute of Aeronautics and Space) and the military. The expropriation of indigenous lands in North Biak began in the 1980s with LAPAN's plan to build an aerospace station there. According to a review report from its aviation and space policy study centre (2017), LAPAN already has 100 hectares of land, but the project may need seven times more than that. If implemented, half of the people in North Biak will be displaced (see <docplayer.info/42604670-Ringkasan-eksekutif-kajian-pembangunan-bandar-antariksa-oleh-keompok-penelitian-i.html> and <www.humanrightspapua.org/news/ 28-2018/341-indigenous-community-in-north-biak-protests-against-aero-space-project>). Some Papuans in North Biak have also lost access to their indigenous land since the military claimed it in 2016 to build a military base. Although construction of the base has not yet begun, members of the Papua clan that owns this land are not allowed to enter it because they are considered a security threat. Meanwhile, Papuans in South Biak have been losing their indigenous land ever since Papua became part of Indonesia in 1967. During the Dutch colonial era, Papuans leased their indigenous land to the Dutch government. However, when Indonesia began to administer Papua (1969), the military took over all Dutch lands, including land the Dutch had been renting. Indigenous Papuans who own the land have protested this action, particularly because they still hold the original lease. Nevertheless, the military has never returned the land, but instead has built military posts on it.

### Indigenous Women's Stories of Human Rights Violations: Five Case Studies<sup>21</sup>

#### *NM: Gang-Raped, then Abandoned*

In 1983 NM's husband was hiding in the forest after being arrested, interrogated and tortured at the military post in Besum Village for suspected affiliation with OPM. Soldiers surrounded NM's house and forced her onto a truck to guide them to her husband. NM's two-month-old daughter went with her.

In the truck, NM was tortured, and her daughter fell from the safety of her sarong into the muddy waters of a sago swamp as NM lost consciousness. She was brought to an army post and detained for five hours where she suffered injuries resulting from being beaten, electrocuted, and tied up and raped by five soldiers. Throughout her ordeal she was not fully conscious and did not remember where her daughter was. She was unaware that a relative had found the child and brought her home, so she worried about her child. At 5 a.m. the next morning she was sent home, but found it difficult to walk and fainted. Her injuries required urgent medical treatment. After treatment she and her husband were taken to Jayapura, where they were again interrogated and tortured by the Special Forces.

Once released, NM and her husband fled again to the forest, hiding there until 1986 when a group of church workers helped them return to their village. The years in the forest were very difficult, especially with young children, who, she explained, "had to drink boiled water with chocolate leaves and coffee, instead of milk".

The violence NM experienced had a dramatic effect on every aspect of her life. A few years ago, her daughter, a young adult, died from a lung disease. NM believes that her daughter's illness was caused by the violence and deprivation she experienced together with her. In 2005, NM's husband left her and married another woman. "I feel sad that this happened to me. I experienced violence to save my husband, but then he left me and married another woman . . . ."

NM is stigmatised by her community and feels there is no recognition of her need for justice.

*They think what I experienced was just a risk of joining OPM. I wonder why no attention is paid to human rights. I've already shown that the military is responsible for what happened to me. I've lost my dignity.*

21. These five case studies, out of ten documented by ELSHAM Papua, have been published in full in *Enduring Impunity: Women Surviving Atrocities in the Absence of Justice* (AJAR, 2015).

*MM: Still Scarred*

During the body mapping exercise, MM shared the lingering impact of violence she suffered as a child. She explained her choice of colours for her body map:

*My hands and feet are coloured blue because I often feel pain. My heart is also blue because it is not yet healed from the violence I experienced. I don't know when it will heal.*

In 1968 MM was ten years old when her village was burned down, and she was arrested with her younger brother and her parents. The siblings witnessed horrific violence towards their parents and MM is still traumatized. Her father was later shot dead by Indonesian soldiers between Wari and Yopdi villages.



*NM's memory box includes the baby clothes of her deceased daughter.*

*HB: Active Role in the Church is the Key to Recovery*

From 1981 to 1982, HB was arrested, detained, and tortured seven times, mainly at a military post in her village. The military were extremely suspicious of anyone traveling in the forest. People needed a travel permit (*surat jalan*) and identity card (KTP) even to go to their own garden plots. HB was captured after it was discovered she had gone into the forest. This made her a potential source of information on the OPM's movements and activities. The fifth time she was arrested she was horribly tortured.

*After I woke up, I was given electric shocks before they started their questioning every day. I was held for two weeks. I was electrocuted with a rifle in my mouth.*

HB is still pained by her suffering.

*I am hurt because I suffered a lot, from the forest to the village and to the time I was detained. Even when I was released, I was called again to look for people who were in the forest.*

HB feels a sense of injustice, as violations committed against her have not been dealt with under the law and her perpetrators have gone unpunished. There has been blatant denial about the human rights violations perpetrated by the military against HB's son. Although the family believes that he was abducted and killed by a bayonet through his stomach, the Indonesian security forces maintain he was killed in a traffic accident.

The church is a source of strength and recovery for HB:

*I was elected to the [church] assembly. I was trusted to lead a congregation... I organised all the programmes, for example, the choir and skills activities. With these activities, the thoughts I had only of hate and revenge towards those who used me began to disappear.*

NGOs have also supported HB to tell her story and share the pain in her heart:

*They came and encouraged me to share or tell my problems. They heard my story, accompanied me in trainings. NGOs have paid attention to me, but the government has never helped me.*

HB feels the government owes something to victims of state violence. She wishes to start a small business as she gets older and finds work in her garden tiresome.

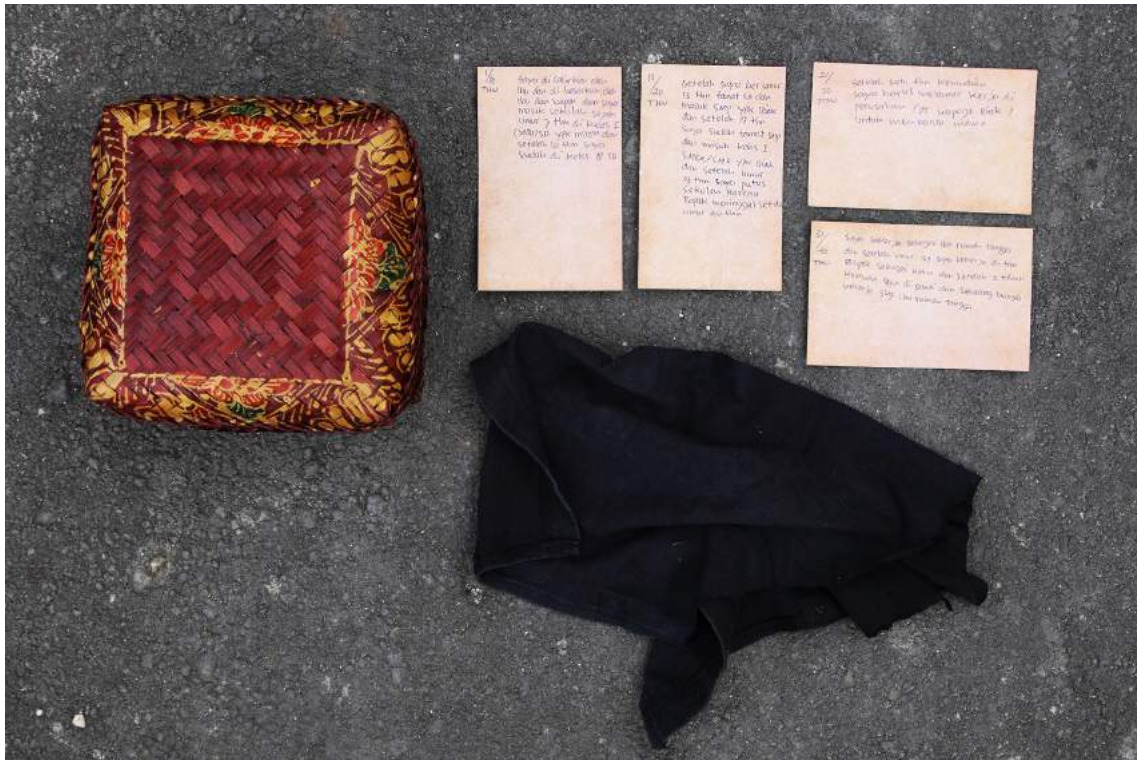
### IS: A Disappeared Brother

In July 1998, IS along with others stood peacefully at the water tower in Biak during the raising of the Morning Star flag to protest human rights abuses. IS still does not know what happened to her relatives, or where their bodies are.

*Many people disappeared. We were dragged to the harbour where there were about 97 people. We were exposed to the hot sun and the rain until we were ordered to have photos taken of our whole body, left and right side, and our fingerprints taken. I don't know what document this was for. The men were beaten, ordered to lie face up, and had their bellies trampled on and kicked. After 3 p.m. the women were told to go home and the men were detained at the police station. I have male relatives that I haven't seen again.*

IS's younger brother is amongst those still missing. While taking part in a Memory Box activity, IS explained:

*I've kept my brother's black clothes. He was disappeared and probably has died. So, when I look at these clothes, I remember him.*



While the ghosts of the past haunt her, IS draws great strength from her children; they are the greatest joy in her life and help her move past the violence she has faced. However, trying to move on is not forgetting, and she believes it is important to acknowledge and remember what happened in Biak.

*In my opinion it is important to remember the Biak Massacre, because I think it is part of our struggle for our nation.*

IS also hopes for justice.

*Today, almost 16 years after the event, we are still waiting for justice. The government should apologize and admit their mistakes. I'll feel satisfied if these people are punished.*

### ML: Four Years of Detention for Peaceful Protest

On 2 August 1980, ML was traveling from her village, Ormu, to the market in Jayapura when she heard of a planned flag-raising ceremony. ML and her two friends decided to attend a meeting where they were given a flag then told to leave. They returned to Abepura (a district of Jayapura), convincing Special Forces troops they passed that they were just returning from their gardens.

At 5:30 the next morning, ML and her friends gathered at the main flagpole of the Governor's office in Jayapura. They lowered the Indonesian flag, raised the Morning Star flag, and stood under the flagpole. By 7:00 a.m. the police arrived, lowered the flag, and took the group of five to the police station in Jayapura. They were detained and interrogated for one night. ML heard a police officer threaten the leader of their group with a machete to her neck.

The next day they were moved to the Regional Military Command headquarters where they were detained for nine months in a narrow space without lighting, sunlight, or sleeping mats. Their family members brought them fresh clothing once they learned where the detainees were held. During her detention, ML became ill and had to be treated at the Aryoko hospital where she was handcuffed each night.

After nine months, ML was moved to a cell in the Military Police Headquarters in Klofkamp for one year before her case went to trial. Two detainees from the group were given light sentences and subsequently released. ML and two others were sentenced to four years in jail. With time served, ML was finally released in 1984. She recalls her detention:

*When I was detained, it was for a long enough time, but I couldn't do anything. I can still feel the suffering I experienced in detention.*

Like others, her suffering did not end with her release. When she returned to her village, the community treated her with suspicion and contempt.

*People were mean to me because they thought I was involved in politics.*

ML believes that raising the Morning Star flag is her right as a Papuan and what happened was an injustice.

*What I did is the right of all Papuans. But why are we forbidden by the Indonesians? Why does the Indonesian government cover up the truth about Papua?*

ML hopes that what she struggled for will lay the foundation for future generations. She is thankful to those who have asked her about her experiences directly.

*What I have struggled for was not for me, but for Papua. People must know what happened.*

### Impact

The long-term impact of denial, neglect, and gender-based discrimination increases the vulnerability of women to continued marginalisation, ill health, and extreme poverty. The situation is made worse when they neither own nor have access to land or possessions that are often lost due to conflict.

*I am in pain; I am used to this pain on my back. It is very difficult for me to carry a noken. It hurts a lot. I don't go to the hospital. I drink an herbal remedy, I boil some leaves . . . I cannot go to the hospital because I feel ashamed . . . After my father died, the family took back our land. They tore down the house. They said it's because I am childless. I plan to return to the village [and] stay with my siblings. They will build a house for me and the two grandchildren.*

NM, Jayapura

The stigma perpetuated against victims of gender-based violence is intergenerational, with many children experiencing the negative effects. Communities often use strong stigma attached to affiliation with OPM to ostracise women. The stigma of being rebels who have crossed the “red line” makes it difficult for them to receive government aid. One woman explains:

*In our village . . . when they have money to distribute, they take it for themselves. There is none for women like us. They say we are fighters, so we cannot receive any aid. I say to them, “You don't want to give anything to me, so just leave. Don't think of me. I will plant cassava and vegetables and sell them in the market. I will buy fish, sugar, so I can eat what you eat. I am not expecting [aid]; I will work.”*

MA, Biak

Women in Wamena spoke of cases of sexual exploitation linked to the strong military presence there in the past, and the futility of seeking justice and support. One participant was only 14 years old when she became pregnant by a soldier. Her family reported the case to the military commander, but the soldier was merely transferred. This woman is now a single mother raising two children with no support from their father.

*He promised to marry me, and we had two children, but in 2012 he moved to Jayapura to work in Arso. I went to the military post in Arso, but his friends said there was no one there with his name. I returned to Wamena and reported to the District Military Command, but there has been no legal process up to now.*

LS, Wamena

None of the women survivors of state violence had been able to access justice. The failure of law enforcement and the courts to investigate or bring perpetrators to justice exacerbates the belief among the women that seeking justice or redress for violence and violations will only bring new problems or suffering. The deterioration of women's confidence and capacity to articulate and advocate against the injustice they have experienced seems linked to a continuing environment of impunity, stigmatisation, and discrimination.

- **249 women participants, 37 had experienced domestic violence.** The prevalence of domestic violence, as well as a lack of services and access to justice is a critical issue they face.

Many women spoke of intimate partner violence with severe physical consequences and ongoing effects that include infertility, heart conditions, eye problems, and frequent illness. Alongside these physical injuries, many indigenous Papuan women suffer from untreated long-term trauma. For example, six participants from Wamena City and Kurulu District described symptoms of physical and mental trauma from long-term violent relationships.

*My left hand was fractured because [it was] hit by a piece of wood . . . he [my husband] was drunk at that time . . . and I was left with the children for no reason. Because of my hand and [I was] often hit on the head, I often get sick. I want to report to the police, but I'm afraid because my husband is an activist.*

AW, Wamena

*I was frequently beaten by my first husband. Once I was hit with a wooden chair and as a result, I experience frequent headaches when walking in the sun. Apart from that it has affected my eyesight; I can't read up close. My head still hurts until now.*

FW, Sorong



Women also discussed how men's alcohol consumption has led to an increase in violence both domestically and in the community. In both Merauke and Sorong, women identified alcohol abuse as a factor contributing to high rates of gender-based violence including domestic violence and sexual abuse such as rape. In Sorong City, women noted an increase in alcohol consumption and drinking establishments since 2001, and in 2015 alcohol-fuelled violence between ethnic groups led to a number of deaths. During this period, women could not leave their houses, go to the market, or tend their gardens because they felt unsafe. Women in this town still feel unsafe at night because of drunken men in public areas.

*The problem is, mama-mama [women] have been working hard, then the men come home drunk, then hit us because they don't like the food at home. That's why milo [local liquor] must be stopped.*

YN, Merauke

Women victims of domestic violence face difficulties in accessing justice, either due to procedural barriers fuelled by institutionalised gender inequality or because perpetrators hold powerful positions in the community. The requirement of a marriage certificate as legal proof for police to take action on incidents of domestic violence often resulted in an insurmountable barrier to women hoping for justice. As customary marriages are commonplace among Papuans, particularly those who live in rural areas, many Papuans do not possess marriage documentation as their unions are officially unregistered. As a consequence, the couple and their children are denied key rights because of this system. These barriers to protection from the law and accessing services are emblematic of wider social biases against women and mean that many women not only experience trauma from past violence, but also from recent and ongoing violence.

*I was beaten but couldn't run to my parent's home because of our traditions. The case was not resolved when it was reported to the police because I didn't have a marriage certificate.*

FM, Wamena

#### Violations of economic, social, and cultural rights further inhibit women's ability to access justice.

Most women participants had experienced violations of their economic and social rights that compounded their experience of violence. They spoke about how the destruction of property, lack of access to land and livelihoods, and exclusion from educational and employment opportunities, and from basic services combine to undermine their well-being. Many participants make a living as subsistence farmers or small traders with little surplus to protect them in times of crisis, leaving them in a position focused solely on the struggle to survive. This makes them exceptionally vulnerable to violence during and after conflict. In many cases, the impact of violations has extended over many years, if not decades.

This economic hardship erodes the strength of women to engage with justice and affects recovery efforts. In discussions about whether they felt that justice had been achieved, the women's responses were largely negative. They expressed a concept of justice that included not only the punishment of perpetrators, but a need for restitution of assets, particularly land taken from women who have been displaced. Many women also believe the state must provide equally for all citizens, ensuring a decent standard of living and demonstrating respect for basic human dignity without discrimination.

This critical finding, that emerged as a persistent and urgent thread running through most stories documented during this research, demands specific attention to effectively address social and economic needs. Without specific reparative support, the capacity of women to access justice will continue to be severely hampered.

The research also highlights women's tenacity, resilience, creativity, and strength in the face of violence and economic adversity. With minimal education and no access to capital, many have managed to survive by tending gardens and crops for their own subsistence or to be sold at markets.

#### Widows and single mothers are particularly vulnerable to violence and discrimination.

Widows must face discrimination and stigmatisation, and are often rejected by family members of their deceased husbands. This loss of residence and inheritance rights, in turn, becomes a barrier to accessing capital, as well as social services and support. Single mothers are also often socially excluded in their communities. The children of these women often face barriers, for example in education, thus ensnaring them in an intergenerational cycle of poverty.

In Wamena, 17 women whose husbands were killed in the 1977–78 conflict have been living in isolation because of social stigma associated with being the widow of an OPM member. Six of them have cut off a number of their fingers as a local traditional expression of sorrow at losing close family members (a finger for each person who dies). They continue to work in the fields and weave *noken*. Widows of men who were killed as members of OPM experience stigma and discrimination by local government officials. This makes it difficult for them to obtain an ID card that is required to access services such as Papua Health Cards, rice for the poor, and housing assistance. None of the 17 participants from Wamena, all of whom are widows, have an ID card.

*My head often aches [when I remember] my husband who was killed during the war [1977–78]. My son also died [in 2004]. My ears hurt and I cannot hear well anymore. My heart hurts because my family became victims. Then I went to live in the forest and have just returned. These two fingers [of my right hand] were cut off and my body often feels weak. The four fingers on my left hand were cut off because I was grieving when my brother was killed, shot by soldiers.*

MI, Wamena



*In Wamena, women cut off their fingers as a traditional expression of sorrow at losing close family members (a finger for each person who dies). This woman has amputated two of her fingers for her parents who were killed during a military attack.*

This research clearly demonstrated the effects of violence and discrimination on children. In addition to trauma, some children face difficulties accessing education and employment because of the stigma attached to their families. Without one or both parents, children become increasingly vulnerable to violations. This applies especially to children of single mothers or widows whose families have lost the economic support of their fathers. This increases their risk of poverty and dropping out of school. Women’s stories about the psychological and socio-economic impacts that conflict has on their children revealed yet again the intergenerational impacts of conflict, and the need for responses and policies that address these impacts.

**Table 4. Violations and Discrimination**

<b>Violations and Discrimination Experienced by Children</b>	<b>Number</b>
Violations against children: Women who were detained, tortured, displaced, or abandoned when they were children	18
Discrimination against children: Women who spoke about discrimination against their children or who experienced discrimination when they were children	34
A child detained along with her mother (a PAR participant)	1
Children of women participants reported killed or tortured	5
<b>TOTAL</b> number of child victims	<b>58</b>

*Our children can't go to school. They can't get jobs. My child cried, "Maybe it's because you're involved in OPM that I fail employment tests." My son graduated from Jayapura. He has a bachelor's degree, but he can't pass his [civil servant] test.*

WR, Biak

*I was only a child during the 1977 incident. Since the war, my parents moved us around in the forest to find safety. When I was older, my parents married me off to an older man who had three wives. I was his fourth wife. I had three children. The oldest went to school in Jayapura. He was shot by soldiers. Then my husband died. Now I am taking care of my two children, working in the garden, caring for my animals, and going to church activities.*

NTI, Wamena

*I have not continued my schooling because of trauma and disappointment I felt after the people I loved were taken from me—my father and my uncle. I always remember how those who shot my father and uncle treated them. I feel emotional, mixed with despair.*

SI, a youth from Wamena

One woman spoke about a traumatic experience she had as a young child when her village was attacked and many were killed, including her parents.

*It was already night, I didn't know where to sleep, where our house was. I thought and thought. Finally, I lay down amidst the [dead] bodies that had been shot. I covered myself with them in front and behind me before I slept between them. I thought, "Ah, they bring guns," so I was afraid I'd be killed. I was just quiet, then I ran away.*

EK, Jayawijaya

The majority of participants articulated their first priority was to provide education for their children and grandchildren. They told of great sacrifices they have made in order to educate their children and support them to succeed. Their children and grandchildren also continue to be an inspiration for them to fight for peace.

*I have five children. [In] 2015, the children's father passed away. I often get sick, but in the evening I [drive] an ojek [motorcycle taxi]. So, I support [my family] with earnings from the ojek.*

AA, Wamena

#### 4.2. Women victims need special programmes to deal with critical incidents and long-term trauma support in order to rebuild a life free from violence.



*A technique for relaxation is the communal back massage; when it rains lightly, the fingers tap the back lightly; when it rains hard, the sides of the palms are drummed on the back more strongly.*

*When the war took place in 1977, we ran here and there; we did not stay in one place. My parents died and I stayed with my uncle. Not long after that he also died. My heart hurt, so I cut my fingers. When I was a teenager, I ran to Manda Village and got married there. Then the church arrived, and I stayed there. Every day I work in the fields to make ends meet. I sell some of my vegetables. When I remember the past, I become sad. My heart hurts and I cry. I like this learning circle because it helps us widows and older women to get our ID cards. I hope we will continue working together.*

EL, Wamena

Women victims of violence, whether perpetrated by the state or by an intimate partner, often face severe challenges in their efforts to overcome the effects of violence. Based on their analysis of data from the participatory research, facilitators of the process conclude that the needs of women victims remain invisible in long-term policy and planning considerations. Few resources are directed towards tackling the long-term effects of violence against women that would enable them to rebuild a life free from violence. The state's neglect of women victims of human rights violations signals a reluctance to address the past. Instead, victims find themselves looking to their few resources to mitigate the violence they have experienced, while they continue to face discrimination and exclusion that increasingly diminishes their access to social support systems.

Women experienced a wide range of harm such as permanent disabilities, difficulties in sleeping, chronic pain, and illness. Women also reported experiencing depression, anxiety, and shame. Some participants have received counselling from women's NGOs

and other community organisations. While this is commendable, what is needed most is long-term support.

*My head is often sick, sick because of my father using a martelu [hammer] to hit me when I was one year's old. So [I became] disabled [having problems in the head]; I can't carry heavy items and can't think too much. [My] heart is happy, but also sick. My heartache is not expressed by mouth, but through tears. I [work and get] an honorarium [but the location of my office] is far away, so I get heartburn due to [often] eating late.*

AW, Biak

Long-term support for trauma, including peer counselling and empowerment for victims, is under-resourced. As such, women victims have little opportunity to speak about the violations and suffering they have experienced. Repression of unresolved trauma is a condition they share with many others in their community. Despite a dearth of mental health services and psychosocial support for victims of violence, women support each other through friendship. Some participants mentioned support from more formal social groups, such as from church-based organisations.

Our research shows that women survivors have long-term needs that must be brought to the attention of decision makers. Key to this is the participation of women survivors in decision-making processes at all levels to ensure their needs are addressed.

#### 4.3. Lack of tenure for natural resources and traditional lands impedes women's empowerment and makes them vulnerable to continued violence.

A major theme that arose in several different locations is that access to natural resources and land has been shrinking. Many women involved in this research stated that problems they face are related to losing access to land, gardens, or forests that were once the source of their livelihoods. This was caused by the impact of violent conflict, state land use policies, detrimental social norms experienced by women after incidents of violence, or by a combination of these. The loss of natural resources and land has a direct impact on survival, and for many victims this has meant they must rebuild their lives with far fewer resources than they had before.

Participants often referred to land access and management as a key source of strength and survival. Loss of land access is considered a threat not only to their livelihoods and health. The conversion of forests to plantations or for other purposes has a monumental impact on the social conditions of indigenous Papuans.

*The forest is where we eat, but now that it's been destroyed, finding food is difficult. Maybe we can still find some firewood, but there are no more animals. My parents could find fowl and pigs easily. Now there are none.*

YF, Keerom



Women in Maibo, Sorong remembered when a logging company called *PT Intim Pura* took over land owned by the Klaibin and Moi people in 1989, forcing the inhabitants of Maibo Village to move. The company brought in workers from outside of Papua, increasing the population drastically. The company left in 2010 after destroying the river that was the water source for the village and leaving the land barren with no attempt at reforestation.

*The water disappeared; it became dirty when trees were felled into the river. Before, the river was deep. Now the water is very shallow. We can cross from one side to the other.*

TU, Sorong

In addition to polluting the river, the company created a dependency on new seeds and chemical fertilizers. Previously, Papuans could hunt and gather food in the forest while tending to small gardens in their village. When the company took their land, it also opened village gardens using imported seeds and fertilizers. When the company left, the community no longer knew how to garden, and the runoff of pesticides led to a decrease in the number of fish.

*We don't eat fish anymore because there is no more abundance of fish since the company brought pesticides to catch the fish in the river.*

DG, Sorong



*Where we used to gather food is now rice fields owned by other people. Before, we found food near our villages. Now we must walk very far; it takes a long time. We leave early in the morning and return late in the afternoon or at night. It's not like before when we could go for just a short period and we would bring something back. We would come home and do other things in one day.*

LM, Merauke

*When we get sick here, we use herbal medicines, although we have to search for it far away in the distant forest. It is no longer like in the past when we only needed to take it from the edges of the village.*

KB, Merauke

Deforestation has also resulted in the disappearance of materials needed to make traditional noken bags, known in some parts of Merauke as *toware*.<sup>22</sup> Many women in Sota can no longer make their own *toware* and, instead, buy them from women in PNG where the materials are still available.

22. In Merauke Regency, different clans use different materials to weave *noken* (the general term used throughout Papua for traditional woven bags) and also have different names for *noken*. For example, the Muyu Clan calls it *men* as it is made from the bark of the *melinjo* tree (*genemo* tree in the local language). For the Kanum Clan the *toware* is made from a combination of tree bark and a type of grass called *rumpu tikar* (Indonesian) that is also used to weave mats. The Kimaam Clan weave *riambe* from a type of leaf also used to weave mats called *daun tikar* (Indonesian). The Marind Clan calls it *wad*.

*Before the village was opened, there were a lot of forests, so rope to make toware was also available abundantly. Now, if we want to get it, we have to walk far away to the forest on the way to Muting . . . a place to search for red fruit and that has ant hills. We must walk far to the PNG forest.*

BN, Merauke

Changes in the diet of Papuan women as a result of their decreased ability to source their food in traditional ways has negatively affected their health. The women in Ivi Mahad said they feel sick when eating the vegetables planted by the transmigrants because of the use of chemical fertilizers.

Women also noted a new dependency on “instant foods” due to loss of food security. Despite the problems, many indigenous women stop planting their gardens and become dependent on food produced by transmigrants.

*My legs hurt when I eat vegetables [grown with] fertilizers. When I eat vegetables I grow myself, they don't hurt. But I cannot plant regularly because I have so much work to do.*

TN, Merauke

*In the old days, we ate sago and cassava leaves that we planted ourselves. When I eat vegetables that I buy, I feel bad because they use fertilizers. Now I eat rice because there is not enough sago.*

KN, Merauke

*Now because we have to walk far to get sago, if we want to eat papeda [a paste made from sago] we just buy it at the market.*

TU, Sorong



*Dried sago, a local food across Papua, is being increasingly displaced by rice.*

Women in Sota noted the introduction of tofu and tempeh by transmigrants, and the popularity of non-Papuan food sold by food vendors. Some women felt that selling Papuan food was no longer a viable way to make money because it was not popular.

*We now know tofu and tempeh, but we indigenous people still eat papeda. We want to try to sell papeda and other local food, but we worry that there will be no buyers. Some people say papeda doesn't taste good. People here like to eat bakso [meatballs] or chicken noodles.*

DU, Merauke

Women play a key role in caring for their forests and gardens, with the responsibility to produce food falling on their shoulders. However, according to traditional laws their rights to ownership of these natural resources are largely not recognized, often only having the right to access land for food cultivation.

*Women now do all the work in the home as well as outside, going to the forest, harvesting sago, carrying wood from the forest. We do all this ourselves. Before, our husbands tended the land, but our husbands sold it all. There is no more land. [It has been] handed over to the government to be given to newcomers, to open rice fields. The menfolk now leave, sometimes for three to six months, to find work. Some leave for years . . . This has created a heavy burden for us women. We work on our own without our husbands.*

AB, Merauke



In Wamena and Merauke, the women spoke about the loss of land and loss of access to their gardens because male family members had sold the land.

*We move from the village to Sinakma, the land where we had gardens was secretly sold to soldiers by our male family members. The soldiers came and said, "We have bought this place, so you cannot do gardening here anymore after the harvest." I said in my heart, "Oh, my brother must have sold the land." We, the women, cannot speak. Our grandfather shared the land; I got this land for gardening . . . Now, the only land left is where the house stands; it cannot be sold because it is a sacred place.*

MM, Wamena

*I am the only child in the family, and I inherited the land. From about 2001–09 I was sick for a long time and was treated in Jayapura. In 2010, my condition improved and I returned to Wamena . . . Apparently my male family members had sold the garden at the back of my house and the plants had all been cut . . . I brought the case to the LMA [Traditional Council Body], but they did not take any strong position against the men . . . Now I live poorly in an unfit house with no more land to garden.*

SH, Wamena

*Through this meeting, I am surprised knowing that the nature around us has changed; because our forest is gone which means that now we only live in this small place. All [of it] has become the place for transmigrants from Java . . . Why is it like this? From the beginning, we [women] were never involved in talks about selling the land to others . . . I know that it is the men's right and we as the women can only agree, but we never knew that it would be like this.*

AB, Merauke

This research also found that Papuan women who face reduced access to land and natural resources have adapted ways to survive. For example, the loss of local food sources encouraged women in Ivi Mahad to use the remaining land to open their own rice fields, although initially it was difficult for them because they had never planted rice before. At the same time, they still maintain small sago forests to ensure that some traditional food is available. In Merauke, women's groups have learned how to make eucalyptus oil and are developing strategies to sustainably protect forests and fauna.

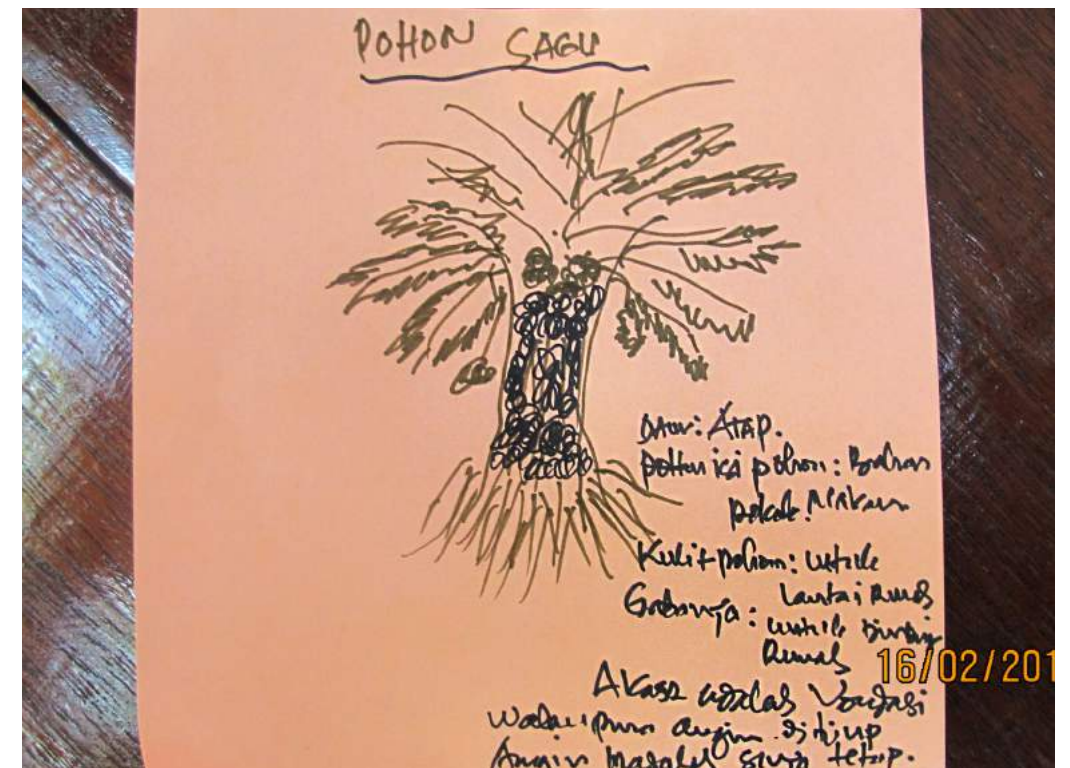
*Because we only take the leaves, the eucalyptus trees will not run out unless there is deforestation . . . We must take care of the trees, the forests, so that black bees can still exist. We cannot hunt with a gun because it will scare the animals away.*

AK, Merauke

The loss of land and forest that women have experienced is further significant because women's connection to them is a threat not only to their livelihoods, food security, and health but also to their cultural and ethnic identity. The native land is woven into all aspects of life and acts as a constant source of meaning and identity for Papuans. This deep connection was reflected during one PAR exercise in Keerom District in which many women drew symbols from nature to depict how they see themselves. Their connection to the land continues to give them strength.

*I chose the sago tree as my symbol. It can function as everything. Its leaves are used to make roofs, its bark for our walls. We can eat its insides. The sago tree is strong like us Keerom women. We provide food for our families, we women do it all. We take care of the pigs; use many tools. We have many functions.*

YM, Keerom



*I was born in Sota. When I was small, I followed my parents into the forest, harvesting sago. My symbol is the Ndibung tree. It is my mother's symbol; she is a Ndibung woman. We must be strong to survive, because we are born of the Ndibung tree.*

NN, Merauke

## Conflict and Land Grabbing in Arso and East Arso, Keerom Regency



In 1969 villages on the border with PNG became the target of military operations to search for OPM members so people fled to the forest or over the border to PNG. In 1982 the government began to convert land for palm oil plantations and transmigration settlements. Three years later, members of the Arso community were forced to accept the government's conversion of 50,000 hectares of indigenous communal land to a state palm oil plantation, PTPN II.<sup>23</sup>

After the Act of Free Choice, the Arso people were frightened and went to the forests. They lived there for a long time, some even for decades. Many also fled to Papua New Guinea. Some of them returned when there was repatriation between Indonesia and Papua New Guinea in 2003 . . . Hiding in the forests, we did not dare to light a fire because we were afraid of the soldiers. They accused those who hid in the forests as being OPM spies. The same situation happened when we dealt with OPM. They accused us of being TNI [Indonesian military] spies. Similarly, when we went into the next [country, we had to] deal with Papua New Guinean soldiers. We had no options, either forward or back . . . When we were in the forests, we did not conduct any rituals at the sacred locations. This happened for decades. This situation uprooted us from the tie with Ma [the land] . . . As the tie with Ma was weakening, our ties with the indigenous people [and customs] were also weakening.

23. The state-owned company Archipelago Plantation Limited Company (*PT Perkebunan Nusantara* known as PTPN II) was the first palm oil enterprise in Arso District that entered in the 1980s. Complaints submitted to the government and to PTPN II regarding the company's continued presence in Arso after its lease expired have been ignored. PT Tandan Sawita Papua, a private palm oil enterprise, has been operating in Arso since 2008.

*In 1982, PTPN II entered Arso. The day before, I was asked to sign [an agreement] because the bulldozer was to come the following day. They said sago and palm would live side by side because both were thorny. Only some of us did that [signed]; the rest were still hiding in the forest. A soldier pointed a gun, forcing us to sign. Around 500 hectares of indigenous land were released to PTPN II. This state-owned company started opening the forests, levelling the lands, and breeding the oil palms.*

Indigenous Leader, Arso

*Palm oil [companies] entered [Arso] with violence. They got us drunk, then asked us to sign [away our forest]. If we did not hand over the forest, they said that we, the people from the forest, were linked to politics.<sup>24</sup> The original release was a contract [leasing] a total of 50,000 hectares worth 7 trillion rupiah for 36 years. [They] promised to fund [education for] our children, but in reality we were displaced . . . We [asked], "Why do we have to be employees? We must be the owners!" But they kept burdening us with costs. In terms of development, non-Arso people experience growth, but we, the Arso, are completely dead; we only sell betel nut. Arso people are only 10% of the total population now . . . [It is like] "native sago" and "planted sago"—the native sago will disappear like the native people, and the migrants will grow.*

Indigenous Leader, Yamara

*PTPN II leased indigenous land for 25 years. Some people were witnesses to the contract, and to the sale and purchase . . . of the palm oil. The indigenous people still protest to the government because the sale and purchase transactions still happen without permission from the indigenous people. [We] asked why there is a division between "plasma" and "inti"<sup>25</sup> . . . We, as the indigenous people, have forests, but those have now disappeared. We can't hunt anymore because the forests have been converted into palm oil plantations. Maybe later, we, the Arso people, will go hunting in Waris [the neighbouring district] because our forests have disappeared.*

YF, Keerom

*[Our] Sago Village still exists because palm oil has not entered it. However, husbands start selling the timber and the women are not informed and involved in making a decision about it.*

EA, Keerom

24. Here the term "politics" refers to unsubstantiated accusation of being part of a rebel group.

25. *Inti* (nucleus) plantations refer to those managed by either state or private companies, whereas *plasma* plantations are those owned and managed by local people, both transmigrants and indigenous Papuans.

Body mapping is an exercise in which partners draw each other's silhouettes on large sheets of paper and then mark their silhouettes to identify sites of pain and pleasure. For a fuller description of this exercise, please see *Stone & Flower: A Guide to Understanding and Action for Women Survivors* (AJAR's Unlearning Impunity Series, Second Edition, 2017), Module 8: Body Mapping (pp. 80-86), <[www.asia-ajar.org/files/stone%20%26%20flower.pdf](http://www.asia-ajar.org/files/stone%20%26%20flower.pdf)>.

### Conflict and Land Grabbing in Arso and East Arso, Keerom Regency

Ivi Mahad is a ritual site for the Marind people, a large indigenous tribe in Merauke in the southern region of Papua. In the 1980s, the Indonesian government implemented a policy of village expansion to open settlements for transmigrants. The influx of transmigrants resulted in the destruction of forests and a degradation of life for the Marind people.

*From 1970–80, the people still enjoyed nature and were spoiled by it. They could still drink water directly from the streams or swamps around the villages. The barter system still existed; rice was exchanged for bananas. If they were sick, they could still use natural medicine and look for it in the forests that were still located at the edge of the village.*

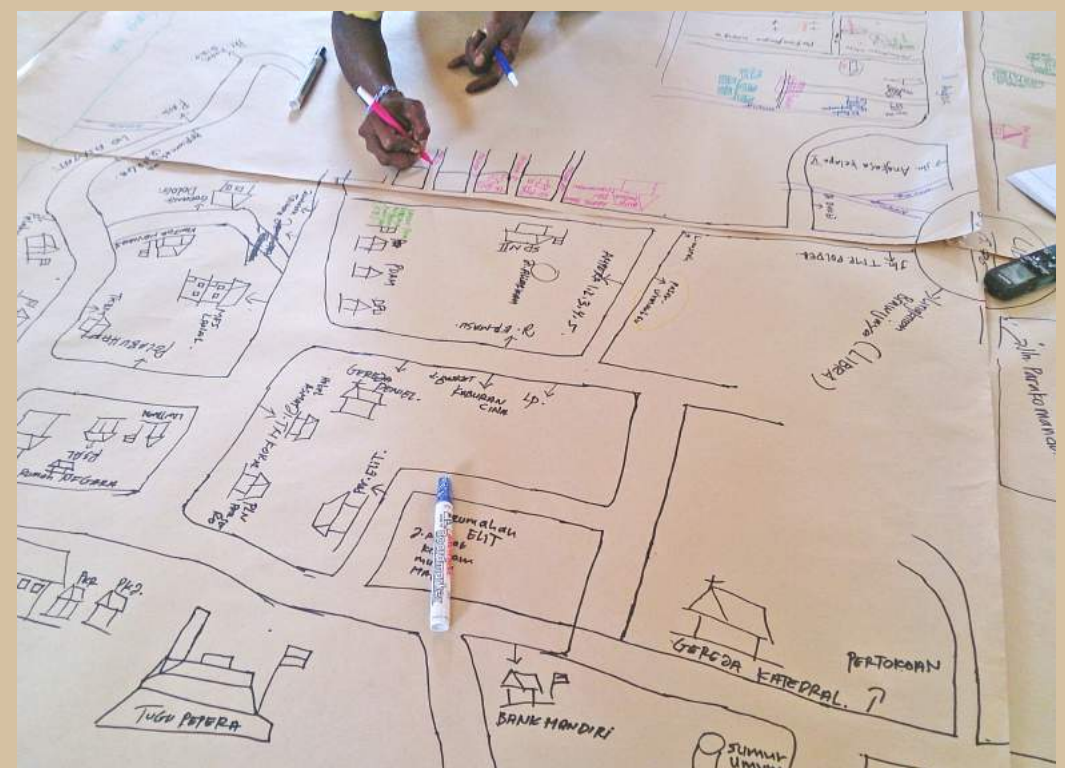
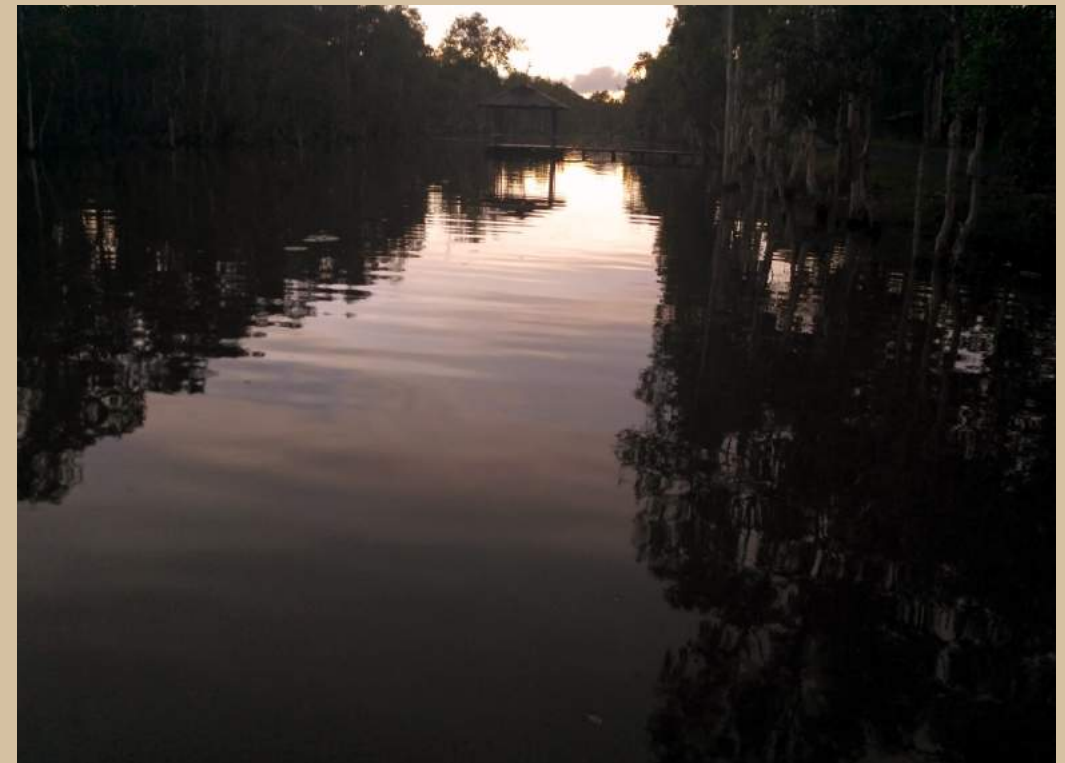
*In 1982–83, our settlement began to be occupied by the migrants; it was called Salor 1, 2, and 3. Rice fields were also opened up in these new areas. At that time, the native people did not yet feel any difficulties; everything was fine. It was not until 1985 when the policy of village expansion was implemented that the forests, the coconut [trees] disappeared . . . During those years the people started to experience the impact. They could no longer drink water from streams or swamps because they had become places for bathing and waterholes for livestock. Nature no longer spoiled [them].*

*In the 2000s, we experienced the bloody Merauke tragedy. We were scared by the presence of the Indonesian military. The task force terrorized us. Our husbands were beaten until we, the wives, were in great fear. During those years, the people started to consume alcohol and there were many riots. Meetings were held in the village to discuss land issues, but we were not invited. The men in the village said that it was their right, not women's. We only said yes [to them] because it was indeed not women's right to talk about land issues. Women could only listen to [what they discussed].*

*From 2000 until now it has been difficult for us to work on the land that we once owned; it is no longer ours. Although there is a market, we cannot afford to sell there because the price of our harvest is cheaper due to the overwhelming amount of migrants' crops. Our products aren't sold, so we have to sell them at a cheaper price. This definitely causes us a loss of both income and our power.*

*In 2015, the government designated 1.2 million hectares in Papua to be planted in rice that would serve as a "rice granary" for all of Indonesia. We, the people who owned this place, were not allowed to meet the president who came here at that time. Maybe, he is not our president, but [just president] of the soldiers and the local government.*

MM, Merauke





#### 4.4 Papuan women's poor health due to heavy workloads and lack of access to health care challenge efforts to recover from violence.

The research found that Papuan women must contend not only with the health ramifications of past and continuing violence perpetrated against them, but with wide-ranging health issues associated with their poverty and struggle to survive. Violence from the state or an intimate partner, and health problems related to work, poverty, and gendered disadvantages compound in a harmful cycle that is exacerbated by barriers to accessing services.

Despite the commencement of government health schemes (e.g. health cards such as KIS, BPJS, or *Papua Sehat*), some women still experience barriers to accessing basic primary health care as well as care for HIV/AIDS, and sexual and reproductive health. In many cases, women cannot access health services because they lack ID cards, cannot pay for transportation costs, or because health facilities lack the capacity or will to provide appropriate care.



Top right, workshop participants conduct a body mapping exercise to help them talk about sites of comfort and pain in their bodies, a step towards a deeper conversation about violence against women; Bottom right, a woman points to her arm, a site of pain in her body.

One research tool used by facilitators, drawing body maps, led to an extended dialog about health problems Papuan women experience.<sup>26</sup> Many women linked their heavy workloads to their ailing health. Suffering was attributed to working hard in the garden, particularly carrying heavy loads, such as firewood and garden produce, on their shoulders and their heads; caring for children; and other domestic work. In particular, women spoke about pain in their shoulders, back, and head.

*Both of my shoulders hurt. I carry a grass basket. My back hurts because I carry firewood and work in the garden. My head aches from taking care of the children. My husband never works, only hunts, so I do all the work.*

SK, Keerom

*[I have] a headache because I often carry firewood and must walk a long way to get back from the forest to my house. My husband never helps carry it. He only helps me plough the ground. [I have] pain in my waist because I often work in the garden. My knees hurt because I often walk; I don't know whether it is [also because of] uric acid, but if I go fishing, my feet are always under water.*

MM, Merauke

Not only is the work of lifting and carrying heavy burdens and caring for children physically demanding, the volume of daily work leaves women little time to rest. The women described themselves as figures of strength in their ability to do most of the work for their family's survival.

*I draw [a picture of] wood because I am hard like it. I can cook, work, search for firewood. I am used to carrying sago . . . I take care of children; I have two.*

RP, Wamena

At the same time, they complained that their husbands act like kings and are unwilling to help with domestic labour.

*I work in the garden, chop the firewood; I do all the work, it makes my head and back hurt. My heart hurts too because I often get angry with my husband. I am mad because my husband doesn't want to help me work. I am the head of the family at home.*

EA, Keerom

26. Body mapping is an exercise in which partners draw each other's silhouettes on large sheets of paper and then mark their silhouettes to identify sites of pain and pleasure. For a fuller description of this exercise, please see *Stone & Flower: A Guide to Understanding and Action for Women Survivors* (AJAR's Unlearning Impunity Series, Second Edition, 2017), Module 8: Body Mapping (pp. 80-86), <[www.asia-ajar.org/files/stone%20%26%20flower.pdf](http://www.asia-ajar.org/files/stone%20%26%20flower.pdf)>.

*If something is needed at home, wives will look for eucalyptus leaves to help [buy] it. We can get 50,000 rupiah for 50 kg. We shouted to our husbands that there was no salt, but they would say, "You took the leaves, didn't you? Why didn't you buy it from that?" I work alone at home, beginning with cooking to washing clothes, raising cows and chickens, and searching for eucalyptus leaves and "ant nests".<sup>27</sup> Taking care of children is the burden in my mind, but the most important thing is that I give them my attention.*

AM, Merauke

Participants mentioned shortcomings at government facilities that create barriers to accessing services, including shortages of medicine and equipment.

*My husband has a routine check-up, but the VCT [Voluntary Counselling and Testing] tool is damaged so he has to search for it at some health care centres in Wamena City. He has to sell rabbits for a cheap price to pay for a taxi.*

MK, Wamena

Other barriers mentioned include inconvenient hours, lack of staffing, and a lack of confidence in the quality of services and diagnosis offered by public medical services. In Skouw Yambe, Jayapura, e.g., health services are available, but the health care workers do not live in the village and are seldom at the clinic. Many women said they have had no choice but to seek and pay for private health care. Economic hardship means some are unable to afford such care.

*There are health facilities, but the workers are seldom there. If we are sick, we go to the community health centre in Koya Barat, Abepura or to a private doctor. Even though it's expensive, it's important that we get well.*

A, Jayapura

In Kurulu, Wamena, women shared concerns related to accessing public health clinics. Frequent staff absence has seen local health clinics closed, forcing those seeking services to travel greater distances to hospitals in Wamena City. Often, hospitals do not provide medical supplies and medicines, although these women are covered under health programmes. Instead, hospitals direct them to purchase those from private doctor-owned pharmacies.

*If we get sick, we go to the community health centre in Kurulu, but the staff rarely come to work, so we have to go to the hospital in the city . . . We get checked by the doctor who just gives us medicine for the pain and gives us a prescription to buy medicine from his pharmacy. Sometimes we don't buy the medicine from that pharmacy because it is expensive.*

HH, Wamena

27. "Ant nest" is the name of a fungus-like plant with the appearance of an ant's nest that Papuan women use to cure various diseases and is thought to prevent cancer. People usually consume it as tea.

For other women, this extra expense has tipped them over the edge financially and hampered their ability to support themselves and their families. In Sorong City, one woman told how despite having a health insurance card (BPJS), the treatment she required was unavailable through the public system. She had to shut down her kiosk after spending all her profits on private medical treatment. Another woman claimed that difficulty in obtaining health care was due to discrimination against her as an indigenous Papuan ("because of my curly hair"), as opposed to migrants from other parts of Indonesia.

*I had to be referred to a hospital outside of Sorong because of a lack of equipment for a neurological examination with a CT scan . . . I'm continuing treatment now at Tanjung Kasuari. The government hospitals are free, but the treatments are not right so I have to get check-ups elsewhere.*

EK, Sorong

The availability of health insurance was seen to have improved in some locations since 2013, but this was not universal. For example, in Sorong while various kinds of health insurance are available, women have little information about how to obtain it and are often hampered by not having access to an ID card.

*I went to Wamena to organise my identity card. I'd already given the money, but the civil servant said I don't have a husband so I can't get an ID card . . . We didn't get health care because we don't have an ID. Only those with ID cards can go to the hospital.*

IK, Wamena

The inability to access services is particularly acute for women who are not literate, do not speak Indonesian, and have no official documents such as birth or marriage certificates. Some women in Wamena said they had been unable to obtain the documents required for subsidized services (e.g., Letter of Explanation Regarding Inability to Pay), so they are denied medical services to which they are entitled.

*If we get sick, we go to the community health centre in Kurulu, but the staff rarely come to work, so we have to go to the hospital in the city . . . We get checked by the doctor who just gives us medicine for the pain and gives us a prescription to buy medicine from his pharmacy. Sometimes we don't buy the medicine from that pharmacy because it is expensive.*

FM, Wamena

With strong indicators of poor sexual reproductive health, including alarmingly high rates of HIV/AIDs<sup>28</sup> and maternal mortality rates,<sup>29</sup> sexual and reproductive health services are crucial in Papua. However, research findings reveal that access to services and treatment for sexual and reproductive health are inhibited by lack of resources, lack of outreach, and social stigma.

Despite the availability of funding for services that provide HIV/AIDs treatment, participants highlighted problems with accessing medications and treatment. In Wamena, e.g., patients can get free HIV/AIDS medication, but sometimes there are shortages for many months. Doctors have reportedly opened pharmacies that sell the medication at higher prices. Women often have to sell family assets and livestock when the medicines are unavailable at the public hospital.

Participants in Merauke mentioned the HIV Working Group (whose members include NGO and government representatives). This group, established in 2006, has successfully increased awareness, ensured more testing facilities, and recently led a study that shows Papuan housewives are most affected. Several local laws regarding the prevention and combating of HIV/AIDS (No. 5 in 2013; No. 16 in 2015) have helped to reduce the number of cases. However, discrimination and marginalization of HIV-positive Papuan women remains.

In Skouw, two of the participants were traditional midwives with some training and certification. However, a few years ago, they were told their services were no longer needed and newly-trained midwives were brought in. As a result, their incomes have suffered.

*There were no midwives in our village when women gave birth, so we traditional midwives [used to] facilitate the birthing process, but now we are prohibited [from practicing].*

U, Jayapura

Some women from Skouw, in addition to sharing their hardship as a result of no longer being able to practice as traditional midwives, noted improvements in health coverage in their community since 2013. In Skofro, on the other hand, there is an additional health care centre with medical equipment. However, none of the staff live in the village so that check-ups for the sick, including pregnant women, children, and toddlers, are inadequate.

*Pregnant women are just left like that until they give birth. Nurses from the health care centre seldom come here. Women here help each other if someone gives birth. Here, women work together, different from men.*

EF, Keerom

28. According to UNICEF Indonesia's Issue Briefs of October 2012, HIV cases in Papua are almost 15 times higher than the national average <[www.unicef.org/indonesia/A4-E\\_Issue\\_Brief\\_HIV\\_REV.pdf](http://www.unicef.org/indonesia/A4-E_Issue_Brief_HIV_REV.pdf)>.

29. Indonesia's maternal mortality ratio (MMR) is 228 per 100,000 live births, whereas in Papua it is 1116 per 100,000 births, <[www.sur.or.id/en/program/strengthening-women%E2%80%99s-leadership-improving-maternal-and-reproductive-health](http://www.sur.or.id/en/program/strengthening-women%E2%80%99s-leadership-improving-maternal-and-reproductive-health)>.

A number of women also noted a steep increase in caesarean births since 2010, with some saying "it's obligatory" to have a caesarean now and the expense is covered by their health cards.<sup>30</sup>

*From 2010 until now women have been getting caesareans to deliver their babies. Before this there were no caesareans. The health department says it is because they are concerned about the baby's birth weight. This operation is compulsory for all women without exception.*

S, Skouw

Some women claimed that a new promotion of contraceptive devices is being administered coercively, without enough information or choice. In Maibo, Sorong, women said the *Kartu Sehat* (Health Card) does not cover services for reproductive health and Family Planning (KB) services which puts the cost of contraceptives and assisted births out of reach for poor indigenous women.

*We can get contraceptive injections at the health clinic but have to pay Rp. 30,000 . . . We feel that is a lot because we already have a health card . . . Just to get from our house to the health clinic by motorbike taxi we have to pay Rp. 60,000, so that's basically Rp. 100,000 spent just for one visit.*

MK, Maibo

*Alas . . . when we give birth it's not at the hospital . . . [but] maybe with a midwife in the village . . . because there is no transport in the village and the cost is overwhelming.*

MK, Maibo

In the culture of indigenous people living in Keerom Regency, the system of exchange marriage still exists. The practice allows a brother of the bride to marry a woman from the groom's family and is used to eliminate the payment of dowry between the two parties.

30. In both national and private hospitals throughout Indonesia there has been an increasing trend towards deliveries by Caesarean Section (C-Section). Based on the Indonesian Demographic and Health Survey (2010), the use of C-Section in Indonesia increased from 1.3% to 6.8% in the period from 1991–2007. Research conducted by Indonesia's Ministry of Health (2012) highlights that the rate of C-Section deliveries in Indonesia was 15.3% higher than the standard rate identified by the World Health Organisation (<[ejournal.litbang.depkes.go.id/index.php/hsr/article/view/3031](http://ejournal.litbang.depkes.go.id/index.php/hsr/article/view/3031)>). Initially, C-Sections were chosen when natural deliveries threatened to harm the mothers or their babies. Nowadays, C-Section deliveries are conducted even with no indication of serious medical issues. For more information on this trend, see <[www.jurnalperempuan.org/wacana-feminis/fenomena-operasi-cesar-sebagai-tren](http://www.jurnalperempuan.org/wacana-feminis/fenomena-operasi-cesar-sebagai-tren)> and <[media.neliti.com/media/publications/108556-ID-none.pdf](http://media.neliti.com/media/publications/108556-ID-none.pdf)>.

This tradition has detrimental effects on women and girls as they are vulnerable to early marriage due to the demand for an exchange marriage.

One woman in Skofro was forced by her parents to get married to *Ondoafi* (a tribal chief) in Wembi Village when she was just ten years old. She later got divorced and eventually married a man she chose.

#### Papuan women victims of violence face barriers to obtaining support and services.

No services or programmes are available for women who have been traumatized by political violence. In addition, social stigma continues to affect women who are victims of domestic violence, with some too ashamed to seek help. Even when women do desire access to response services such as health services, psychosocial support, protection, or a judicial process, few are available. For example, in Wamena there is no functioning emergency shelter, and the Integrated Service Centre for Women's and Children's Empowerment, a government initiative meant to provide services to women and child victims of violence, fails to function. In Keerom, this programme was only established in May 2016.

Cases of intimate partner violence mentioned during the research were most often dealt with through customary (*adat*) processes where outcomes do not often favour women. One woman in Kurulu, Wamena was unable to seek support from her parents when her husband beat her because she would be defying their customs (*adat*). She tried to go to the police with her case, but it did not progress because she does not have a marriage certificate. She cannot speak Indonesian and also has no identity card, so she cannot get a health card (BPJS) that would enable her to access treatment for her injuries.

*The health problem I faced is that my head cracked when my husband beat it because I couldn't give birth . . . I always have a headache . . . I didn't get treatment at the hospital, but used traditional herbal medicine.*

FM, Wamena

However, indigenous women remain resilient in maintaining their health. Participants from Sorong, Merauke, and Wamena shared that due to limited access to health services they use traditional medicines to treat both new illnesses as well as acute and recurring ones resulting from violence they have experienced.

*I have an herb from nature to help women give birth . . . [If] they drink it, their unclean blood will get cleaned immediately . . . If there are women in the village who have it, they will come and ask for it . . . "Mama, please [help us] with herbs and prayers."*

MK, Maibo

*At the time of the incident, I couldn't get treated because in our district there were no health workers . . . Usually I use traditional herbal potions and my children give me strength.*

YK, Wamena

#### 4.5. Papuan women face obstacles in reaping benefits from development that could help them build a strong foundation for lives free from violence.



Top and bottom, indigenous Papuan women do not get optimal locations for selling their produce at the market, including betel nut (bottom).

Papuan women continue to have difficulty in accessing benefits from development programmes. Their socioeconomic disadvantage increases their vulnerability in Papuan society and weakens their ability to heal after violence and conflict.

*We don't get much information about government assistance from the neighbourhood administrator [Ketua RT]. I've never heard about or received any government assistance targeted at women . . . nor been involved in meetings at the RT level.*

FW, Sorong

Development actors in Papua include UN agencies,<sup>31</sup> bilateral programmes,<sup>32</sup> international NGOs,<sup>33</sup> and approximately 118 local NGOs.<sup>34</sup> Further assistance is provided through various government programmes to reduce poverty, including at the household level. This assistance includes subsidized rice (*raskin*); conditional cash transfers (*Program Keluarga Harapan*, PKH); educational assistance for poor students (*Bantuan Siswa Miskin*, BSM); subsidized health care (*Jamkesmas*); community-driven development programmes under the National Program for People's Empowerment (*Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat*, PNPM); and micro, small, and medium-sized enterprise initiatives such as People's Business Credit (*Kredit Usaha Rakyat*, KUR).<sup>35</sup> In addition, various social and economic development programmes have been supported by Special Autonomy funding through Papua's provincial governments since 2001.

Despite this proliferation of development projects and government assistance through Special Autonomy, many women fail to receive benefits, often because of lack of information and consultation, but also because resources are being captured at higher levels of government and society. Concurrently, Papuan women struggle to compete in commercial spaces and continue to face financial challenges to ensuring their children get an education.

#### Papuan women lack information and are seldom consulted regarding development programmes.

Lack of information was frequently mentioned as a barrier to accessing assistance from various development programmes. Some participants spoke of hearing about

programmes but not having any concrete information about how to access them or what their entitlements could be. Lack of information is directly linked to a lack of women's participation in village-level consultations and planning meetings. For example, in Maibo, Sorong, women told of how they miss out on information about available assistance because they do not attend or are not invited to information sessions or community planning meetings held in their villages.

*[U]p until now there has been no socialization [outreach]; only men go to the village meetings, we have never participated.*

HH, Wamena

Similarly, in Wamena, despite programmes such as health insurance (*Kartu Papua Sehat and BPJS*), rice subsidies (*raskin, beras miskin*), funds from RESPEK (Papua's village-based planning programme),<sup>36</sup> and support for women's empowerment through each Task Force for Area Support (*Satuan Kerja Perangkat Daerah or SKPD*), many women spoke about their inability to access information about these services and rarely participating in meetings to discuss these programmes.

Women also spoke of their efforts to try and get information from local leaders only to be ignored or even threatened. In Sorong, women described how they made requests to the village head to include female facilitators in a Community-Based Total Sanitation programme because they wanted information to improve their health, but have been ignored. Also, in Sorong, women described being threatened by the village head when they asked him about Special Autonomy funding.

*Two of us went and asked the village head about Special Autonomy funding. He said, "You don't have any right to ask about Special Autonomy money. Do you want to be jailed by the police? The police will catch you." We were just silent because [we were] scared and didn't know what the money was for.*

HH, Wamena

Interestingly, when some members of the research team tried to obtain information about available programmes for women from local government officials, they met resistance and suspicion about their motivations. Some officials even said that they could only provide information at a hearing in parliament.

31. UN agencies in Papua include UNICEF, UNDP, and UN Women that provide support for health, education, and prevention of violence against women and girls (VAWG) programmes, <[www.id.undp.org/content/indonesia/en/home/about-us/undp-and-the-un.html](http://www.id.undp.org/content/indonesia/en/home/about-us/undp-and-the-un.html)>.

32. Bilateral programmes in Papua include DFAT, USAID, CIDA, and UKAID.

33. International NGOs in Papua include Oxfam, Conservation International, The Nature Conservancy, and World Wildlife Fund.

34. Many of these local NGOs are members of the NGO network, Forum Kerjasama LSM Papua (FOKER), <[infid.org/foker-lsm-papua/](http://infid.org/foker-lsm-papua/)>.

35. Ari A. Perdana, The Future of Social Welfare Programs in Indonesia: From Fossil-Fuel Subsidies to Better Social Protection (The National Team for Accelerating Poverty Reduction, Republic of Indonesia, March 2014), <[www.iisd.org/gsi/sites/default/files/ffs\\_indonesia\\_briefing\\_welfare.pdf](http://www.iisd.org/gsi/sites/default/files/ffs_indonesia_briefing_welfare.pdf)>.

36. The government of Papua Province has implemented RESPEK (*Rencana Strategis Pembangunan Kampung*), Village Development Strategic Plan, since 2007 with an aim to eradicate poverty. The programme distributes 100 million rupiah to each village. RESPEK funds can be used to build infrastructure and to fund economic activities in villages, <[www.kompasiana.com/aryadwiputra/55299e75f17e613e0fd623a6/kehadiran-program-respek-sangat-membantu-masyarakat-papua](http://www.kompasiana.com/aryadwiputra/55299e75f17e613e0fd623a6/kehadiran-program-respek-sangat-membantu-masyarakat-papua)>.

*[F]unds for women's programmes have been dispersed by the government and the community knows there is money, but the head of the district, the village, and all their family members use it so that this money is never distributed to the community.*

FM, Wamena

With no information and no opportunity to participate in local meetings, participants felt there was little accountability around how development funding and programmes are implemented in their communities. For example, in Maibo, Sorong women said they are aware that Special Autonomy funding is available in their village but say only village officials make decisions about the use of the funds and there is no accountability or transparency. Participants in Merauke also felt there was a lack of transparency and accountability with Special Autonomy funding, noting that 6% should be earmarked for women, but there haven't been programmes that specifically address the issues women are facing. In all locations there is a crisis of confidence in the government and a sense of despair that Special Autonomy funds are being misappropriated and not reaching indigenous Papuan women.

*The village head bought gravel to fix the muddy road out of the village . . . After just one time [adding gravel] they said the Special Autonomy money was finished . . . There is no accountability for Special Autonomy funding.*

NK, Sorong

*The president has spoiled the men with the Special Autonomy money; they all run to the city to get drunk. Women now wear shorts and do all the work.*

MM, Jayawijaya

### Indigenous women face bureaucratic obstacles to obtaining basic identification documents necessary to access services.

A pervasive theme throughout this research shows that Papuan women face difficulties in obtaining identification documents that are, in turn, needed to access government assistance and services. For example, as mentioned above, some women victims of domestic violence have trouble obtaining police protection for lack of a marriage certificate (Papuan customary marriages often do not register their marriages with the state). Some women are stigmatized for living in areas considered to be controlled by OPM, such as Biak and Wamena. Another factor that contributes to problems with documents is urban migration. Members of the Asmat Clan, in particular, who migrate from their villages to Merauke City are unable to access services because their personal and family ID cards make them eligible for services in Asmat Regency, not in the city they currently reside.

### Papuan women lack access to markets and lack protection for their local products.

Indigenous women traders (popularly known as “*mama-mama pasar*” or “market mothers”) struggle to compete against the growing numbers of migrant traders from other parts of Indonesia. They are increasingly marginalized in the marketplace, both physically and economically, face challenges in finding affordable and reliable transport to the market and cannot secure safe and strategic places to sell their goods.

Many indigenous women traders must compete with recent migrants from other areas of Indonesia who have begun to sell traditional Papuan products such as betel nut and vegetables. Because non-Papuans often have better access to capital, they are stiff competition for indigenous Papuans.

Papuan women are forced to sell their goods in marginal locations within or outside recognized market areas thus reducing their access to customers. After covering their costs (rent for space at the market, payment for use of toilets and for food) their profit is minimal.

*They come and sell the same things that we sell, and the places we get [to sell] are not good. I sell on the floor, next to the bags, shoes, and clothes. How can I sell when people who are buying can't see me?*

YW, Sorong

*I sell vegetables, but outside the market. We are often reprimanded by the security/police, but we continue to sell. We do not care because there are no other places for us Papuans to sell.*

MA, Merauke

Ampera Market in Merauke burned down in 2003, so traders used a temporary market until 2013 when a new market was opened in Wamanggu. Non-Papuan traders use the majority of the new market's area, and even those Papuan women who do have space inside the market are not in optimal locations for trade.

Merauke female traders have advocated for a market suitable for their needs. Academics and students from the University of Musamus in Merauke have supported this agenda and have developed eight strategic issues to protect indigenous women's economic access.

In February 2016, hundreds of market traders gathered to meet with local government agencies to discuss the issue, but only a few agencies attended. The Regent of Merauke has promised to follow up on the issue. "Give us the opportunity to sell our produce," said one of the PAR participants.<sup>37</sup>

In Skouw, Jayapura, it has been difficult for women to get their produce to market. Participants explained that women traders from the villages of Yambe, Mabo, and Sae have worked together, rather than competed with each other, to organise and advocate for transport to Youtefa Market where they can sell their coconuts. They have created a schedule so that women from each of the three villages take turns picking up the women's produce from their gardens and delivering it to the market. This has really helped them sell their garden produce and livestock, and has increased their income. Women in Merauke also spoke of good quality local produce, but because of limited transportation, much fruit becomes rotten and wasted.

Women in all locations mentioned they face challenges in accessing capital and credit at manageable rates and through simple processes, and that there are no policies to protect indigenous trade. For example, women spoke of using loan sharks and paying high interest because the requirements of the banks are too complicated. Because women are frequently the breadwinners in their families and are responsible for supporting their children to attend school, this is a significant barrier to building up capital.

*Papuan women who sell vegetables and betel nut can't get a loan from the bank. They say we have to bring a certificate as a guarantee. Yet the banks give capital to the migrants [from other parts of Indonesia].*

YW, Sorong

*If I borrow from the bank, I can't organize it all, the requirements are too many . . . I can't manage much money.*

AS, Sorong

### Indigenous women increasingly find difficulty in accessing clean water.

The high cost of education weighs heavily on the shoulders of Papuan women who work hard to earn cash to pay school fees. Women participants expressed concerns about how they would be able to pay for their children's education, particularly after primary school. A woman in Maibo noted the stress surrounding the costs of education.

*If we don't have money, our children in junior and senior high school cannot go to school . . . the motorcycle taxi costs Rp. 40.000 for them to go and return [to school each day] . . . In the village we only have a primary school . . . We are so stressed; if we don't have money, they can't go to school . . . We struggle to get the money . . . but it's not even enough to buy them snacks.*

AG, Maibo

Another woman talked about how land certificates were given to migrants in order to get cash loans of 15 million rupiahs to pay for school fees. In the border areas, however, indigenous women must leave their homes for days at a time to sell cocoa and betel nut in PNG in order to get enough cash to pay for their children's education.

Women in more remote locations lamented the lack of schools in or near their villages. In remote areas, children must travel long distances, sometimes riding on the back of a truck, to get to school. For example, in Jayapura (*Kampung Yamara*) one woman worried about the lack of transportation for school children.

*The government does not pay attention to our school children. They don't pay attention to transportation even though the primary school and high school are in another village far away. But we parents care about our own children; we give them motorbikes and then they have accidents. We are half dead trying to take care of our children so that later the government will be happy with our children.*

KI, Jayapura

37. "Mama-Mama Papua Sesalkan SKPD Bersikap Apatitis," Target Tabloid (February 2015), <targettabloid.co.id/berita/8061-mama-mama-papua-sesalkan-skpd-bersikap-apatitis>.

# Lessons in Using Participatory Methods



## 5. Lessons in Using Participatory Methods



A key lesson from the research reiterates that the needs of indigenous women survivors of violence must be addressed in holistic and balanced ways that seek to improve their lives. Our experience using participatory action research has shown the potential to empower participants, giving rise to action both among women and at a community level. Some of these actions have been facilitated by PWG local partners, to immediately address issues raised by participants.

In contexts of entrenched impunity, where there is little, if any, state commitment to engage resources and reform in order to stop the perpetration of violations, the pursuit of justice and change solely through judicial or government channels is often futile, and fails to genuinely address the pressing needs of victims. While those approaches are an important aspect of righting past wrongs, other avenues to address trauma, injustice, and ongoing suffering must be explored.



Through the research process, PWG developed a framework for the recovery and strengthening of indigenous women to building lives free from violence. This framework takes as its objective the recovery of Papuan women victims of violence, and the rebuilding of their lives and communities, and does not focus solely on judicial outcomes. It ensures that women are considered holistically and as active agents of change.



The framework demands acknowledgement and action in four distinct but interrelated elements that must be addressed in a balanced and genuine way in order to encourage the recovery of women victims. Only then can they, their families, and their communities become agents of change for lives free from violence.

- After initial provision of support to victims after incidents of violence (legal protection and provision of health and other services), serious efforts are needed to strengthen the foundations of the women's lives. This includes adequate housing; access to health services; access to education; and access to sources of livelihood, namely, land, gardens, forests, and water.
- In order for justice and security for women victims of violence to be achieved, the government and communities need to give recognition to victims of violence, especially victims of state violence. For victims of domestic violence, clear and consistent messages that violence against women is wrong must come from state, religious, and customary institutions. This is in addition to ensuring access to legal processes that can provide a sense of security to victims.

- Strengthening healing processes to address trauma and suffering must be a priority for those working with survivors. Access to long-term psychosocial support and services should be prioritised while at the same time acknowledging that healing processes are often spiritual. Therefore, efforts must include working with religious and customary institutions that touch the lives of victims. Crucial to ensuring that victims heal is the presence of long-term assistance.
- Finally, women victims need a glimmer of hope to improve their lives and that of their children. Without this hope, women will abandon efforts to build solidarity with other victims, as well as efforts to build a life and community free from violence.

It is important to note that while this framework focuses on the lives of victims, the burden of justice and peace lies with perpetrators and powerful institutions. Individual transformation at the community level cannot solve all problems and should not aim to do so. Instead, governments, traditional and religious institutions, as well as international communities and civil society must make commitments and give resources at every level to make real and lasting change.

**Participatory approaches help convey information and support women's empowerment.**

Participants in the community exercises were very appreciative of the process and, for some, it was the first time they felt they had been engaged in development issues and learnt a great deal from the process. For example, in Maibo, Sorong, women commented that the process was empowering because they learned about available assistance and their rights to these services.

*[W]omen came to realize that they have a right to know about the use of Special Autonomy funds, and a right to benefit from Special Autonomy programmes.*

YG, Sorong

This is significant in view of the finding that many indigenous Papuan women feel excluded from development processes, either because they are not encouraged or allowed to participate, or because they do not have the necessary information available to claim assistance and entitlements.

*[B]efore we felt we could not [do anything], we were at the back, just in the kitchen; those in the front were the men, because that's our tradition here. But from these two days of meetings, I feel we have been supported to speak out: "This is me. I am here." . . . It has made us believe in ourselves as traditional women who can speak out in front, with men.*

YF, Keerom

Some reflected that the participatory exercises gave them an opportunity to tap into skills they had forgotten, which clearly brought a sense of achievement and joy.

*I had already thrown away my pencil in 1967, but yesterday and today I picked it up again at 62 years of age. I took it and, to my surprise, I once again drew and wrote. For that I am so thankful.*

TR, Skouw

Throughout the research process, women said that the opportunity to sit and discuss together, sharing ideas and information, was not only practically useful, but created solidarity with other women. This solidarity was frequently mentioned as one of the main sources of strength for Papuan women. Women requested that the process continue as it was an opportunity to learn from each other and share.

*We hope there is a women's space set up so we can learn together, and the process will not stop now . . . If possible, there should be follow-up activities so women can get new information so that those who don't know, can come to know.*

YM, Maibo

In addition to women's networks, research participants raised the need to involve men in dialogue for change. As a member of the PWG asked: "Where are the men?" She reflected on the need to involve indigenous Papuan men to talk about their role in the family and transforming their relationship with women for the sake of a better future for Papua. Long-term and persistent advocacy by Papuan women's networks that include strong links to both grassroots groups and policy makers need to be strengthened. A former parliamentarian reflected on ten years of being a legislator:

*These problems have been persistent in Papua for a long time. The main problem is there is no political will. There are few policies and programmes that side with women . . . People in parliament know about these issues but without pressure or advocacy on what should happen, they don't want to listen. We can make those policies if there is political will among officials in Papua. Special Autonomy gives us Papuans an opportunity. But mostly men [attend] the village meetings and the Development Planning Meeting here, there are almost no women [present].*

YM, Maibo

Women also expressed their desire to build their capacity and increase their knowledge through this kind of process.

*We feel a deficit of human resources, [so] we need the empowerment of Papuan women. We also want to align ourselves with other Papuan women. We want to be empowered! Our message is that this activity must be continued.*

YF, Keerom

### **Discussions among women promote broader conversations with members of families and communities.**

Assistance and discussion with women participants encourage and enable broader community-wide change. Women spoke of how they began to discuss with their husbands the importance of personal ID cards and family identity certificates to be able to access public services and support programmes, in particular, government assistance for education and health. The result of such conversations means these issues move out of the realm of the women's responsibility and are discussed at the community level as a common agenda.

*The women participants thank us for our continued attention and visits; coming to sit and talk with them. From the result of the discussion with the facilitator team, the women could discuss the ID card issues with their husbands. The husbands agreed to submit data [needed to obtain] ID cards for [members of] their community . . . After attending a worship service last week, we were invited to their church. The male and female leaders sat in the church and explained to the people the importance of having an ID card and a family card. There were some Asmat students who weren't doing anything and they finally offered to help do the data collection independently [for free]. Now, 23 people have been recorded to apply for ID and family cards. The data has been submitted to the village head for the next process in the district.*

BG, Facilitator, Merauke

## Recommendations



### 6. Recommendations

The experiences of indigenous Papuan women today, captured in the findings of this research, demonstrate the difficult context that continues to ensnare them in a cycle of violence and marginalization. An overhaul in the approaches used by government agencies, international actors, donors, and civil society must include the creation of genuine space for dialog with Papuan women who need to be part of any lasting solution for peace and human rights.

#### **1. Take urgent steps to stop human rights violations and violence against women by redressing the past, addressing current challenges, and strengthening indigenous women's resilience.**

National and Provincial Governments must:

- Reaffirm their commitment to end violence against women during and after the conflict, and end legal impunity for violence against women, using provisions that already exist in the Special Autonomy Law.
- Immediately implement the existing law, Local Special Law 1/2011 on the Redress of Papuan Women's Rights for Victims of Violence and Human Rights Violations (*Perdatus No 1/2011 Pemulihan Hak Perempuan Papua Korban Kekerasan dan Pelanggaran Hak Asasi Manusia*) as a tool for the recovery of women victims of violence and the prevention of violence against women. This needs to be accompanied by adequate efforts and resources to support initiatives to strengthen women victims at the community level.
- Facilitate mapping of services for survivors of violence and support data collection in a way that is accessible to indigenous village women; for example, use local languages, images, radio broadcasts, or dissemination of information through women's organizations.
- Ensure effective programmes for women victims of both domestic and state violence, including programmes for women who need legal assistance or medical care. This includes working with local groups and church groups to provide trauma healing that includes documenting and acknowledging women's stories and ensuring access to needed services.
- Support local initiatives for behaviour change and prevention of violence by collaborating with indigenous elders, men, boys, and churches. Provide special services for children of victims such as scholarships to the college level, skills training, and health and psychosocial support. Ensure long-term rehabilitation for women victims through services and socio-economic support, and provide special services for women and children with HIV/AIDS.
- Support indigenous Papuan traders by making and enforcing rules that protect them and by regulating the sale of local commodities by non-Papuan traders. Consult Papuan women when designing new market buildings to ensure that the space is safe, large enough, and culturally comfortable for them to use. Guarantee space for Papuan women to meet and market their creations, and provide access to capital and microfinance projects for individual women and women's groups.

**2. Human rights institutions must renew efforts to address past and present systematic human rights violations, with a strong focus on indigenous women and their role as leaders in this process.**

The National Commission on Violence Against Women (Komnas Perempuan), the Papuan People's Council (Majelis Rakyat Papua, MRP), and National Human Rights Commission shall:

- Conduct a special inquiry into cases of gross human rights violations with a focus on women. This includes the following cases: Bloody Biak (6 July 1998), Tiga Raja Church in Timika (1 December 1999), Theys Eluay Murder (10 Nov 2001), Wasior (13 June 2001), Wamena (4 April 2003), the Murder of four Paniai High School Students (7 December 2014), as well as various cases of violence reported by civil society groups in Papua.
- Take a proactive role in supporting implementation of the Special Law 1/2011, forming a special cooperation to document the situation and advocate for the demands of women victims in Papua.
- Encourage the improvement of emergency services for victims of violence against women, as well as access to quality health services for Papuan women.

**3. Ensure the participation and genuine engagement of indigenous women in naming and finding solutions for their issues, working in a holistic manner that includes attention to economic, social, civil, and political rights.**

Civil society, faith-based organizations, and women's groups should take further steps towards:

- Integrating services for victims of domestic violence with support for women victims of conflict. Survivors of different contexts of violence can draw support from each other by participating in a peer support network. This includes ensuring the availability of special services for women with HIV/AIDS.
- Manage innovative programmes to strengthen women victims' access to justice in conflict and post-conflict situations, support learning, networking, and social and economic activities for women victims. Provide legal assistance for various issues such as protection against discrimination and of land rights, and support access to justice for gross human rights violations.
- Innovate new approaches to help indigenous women market their products, for example involving local youth groups to order local food and vegetables from them.
- Encourage the transformation of customary law to ensure affirmation of the rights of women heads of household that include rights to land and houses, and rights to inheritance. Support learning exchanges for indigenous women's groups on the issue of indigenous women's rights to land.

- Seek to overcome discrimination against women victims, especially victims of sexual violence, through education about the problem. Give special attention to family members of victims to change attitudes that blame the victim. Also, influence religious institutions in the community to eliminate discrimination and protect women victims of new violence.
- Collaborate with leaders in reviewing existing systems and structures so that women are involved as stakeholders and decision makers. At the same time, explore ways to increase women's resilience, strength, and role in traditional structures.

Donors and International Agencies working in Papua should:

- Support the development of indigenous women's networks and support local organizations instead of creating their own donor-driven facilities/organizations. Sustainable programmes require support for organizations that have been working with women's groups, with approaches that build solidarity and coordination.
- Promote participatory methods in training, advocacy and research on topics such as sexual and reproductive health, violence against women and girls, trauma recovery, small businesses, paralegal skills, etc.















## Annex: Key Information on the Participatory Action Research (PAR) Process

### Code of Ethics for PAR Process

PWG was well aware of the potential damage and danger for individual women and their families who participated in activities when they were asked questions about their personal lives, in particular questions concerning their control of resources, leadership, and decision making. The methodology followed World Health Organisation (WHO) recommendations for conducting research on violence against women. These guidelines address the safety and security of participants and of the research team, confidentiality, and respect. All community facilitators and AJAR staff were briefed on these guiding principles. Community facilitators received training on how to work with survivors of violence, and to identify and make referrals to service providers for women who may need support.

### Limitations and Constraints of the PAR Process

**Time constraints:** Both participants and researchers/facilitators felt there was insufficient time allocated to use the research tools as planned, especially as participants included women<sup>38</sup> from remote locations across Papua's two provinces. However, the women were able to understand and participate meaningfully in the process because the facilitators provided a safe space for them to gather. They felt relaxed and so were able to speak out in the time they had. This ensured that the data collected was good quality.

**Capacity needs of researchers:** The researchers/facilitators are still developing their skills, particularly those needed to dig deeper when gathering information, identify patterns (of violations or women's resilience), analyse the data, and take good notes. AJAR staff accompanied the research team to mentor and support them in the field.

**Target groups and strengthening research:** The research was useful to obtain the views of women at the community level and has confirmed previous studies. However, to enact change, policy makers at the national and provincial levels need to be engaged in dialogue with indigenous Papuan women. A recommended follow-up action is for the PWG to share the research results with policy makers and engage them in discussion about the findings.

### Members of the PWG (2014–18)

1. Mientje D. E. Roembiak (Cenderawasih University, deceased)
2. Galuh Wandita (Asia Justice and Rights)
3. Frida Kelasin (Member of Parliament, West Papua Province)
4. Pdt. Leonora D. Balubun (Coordinator KPKC, Protestant Church in Papua)
5. Anselmus Amo (Director SKP Merauke Diocese)
6. Yusan Yeblo (Member of Papuan People's Council, West Papua)
7. Zandra Mambrasar (ELSHAM Papua)
8. Estu Rakhmi Fanani (CEDAW Working Group Indonesia)

38. Putting Women First: Ethical and Safety Recommendations for Research on Domestic Violence Against Women (WHO, 2003), <[www.who.int/gender/violence/womenfirtseng.pdf](http://www.who.int/gender/violence/womenfirtseng.pdf)> and Ethical and Safety Recommendations for Researching, Documenting and Monitoring Sexual Violence in Emergencies (WHO, 2007), <[www.who.int/gender/documents/OMS\\_Ethics&Safety10Aug07.pdf](http://www.who.int/gender/documents/OMS_Ethics&Safety10Aug07.pdf)>.

## Facilitators (2013–18)

1. Beatrix Gebze (el-Addper, Merauke)
2. Cornelius Tuwong (el-Adpper, Merauke)
3. Yuliana Teraka (el-Adpper, Merauke)
4. Maria Kanden (Merauke)
5. Seletinus Boi Jupjo (Merauke)
6. Tri Kanem (SKP KAME, Merauke)
7. Pdt. Magdalena Kafiar (KPKC GKI, Jayapura)
8. Monaliza Upuya (KPKC GKI, Jayapura)
9. Yafet Rolo (KPKC GKI, Jayapura)
10. Desi Natalia Daimbia (KPKC GKI, Jayapura)
11. Maria Imbiri (KPKC GKI, Jayapura)
12. Ani Sipa (ELSHAM Papua, Jayapura)
13. Augusta Melani Sorabut (ELSHAM Papua, Jayapura)
14. Tineke Krey (ELSHAM Papua, Jayapura)
15. Elsa Sroyer (Biak)
16. Susana Simbiak (Biak)
17. Charles Pombos (Biak)
18. Yeta Adelina Wabiser (Biak)
19. Margaretha Wetipo (Humi Inane, Wamena)
20. Benny Kosay (Humi Inane, Wamena)
21. Benny Wetipo (Humi Inane, Wamena)
22. Ertina Wetipo (Humi Inane, Wamena)
23. Maria Kosay (Humi Inane, Wamena)
24. Maria Pabika (Humi Inane, Wamena)
25. Rosario Baru (Belantara Papua, Sorong)
26. Linda Assem (Belantara Papua, Sorong, deceased)
27. Sarce Linda Wambrauw (KPKC GKI, Sorong)
28. Selviana Yolanda (formerly with Asia Justice and Rights)
29. Sorang Saragih (Asia Justice and Rights)
30. Paskalena Daby (Asia Justice and Rights)
31. Emmanuella Kania Mamonto (Asia Justice and Rights)



*I am  
Here*

Published by:

Supported by:

