ENOUGH IS ENOUGH!

Testimonies of Papuan Women Victims of Violence and Human Rights Violations 1963-2009



DOCUMENTATION WORKING GROUP
ON VIOLENCE AND HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS AGAINST PAPUAN WOMEN
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Cover photo
Picture on the cover is the silhouette of a mother in Sorong district who are giving her story. Photo taken in 2009.

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Source: Komnas Perempuan, 2009.

I. INTRODUCTION

We women of Papua have been bruised, cornered, besieged from all directions. We are not safe at home, and even less so outside the home. The burden we bear to feed our children is too heavy. The history of the Papuan people is covered in blood, and women are no exception as victims of the violence of blind military actions. We have experienced rape and sexual abuse in detention, in the grasslands, while seeking refuge, no matter where we were when the army and police conducted operations in the name of security. Furthermore, in our own homes we repeatedly have been victims of violence. When we cry for help, they say, "That's a family matter, take care it in the family." Throughout the Land of Papua, there is not one single shelter especially for women victims of violence.

In this precarious situation, we, a group of Papuan women comprising human rights workers, church activists, NGO activists, and academics, along with some friends who are concerned about the situation in Papua, have tried to create a portrait of violence against Papuan women. After a long process, in May 2009, we came together and tried to map key events in which Papua women have experienced violence. We have tried to understand patterns of violence that includes violence committed by security forces, violence resulting from efforts to seize natural resources in Papua, and violence we have experienced in our own households. The HIV/AIDS epidemic that has increasingly cornered us has become worse with the entry of liquor and management of the Papua Special Autonomy funds that are not well targeted.

We shared our tasks, inviting friends with similar views to join us, to see the injustice experienced by Papuan women, and go to our territories to try to record the stories of victims. We engaged in this effort for three months and then met again to collect the stories that the women had entrusted to us. This report is an effort to share the experiences of Papuan women that we found in various corners of this beloved land. From the testimonies of the 261 people we interviewed (243 women and 18 men), we shout to demand for change that cannot be postponed any longer. We disseminate this report back to the informants who were willing to tell their stories to us and to the wider public. However, this report is primarily a form of complaint and also of aspiration of Papuan women that we hand over to the MRP (*Majelis Rakyat Papua*, Papua People's Assembly) for follow-up according to the authority of the MRP. Furthermore, we hope that the MRP will submit this report to the National Women's Commission for follow-up at the national level.

The Documentation Team realizes that the events revealed in this documentation process are not complete, but rather just the tip of the iceberg. The Documentation Team is certain that there are several other cases not covered in this report. Nevertheless, this Team feels that what is reflected here, with particular attention to the experiences of Papuan women, represents a broader pattern of violence

1. How We Collected Women's Stories and Wrote the Report

1.1. Who We Are

We are women and human rights activists who have counseled women victims of violence in Papua and advocated for their rights. Through the facilitation of the National Women's Commission, we agreed to conduct a documentation program about violence against women in Papua during the past four decades. At a preparatory meeting in Abepura, Jayapura in May 2009 we decided to carry out a joint work program called "Documenting Violence and Human Rights Violations Against Papuan Women". We developed and agreed on the documentation framework, and determined the team of documenters comprising eleven institutions represented by twenty-two of their members. These documenters are activists and counselors of victims in the regions that were documented who were well known by the victims and the communities where the victims live. In addition, eleven individuals/ community leaders joined the Documentation Team

as experts who supported the process of analysis and report writing. Five human rights workers from the National Women's Commission and ICTJ (the International Center for Transitional Justice) facilitated the process of education about documentation for the documenters and accompanied the team during the documentation process.

1.2. Mandate of the Documentation Team

Through intensive discussions the Documentation Team agreed on the scope of work as follows:

- Conduct fact-finding and document cases of violence against women and gender-based human rights violations experienced by Papuan women during the four decades from 1963 to 2009;
- Conduct analysis of cases of violence against women and human rights abuses of Papuan women. The critical and in-depth analysis used a gender and human rights perspective, and referred to the Constitution, laws and related national policies as well as relevant international laws;
- Prepare a documentation report complete with recommendations. The agencies that conducted the documentation will submit this report to the MPR through the launch of a public forum attended by state administration institutions at the provincial level in Papua and West Papua. The Documentation Team will also lead the process for implementation of recommendations by the government.

1.3. Scope

Given the breadth and complexity of the problem of violence against Papuan women, violations of their human rights, Papua's vast geographical area, and our limitations of time and resources, we agreed to limit the scope of this documentation, namely the period covered by the documentation covers the initial integration of West Irian into the Republic of Indonesia until the enactment of Special Autonomy (1963-2009). Cases of violence against women and human rights violations chosen for documentation were priority cases that met specific criteria (large impact; able to illustrate events related to other contexts); cases associated with major events; cases not yet revealed in existing human rights reports and that can complement these human rights reports. The cases documented were cases of violence and human rights violations of women that occurred in the domestic sphere (family) and in public in the context of extractive industries, entertainment, militarism, culture, development policy, and so forth. This documentation is expected to explore the link between the cases and these contexts. Documentation locations covered almost all of Papua and West Papua Provinces, including Manokwari and Sorong; Biak and Nabire; Jayapura City/District, Sarmi, Keerom; Mimika; Jayawijaya, Puncak Jaya and Yahukimo; and the regions of Merauke, Boven Digoel, and Mappi.

1.4. Documentation Method and Process

The search for field data began with identification of women victims as the main sources of information about cases that occurred in particular contexts in the regions selected for documentation. The docuemnter teams, that comprised two to three local documenters and one person from the team of facilitators, went to the field to interview and record (in writing and/or with audio tapes) the experience of victims. Interviews were conducted using a number of guiding questions based on a documentation instrument that team members had developed together. The documenters expected to get complete and in-depth information from the narratives of women victims about the kind and extent of violence that victims experienced, the extent of its influence on the lives of victims and their families (the destructive force of violence on the victim), how the victims managed to escape or cope with the violence and its impact, the victims' ability to survive, and the hopes of women victims for their futures (and those of their families/communities). The gender perspective we used ensured that we did justice to the victims and were not limited by a gender bias that often obscures the truth as seen from the point of view and experiences of women victims. To supplement information from women victims, especially related to the context of cases they experienced,

the documenters organized focus group discussions that involved witnesses (traditional leaders, village heads, elders in the village, etc.). To supplement the data and ensure accuracy of data being sought about the context of violent incidents, documenters benefited from existing human rights reports on the related incidents, as well as books and other scientific research.

The Documentation Team and facilitators met regularly to share the documentation, to ensure the data was complete, and to ensure the verification process was conducted. After all the data was collected, the documenters, facilitation team, and the team of experts studied all findings from the field, analyzed it carefully from a gender and human rights perspective, formulated the roots and essence of the issues, and formulated recommendations. These findings, analysis, and recommendations are written in this report, after being further enriched through a series of meetings.

During the field documentation proses, the National Women's Commission and ICTJ Indonesia provided assistance and intensive mentoring to the regions where documentation was conducted. This activity was intended to support the field documentation process and help the team of documenters when they encountered obstacles and problems in the field, including assistance in reporting results of the documentation.

The team of documenters noted various obstacles they encountered in implementing the documentation. **First** was the *difficult geography and expensive transport*. To reach areas that were the focus of documentation, the team sometimes had to wait for days to get transportation such as airplanes or motorboats because their schedules depended on the weather. Of course these conditions affected the team's ability to gather information widely and deeply. **Second** was the *condition of victims who are still traumatized, tired, and full of suspicion and distrust of outsiders*. This situation is caused mainly by the long history of violence and racial discrimination suffered by women victims, while at the same time there are almost no reparation and advocacy efforts made on their behalf.



Source: Komnas Perempuan, 2009.

II. BACKGROUND

1. A Brief History of Conflict

Papuan women's experience of violence is inseparable from the history of power conflicts that has plagued the Land of Papua for so long. During the Second World War, the territory of Papua was part of the battlefield in the war between Japanese and Allied forces. At the end of the Second World War, the Dutch government sought to regain control of Indonesian territory, but eventually handed over formal sovereignty to the government of the Republic of Indonesia in December 1949. At that time, Papua was still controlled by the Dutch government that promised a gradual process of decolonization. But then, "liberation" of this territory became the focus of diplomatic efforts, military and intelligence operations, as well as political campaigns by the Soekarno government. In August 1962, with support from the United States and mediation by the United Nations (UN), an agreement between the Netherlands and the Government of Indonesia was reached that mandated, among other things, the transfer of administration of Papua from the Netherlands to the United Nations Temporary Executive Authority (UNTEA)[1] for a short transition period leading towards handing over of the territory to the Government of Indonesia. This New York Agreement also required the government of Indonesia, with assistance of the United Nations, to conduct a referendum in accordance with principles of international law. On October 1, 1962, the Dutch government handed over the territory of Papua to UNTEA. At the same time, Operation "Liberation" of West Irian brought the Indonesian army to Papua.

Based on the New York agreement of August 1962, UNTEA transferred administration of Papua to Indonesia on May 1963, and at the same time lowered the Morning Star flag that flew together with the Dutch flag at that time. Prior to the New York agreement, Indonesia launched a military operation in Papua called Trikora (People's Three Commandos) on December 19, 1961, and formed the Coordinating Secretariat of West Irian Affairs (Sekkib), a mechanism for governing the Papua territory as part of the Republic of Indonesia. This shift did not occur without conflict, with the emergence of the first resistance movement in Manokwari in 1965. In that year, a resistance organization, known as the Free Papua Movement or OPM, was formed.[2]

Conflict and state violence that has occurred in Papua has been caused by different perceptions of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia (GoI) and the people of Papua regarding the history of Papua's integration. The GoI considers the integration of Papua into the Republic of Indonesia as official based on the results of an act of free choice called Pepera (*Penentuan Pendapat Rakyat* or the People's Referendum), whereas the people of Papua are of the opinion that the Pepera process was conducted in an atmosphere of intimidation and deception, and not according to international standards where every adult has the right to determine his or her political choice directly.

Indonesia proposed a voting procedure using a system of deliberation that is quite contrary to international practice. A total of 1025 people were elected without a clear mechanism, and considered by GoI as representatives representing at least 800,000 people in Papua at that time. Besides the referendum being conducted under threats and intimidation, there were outbreaks of resistance such as in Wahgete and Enarotali, Paniai District.

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[1] The Agreement Between the Republic of Indonesian and the Kingdom of the Netherlands Concerning West New Guinea (West Irian) was signed in the central office of the UN in New York on August 15, 1962, http://www.indonesiaseoul.org/archives/papua/Agreement between RI and Netherland.pdf.

[2] "Menelusuri Tapak-Tapak OPM" ["Investigating OPM's Footprints"], *Tempo* 46/XXIX, January 15, 2001. http://wwwmajalah.tempointeraktif.com/id/arsip/2001/01/15/SEL/mbm.20010115.SEL76607.id.html. See also Muridan Widjojo and others, *Papua Road Map: Negotiating the Past, Improving the Present and Securing the Future* (Indonesian Institute of Sciences/LIPI, 2008), http://www.sydney.edu.au/arts/peace_conflict/docs/ PAPUA_ROAD_MAP_Short_Eng.pdf.

Table of Military Operations in Papua, 1963-2004[3]

Period	Operation	Leader of the Operation	Explanation (aim of operation)
Mei 1963–April 1964	Wisnumurti I & II	Brigadier General U. Rukman	
1964–66	Wisnumurti III dan IV, Operasi Giat, Operasi Tangkas, Operasi Sadar	Brigadier General Kartidjo	
Maret 1966	Baratayudha	Brigadier General R. Bintoro	eliminate OPM and ensure "Pepera" victory
25 Juni 1968	Sadar, Baratayudha dan Wibawa	Sarwo Edhie Wibowo	preparations for implementation of "Pepera"
1970–74	Pamungkas	Brigadier General Acub Zainal	
1977–78	Kikis [Eliminate]	General Imam Munandar	security operations along the RI-PNG border
1978–82	Sapu Bersih [Clean Sweep]	General C.I. Santoso	chase OPM in Biak and guard the RI-PNG border
1984	Sate	R.K. Sembiring Meliala	Jayapura security ops. and RI-PNG border (caused tens of thousands of refugees to flee from Papua to PNG)
1985–86	Gagak I	Major General Simanjuntak	
1986–87	Gagak II	Setiana	
1987–89	Kasuari I and II	Wismoyo Arismunandar	
1989–91	Rajawali I and II	Abinowo	
1998–99	securing dangerous regions	Amir Sembiring	
1999–2002	prevent flying of Morning Star flag	Mahidin Simbolon	
2002–04	sweeping in Wamena	Nurdin Zaenal	

[3] The data in this section refers to the Pledge of Nusa Bhakti, "Analisis Kebijakan Militer di Papua," ["Analysis of Military Policy in Papua,"] in *Perlawanan Kaki Telanjang: 25 Tahun Gerakan Masyarakat Sipil di Papua* [Barefoot Resistance: 25 Years of Civil Society Movement in Papua], ed. Japheth Kambai, Victor Mambar, and Kenny Mayabubun (Jayapura: Foker LSM Papua, 2007), 21; Robin Osborne, *Indonesia's Secret War: The Guerilla Struggle in Irian Jaya* (Australia: Allen & Unwin, Pty. Ltd., 1987), 145–6.

The turmoil that swept across Indonesia at the time President Soeharto was strengthening his power at the beginning of the New Order also had an impact on the territory of Papua. Concretely, a military operation called Operation Awareness (1965-1967) was deployed to quell dissent in Papua. Within a few short years, the Indonesian government had signed a work contract with PT Freeport McMoran in April 1967, handing over millions of hectares of land for exploitation through mining. Ironically, this work contract was signed two years before the people of Papua determined the status and rights of Papuans through the "People's Referendum" in 1969 that was also witnessed and supported by UN representatives.[4]

The New Order regime opened up opportunities for large-scale exploitation of natural resources in Papua, with hundreds of new contracts for mining, logging, oil palm plantations, oil and gas exploitation as well as various other development projects.

The period of reform provided new opportunities for expressions of disappointment by Papuan society for the New Order government's abuse of power. In July 1998, approximately 500 students at Cenderwasih University (UNCEN) in Abepura, Jayapura City, Papua Province, rallied in front of the UNCEN administration building to demand the demilitarization of West Papua, the convening of a new referendum, and review of the New York agreement.[5] In Jakarta, the momentum of reform gave formal recognition to the issue of human rights violations in Papua as noted in an MPR resolution that states the country's commitment to "settle cases of human rights violations in Irian Jaya through a fair and dignified judicial process . . ."[6] In 1999, Team 100 that represented various components of Papuan society surprised President Habibie with their demand for independence. In a 2000 New Year's celebration in Doc 5 Jayapura, President Abdurrahman Wahid agreed to 'change' the name of Irian Jaya to Papua and to allow the raising of the Morning Star flag as a symbol of Papuan culture. In the same year the Second Papuan Congress was held with the support of President Abdurrahman Wahid, and the political movement in Papua became more consolidated with the formation of the Papuan Presidium Council led by Theys Hiyo Eluay.[7] However, political openness did not last long. With the detention of the Presidium's board on charges of "treason", a tense situation again swept across Papua. On December 7, 2000, a group of people attacked the Abepura police station, sparking a counter operation by the Police Mobile Brigade that detained and tortured hundreds of people, and killed three people. In November 2001, Theys Hiyo Eluay was found murdered after attending a Memorial Day celebration at the headquarters of the military's Special Command Force (Kopassus) in Hamadi, Jayapura.[8]

Law No. 21 of 2001 regarding Special Autonomy for Papua Province, which was passed on November 21, 2001, was a political compromise negotiated between Papuan intellectuals and the Indonesian government. This law provides a framework for governance by Papuans themselves within the Unitary Republic of Indonesia, particularly in relation to an acknowledgement that "the implementation of governance and development in Papua Province to date has not yet fulfilled a sense of justice, not made possible the achievement of public welfare, not supported the establishment of law enforcement, and has not fully

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[4] See P. J. Drooglever, *Een Daad van Vrije Keuze: De Papoea's van westelijk Nieuw-Guinea en de grenzen van het zeifbeschikkingsrecht* [Act of Free Choice: Papuans in West New Guinea and Limits to the Right to Self-determination], Summary, 15 November 2005, on tapol promoting human rights, peace and democracy in Indonesia, http://tapol.gn.apc.org/reports/droogleverengsum.htm.

[5] The military released fire during the rally, killing one student.

[6] See MPR Resolution No. IV/MPR/1999 regarding the National Five Year Plan 1999-2004 by the MPR General Assembly, October 19, 1999, Article IV, letter G, paragraph 2, point (b).

[7] The First Papuan Congress was held in Hollandia (now Jayapura) on October 12-19, 1961. This Congress made decisions regarding the territory, flag, and song of the Papuan nation.

[8] In 2002, the military court in Surabaya tried Kopassus members suspected of committing the murder of Theys Hiyo Eluay. Three men were found guilty, but received very light sentences (three to four years). Theys Eluay's driver, Aristoteles Masoka, was never found. See B. Giay, *Pembunuhan Theys: Kematian HAM di Tanah Papua* [Theys' Murder: The Death of Human Rights in the Land of Papua] (Yogyakarta: Galang Press, 2006).

shown respect for human rights" (considering, point f). This law was passed as an effort to enforce the basic rights of indigenous Papuans through affirmative action, protection, and empowerment. In particular, Article 47 states that the government has an obligation to promote, empower, and protect women as well as men so that there is gender equality. There are four important breakthroughs: 1) the Province of Papua has authority in all areas of government, except authority in the fields of foreign policy, defense and security, monetary and fiscal matters, religion, and the judicial system; 2) strategic positions such as governor must filled by indigenous Papuans; 3) establishment of the MRP with representatives from traditional cultural, religious, and Papuan women's groups whose duties include, among others, channeling the aspirations and complaints of indigenous peoples, religious communities, women, and society in general that relate to the rights of indigenous Papuans, and facilitate follow-up on settlements; and 4) as much as 70-80% of income from natural resources in Papua is to be enjoyed in Papua.

However, in reality Law No. 21 of 2001 was not implemented consistently. In January 2003, President Megawati Sukarnoputri issued a decision to divide Papua into two provinces, an action contrary to the spirit of Law No. 21 that is based on the unity of indigenous Papuans in one undivided Papua Province. The inconsistency of the central government caused the people of Papua, together with the Papua Traditional Council, on August 12, 2005 to "return" Act 21 of 2001 to the Indonesian government through the Papuan House of Representatives (DPRP) that was marked by delivery of a casket. At the same time, the presence of security forces along the border and in regions where mining, plantation, and timber industries are located, stirred up conflict and increased incidents of violence, especially in carrying out security operations to quell the OPM, that continued to erupt in the era of Special Autonomy in Papua. Thus the Papuan people made a joke: "there is no Special Autonomy, just an Autonomous Case" (in Indonesian, the word *khusus* or special and *kasus* or case sound similar).

Even with the reforms of the post-New Order era and Papua's status as a region of Special Autonomy, the security situation is still not conducive, so that until now security operations continue in various regions of Papua.



Source:

2. Sprouts of the Papuan Women's Movement in Conflict Situations

The ebb and flow of conflict in the Land of Papua has a direct impact on all members of Papuan society, and women are no exception. The experience of violence that has caused such pain to women has helped them to forge a clearer understanding of the issues they have experienced, and made them stronger to survive in uncertain conditions.

At the beginning of the 20th century, Dutch missionary institutions (UZV and ZNHK) promoted education that was led by the wives of teachers in an effort to change the culture of Papuan children. In addition to the school for young boys, *Jongens Vervolg School*/JVVS, and various vocational schools such as *Opleiding Doorps School Onderwijzers*/Odo (Elementary School Teacher Education), in 1949 a formal school was opened for girls, *Meisjes Vervolg School*/MVVS (Girls' Middle School). The purpose of establishing schools was to break the shackles of tradition and culture that impede progress, including that of Papuan girls. A foundation named *Zending Schoollen* (Missionary Schools) was established in 1952 for the education of village children, while in the capital city the government established the LSB School (*Lagere School B*) for the children of civil servants and the public. Then in 1962, the Christian Education Foundation was established to replace *Zending Schollen* and it continues to this date. However, entering the period of transition from Dutch governance to UNTEA in 1962, state vocational schools for women were closed. Then Catholic and Protestant churches established centers of non-formal education for Papuan women. On April 2, 1962, the Evangelical Christian Church (GKI) in West Irian (now GKI in the Land of Papua) founded the Center for Social Education (PPS), which later became the Center for Women's Education, Training, and Development (P3W) in Abepura, Jayapura City of Papua Province.[9] This training center aims to improve life skills and give women the ability to train other village women. At the opening of the PPS, the first indigenous moderator of the GKI Synod, the Reverend F. J. S. Rumainum, said, "Woe to a nation if the men advance, but the women do not participate in the changing times."

In the early 1970s at Enarotali, Delegatus or the Social Unit (Delsos) of the Catholic Church in Jayapura founded the Learning Activities Studio (SKB), an educational center for women who were candidates to become community educators. SKB pupils were girls from the Catholic Church and the Kingmi Church (Evangelical Gospel Tent Church of Indonesia) in a number of villages in various regions of Papua. In general, these education centers taught Papuan women basic "girlhood" skills such as sewing, cooking and addressing nutritional problems, health (helping mothers in childbirth), and economic skills. In addition to non-formal education institutions, in the 1970s Catholic and Protestant (Indonesian Chrisitan Church/GKI) churches established formal elementary to high school level boarding schools in several regions of Papua such as Merauke, Wamena, Jayapura, etc. A number of alumnae from these boarding schools acknowledge that the boarding school pattern of education contributed to the development of discipline, solidarity, and unity among students from various regions of Papua.

A number of women alumnae of these boarding schools became leaders of the women's movement in Papua. For example, Mama Saly Yaboisembut (a graduate of the Santo Paulus Catholic School Education Foundation Junior High School, Abepura) who was a former member of the Wamena House of Representatives; Mama Abina Wasanggai (alumna of the Christian Education Foundation Junior High School, Kotaraja Jayapura), a former commissioner on the Papua Regional Human Rights Commission who currently serves as Secretary of Papua Women's Solidarity; Louisa Maturbongs (alumna of the Catholic School Education Foundation Junior High School, Kokonao), a bureaucrat in the Social Services Bureau of

[9] Some of the P3W alumnae became community leaders, wives of officials, etc., such as Orpa Yohame from Anggruk-Yahukimo who became a member of the Women's Working Group of the MRP; Yultje Wenda, wife of Lukas Enember, the District Head of Puncak Jaya; and Deorothea Merabano, Principal of YPK Elementary School in Mamda, Kemtuk. Interview with Rev. Mesach Koibur (fourth moderator of the Evangelical Christian Church/GKI in Irian Jaya) on March 11, 2010.

Papua Province; Mama Agusthina Basikbasik (alumna of the Catholic School Education Foundation Teacher's Education School, Merauke), who was former Assistant III to the District Head in Merauke and is now a member of the national House of Representatives; Mama Yusan Yeblo (alumna of High School for Skills Accomplishment), a commissioner on the National Women's Commission from 1998–2003; and Zipporah Modouw (alumna of religious school, Abepura) who currently heads the Agency/Bureau for the Empowerment of Women and Children of Papua Province.

In the 1980s, a number of Papuan women pioneered a movement for women's empowerment so they would gain critical awareness about their daily social situations. This movement was led by the late Johana Regina Rumadas, the late Elsye Ayamseba, the late Dorcas Hanasbey, and Greet Jolmend, a group of women who formed the Working Group on Women (*Kelompok Kerja Wanita* or KKW) on November 10, 1983 with the mission of empowering village women. The first issue KKW addressed at that time was men and women's different views on dowry. KKW, like most women's organizations at that time, managed programs to strengthen women in the areas of the economy and technology, while at the same time developing critical awareness about the surrounding social situation. Attention to women's empowerment was also influenced by international developments, especially after the involvement of Mientje D. Roembiak, a delegate from the Foundation for Villagers' Empowerment (YPMD) to the 1985 World Conference on Women in Nairobi. Even so, violence against women and the violation of women's human rights had not yet become major issues in the Papuan women's struggle. The dominant women's issue at that time was women in development (WID).

In 1997, towards the end of the New Order regime, a number of women's non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and women activists joined the Women's Health Network in Eastern Indonesia (JKPIT) for the Papua region. JKPIT tried to link issues of Papuan women's health with the issue of human rights violations, particularly the issue of violence against women. Wearing human rights "eyeglasses", Papua JKPIT began to advocate for women's human rights in the context of large industries by building a network among village women at the grassroots who were grappling with issues that arose as a consequence of actions by companies such as P.T. Freeport in Timika, oil palm plantations in Arso, and logging in Merauke.

3. Papua Women's Awakening (Reformation Period, 1998–Present)

Papuan women have lived in silence for a long time, especially about their experience of human rights violations for, more or less, 40 years. However, the wave of the 1998 reform in Indonesia encouraged the emergence of women's voices and movements that questions the violence and violations of human rights against their sisters in the Land of Papua. Papuan women from Sorong to Merauke rose up and began to move in various ways. A number of women who appeared in Jayapura, the center of government for Papua Province—among others, Mother Beatrix Rumbino Koibur, Yosepha Alomang, Alama Mampioper, Ferdinanda Ibo Yatipai, Yusan Yeblo, Yesi Samkakai, Helena Matuan, Anike Sabami, Amelia Jigibalon, and Katharina Yabansabra—gave voice to the rights of Papuan women. Mama Abina Wasanggai, who encouraged the birth of the Mamta Alliance of Papuan Women (Mamta APP) on January 16, 1999, fought for women's involvement in the Great Council of Indigenous People of Papua in 2000. APP's struggle produced the Women's Pillar in the Indigenous Papuan Council, an organization comprising representatives of the traditional leaders of Papua, and succeeded in becoming participants at the Second Papuan Congress in 2000, which at that time was dominated by men. APP was then transformed to become Solidarity of Papuan Women that was inaugurated at the First Conference of Papuan Women held from July 23–27, 2001 in Jayapura. Mama Beatrix Koibur was elected General Moderator and Greet Jolman as General Secretary. The First Papuan Women's Conference, with the theme "Stomping of Papuan Women's Feet" and the sub-theme "Never Again Kill Papuan Children in the Land of Papua", aimed to unite Papuan women in one organization and to voice the basic rights of indigenous Papuan women. Some of these

women leaders—among others, Mama Beatrix Rumbino Koibur, Ferdinanda Ibo Yatipai, Therese Samkakai, Kathrina Yabansabra, Yosepha Alomang, Marike Rumbiak, and Maria Korano—were involved in Team 100 negotiations that opened a dialogue with President B. J. Habibie.

The Second Papuan Women's Conference, held in Kota Raja from August 23–27, 2006, issued the following declaration:

> *Many cases of human rights violations that have occurred in various regions of the Land of Papua from 1963 until now . . . tell the story of trauma and deep suffering for us Papua mothers because we have to watch our children become victims of intimidation, rape, and murder. Papuan women realize that their voices have long been ignored . . . May our voices reverberate throughout the universe so they'll be heard.*[10]

Papuan women's strong awareness regarding gender justice, violence against women, and women's human rights also came from a group of NGOs in various regions of Papua. The period of roughly one decade since reformation in 1998 stimulated the growth of civil society movements, particularly the women's movement, and gave birth to wome activists who stood on the front line of the struggle to overcome problems of violence and and the abuse of women's human rights. Some of these women's organizations are still active; others are not. The organizations still active include, among others: Yahamak in Timika, Humi Inane in Wamena, Women's Solidarity of the Central Mountains, Solidarity of Papuan Women Who Love Justice and Peace (SP2CK2) in Biak, the Institute for Research and Empowerment of Papuan Women and Children (LP3AP) in Kotaraja, Jayapura, the Angganita Foundation in Abepura, Women Partners in Manokwari, the Institute for Women's and Economic Empowerment in Sorong, Akad Cepes in Asmat, and a women's tabloid, *Papuan Women's Voices*, in Jayapura.

In addition to women's groups organized as NGOs, there are also groups or communities of women victims such as Deborah Love Peace in Sorong and Heartbeat in Biak that were born through the initiative of women victims of violence and victims' counselors. They have made efforts to build solidarity among survivors, pray, and together struggle with the suffering of victims with pastoral counseling, visits to victims, etc. There is a community of women at the grassroots who pay attention to the issue of women's human rights and who are trying to overcome violence against women, for example, Communication Forum of Arso and Hurfun Women in Waris. There are also women's communities based on sub-ethnic identities such as the Association of Women from Sentani, Mamta APP, and the Sarmi Women's Forum. In addition, churches and church-based women's communities still strengthen women in the midst of Papua's currently changing social situation. The GKI Women's Fellowship in the Land of Papua, GKI's P3W, and the Indonesian Christian Women's Fellowship (PWKI), also develop critical awareness and strengthen the capacity of Papuan women to address violence against women and uphold women's human rights in the Land of Papua.

The passage of Law No. 21 of 2001, along with the articulation of Papuan women's rights and formation of the Women's Working Group within the Papuan People's Council, form a momentum that reflects one of the achievements of the women's movement in Papua as well as being an important opportunity to continue promoting the struggle for Papuan women's human rights. In situations where cases of violence against women persist, in contexts of political conflict and the exploitation of natural resources, as well as in

[10] The Second Papuan Women's Conference resulted in six demands: 1) that the conflict in the Land of Papua be resolved through a process of peaceful, just, and democratic dialogue; 2) that cases of human rights violations be fully addressed through a judicial process; 3) that Papuan women possess political rights to hold office in legislative, executive, and judicial bodies; 4) that the younger generation be prepared and basic health, education, economic, and social welfare rights be protected; 5) for women's solidarity to stop violence against women and children; and 6) that the UN Human Rights Council send a special rapporteur to observe the problem of human rights violations in the Land of Papua (*Report of the Proceedings of 2006–2011 Strategic Planning*, Papuan Women's Solidarity).

the household, the Women's Working Group of the Papuan People's Council bears a moral and political burden to cooperate with the women's movement in Papua to overcome various problems that engulf the Land of Papua, and simultaneously promote Papuan women's rights for the sake of a just and peaceful future.

Equality in the Context of the Indigenous Struggle

Papuan women who are fighting for their dignity and human rights face two challenges. One challenge comes from outside the indigenous people of Papua in the form of conflict of interests related to central and local governments, corporations, security institutions, and other outsiders who undermine the everyday life of Papuan women. Papuan women also face a second challenge, namely that they have not received fair recognition and no role in decision-making processes in their traditional culture or in society. This is also reflected in the absence of women members in the Working Group of the Papuan People's Council as well as in the Traditional Papuan Council and indigenous councils at the local level. However, traditional Papuan culture carries philosophical values and sociological and cultural customs that make room for women. Indigenous people still provide recognition and respect for women's participation in decision-making processes of traditional institutions.[11]

Leonard Imbiri, General Secretary of the Papua Traditional Council confirms this. According to him, leadership roles for women on issues related to traditional customs are still not recognized. However, this may change with the emergence of many women who have a good education, have views and background in cultural knowledge, and have roles in the struggle for equality of women and men in society.[12] In addition, he believes that the dynamics of social change will have an impact on traditional concepts and practices concerning women. The Traditional Papua Council, according to Leonard, is committed to revitalizing traditional values to reassess the position and leadership role of women so they will be more recognized and developed in the future.

Ultimately, the issue of violence against women in Papua cannot be separated from efforts to democratize traditional institutions that form the backbone of indigenous peoples in Papua. Cooperation with traditional leaders through the socialization of gender equality using a Papuan cultural approach has yielded insights and a shared commitment to the equal advancement of men and women.

The tradition of polygamy among tribal chiefs in Papua has continued openly for a long time, especially prior to Christian evangelization that began from the 1880s to the 1900s. There are several reasons for this. One reason is to maintain the patrilineal lineage (for example, a man's first wife does not give birth to boys). Another reason is that through the custom of bride price, women carry social and economic power within the family that may serve the territorial interests of a tribal chief, especially in regions familiar with tribal warfare. Until today, although there have been rapid changes with the introduction of various influences in the Land of Papua, the cultural practice of polygamy is still preserved in some tribes. In reality the practice of polygamy violates women's fundamental rights by situating women in a vulnerable position, exposing them to conflice and violence in the family.

[11] Siegfried Zöllner, "Culture of Papua in Transition: The threat from modernization, Javanization and discrimination," and Hermien Rumbrar and Theodor Rathgeber, "Women in Papua: Overview on the basic issues that develop in society in transition," in *The Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights in Papua: A study of social realities and political perspective*, ed. Theodor Rathgeber (Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 2006).

[12] This statement was made during the Consultation Meeting of the National Women's Commission with the Papua Traditional Council in Jayapura, March 2007, and the Workshop for Peace and Justice organized the International Center for Transitional Justice (ICTJ) in Bali, December 3, 2008.



Source: Komnas Perempuan, 2009.

III. FINDINGS

In managing and analyzing the results of interviews that they collected, the Documentation Team used a definition of violence taken from the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women that divides violence into three categories: violence perpetrated or supported **by the state**; physical, sexual, and psychological violence occurring **in the family**; and violence **in the general population**, including sexual violence in the workplace and educational institutions, trafficking in women, and forced prostitution.[13]

During the process of gathering testimonies from female victims, it became increasingly clear to the Documentation Team that forms of violence often cannot be neatly sorted into analytical boxes. In contrast, the Documentation Team found situations of 'layered violence' where one form of violence had an impact on other forms of violence. In particular state violence (conducted or supported by state officials) was very close to forms of violence in public space perpetrated by non-state actors, or what is also often referred to as violence in general society. This documentation found that cases in the general population occurred in the contexts of tribal warfare and the exploitation of natural resources, as well as in daily life. However, these cases cannot be separated from state policies and neglect. Therefore, to simplify efforts to understand patterns of violence against women that have occurred in Papua, the Documentation Team decided the focus of its findings would be just on state violence and domestic.

This chapter is divided into two parts according to the two main forms of violence the team found. The first section describes violence against women by state agents that has been organized according to two periods, namely the pre-reformation period (1963–98) and after reformation (1998–2009) with a regional focus that arranges information chronologically. The second part describes experiences of domestic violence. This part is also divided according to the pre-reformation period (1963–98) and after reformation (1998–2009), but the findings under these two periods are arranged according to the topic or element of violence.

[13] UNGA Resolution 48/104 (December 20, 1993), Declaration of the UN General Assembly concerning the Elimination of Violence Against Women, Article 2. Also, the definition of discrimination in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), as explained by the CEDAW Committee in General Recommendation 19 (11th Session, 1992), 6: "The definition of discrimination includes gender-based violence, that is, violence that is directed against a woman because she is a woman or that affects women disproportionately. It includes acts that inflict physical, mental or sexual harm or suffering, threats of such acts, coercion and other deprivations of liberty." http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/ recommendations/recomm.htm#recom19.

Right to Freedom from Violence

All human beings have the right to live free from violence, and women are no exception. This right is inherent for all humans and has become international law guaranteed in the Declaration of Human Rights, the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, and in the Special Autonomy Law.

According to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights:
- "Everyone is entitled to all rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinions . . ." (Article 2)
- "Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person." (Article 3)
- "No one shall be held in slavery or servitude . . ." (Article 4)
- "No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment." (Article 5)

In the 1945 Constitution (Second Amendment):
- "Everyone is entitled to recognition, guarantees, protection and certainty of just law as well as equal treatment before the law." (Article 28D)
- "Everyone has the right to freedom from torture or treatment that is degrading to human dignity . . ." (Article 28G.2)
- "The right to life, the right not to be tortured, the right to freedom of thought and conscience, freedom of religion, freedom from enslavement, the right to recognition as an individual before the law . . ." (Article 28I.1)

In Law No. 1/2001 regarding Special Autonomy:
- "The Government, Provincial Government and population of the Papua Province shall uphold, promote, protect and respect Human Rights throughout the Papua Province." (Article 45.1)
- "To uphold the Human Rights of women, the Provincial Government shall foster and protect rights, and empower women in a dignified manner and make every effort to position them as equal partners to men." (Article 47)

Government Regulation No. 54/2004:
- The duty of the Women's Working Group (Papuan People's Council) is to encourage the protection and empowerment of women.

1. State Violence

Violence by the state means all forms of violence against women—physical, sexual, psychological violence—perpetrated or supported by security forces (army, police) and government officials.[14] Included in this category of violence is violence not directly perpetrated by the state, but permitted or even supported by the state, for example, violence perpetrated by groups such as militia or security guards at a company.

*Summary of Findings on State Violence against Women**

Within a relatively short period of time and with limited resources, the Documentation Team found 138 victims of state violence. The most dominant state actors found to be perpetrators of violence against women are members of the army. Most of these cases of violence occurred during military operations.

[14] State violence against women usually occurs in three situations, namely, armed conflict, when women are in custody, and violence against refugee and internally displaced women. See the report of the Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women, the Causes and Impact, UN E/CN.4/1998/54 (January 26, 1998); http://www.unhchr.ch/Huridocda/Huridoca.nsf/TestFrame/c90326ab6dbc2af4c125661e0048710e?Open document.

Type of Violation	Perpetrator of the Violation				Total Violations
	Military	Police	Joint Forces (military-police)	Other State Officials	
Killing/ Enforced disappearance	3	4	1		8
Shooting/ Attempted killing	4	1			5
Arbitrary detention	10	4	3	1	18
Beating	18	3			21
Torture	4	4	1		9
Sexual torture	4	1	1		6
Rape	51	1			52
Attempted rape	2				
Sexual slavery	5				5
Sexual exploitation	9				9
Forced birth control and abortion		1		4	5
Displacement/ Starvation	23	1			24

Source: Documentation Team results, November 2009

* One victim may have experienced more than one type of violation.

Below are some cases that represent a pattern of violence by the state, organized according to two time periods, 1963–98 and 1998–2009. Again, these cases do not cover all cases of state violence against women, but are only a small part of a broader pattern of violence.

1.1. State Violence: 1963–98

This period covers the transition in Papua from the time of UNTEA's surrender of the territory to become part of Indonesia until the reformation period. During the period of the New Order regime, as in other conflict areas of Indonesia, the state used a security approach to deal with civilian groups that opposed injustice that included promoting the interests of businesses and the central government without trying to understand the root of the problem of social unrest in Papua. Similarly, women were pulled under by strong currents of conflict in various regions and experienced various forms of violence.

Manokwari and Sorong Districts, 1963–68: Violence and Displacement

Several of the cases below illustrate the climate of violence in which women experienced both direct and indirect consequences of the conflict. In 1965, the OPM's resistance efforts in the area around Sorong were met by a military operation. A year later, a group of OPM met with several civil servants in a village in Sorong District, including a victim's husband who worked as a paramedic. The community asked OPM not to stay in their village. Although the OPM group immediately left, the next day the victim's husband was taken by soldiers and jailed. This woman tells about the tense condition at that time:

> *When "Father" was in jail . . . I took a boat to Sorong with my children and I was pregnant. In* [one place] *. . . I saw people running scared . . . into the forest, to the opposite island, and the army was shooting them. Once in Sorong, I got the news that my home and the homes of other villagers . . . had been burned by the army . . . For two years . . .* [people sought refuge in the forest]. *Many young children* [babies and toddlers] *suffered hunger and died . . . That was the 1966-1968 incident. After he was released, Father could work again . . .* [but] *he was never promoted . . . he remained in class II* [until he died]. *I also was never promoted . . .* [until I was helped by a relative] *. . . and was then promoted to class III . . . My children . . . were not accepted to take the civil servant's test, including one who wanted to enter the Nursing Academy . . . because . . . she was considered the child of OPM.*[15]

In the period leading up to the Pepera, the army also arrested the husband of another woman because they thought he supported the OPM. The army then ransacked his house, burning Dutch books and forcibly taking a necklace, leaving a wound on this woman's neck. Her husband's salary was withheld so that she and her children (including a baby) had to live off the mother's salary.

> *If I visited "father" in jail . . . his food was stirred with the barrel of a gun. They spoke very roughly, but I was just quiet and didn't dare oppose them. In prison I saw several people being tortured and electrocuted . . . During Father's arrest, the neighbors were scared of us and never came to visit. We were never received a civil servant promotion until our retirement, because we were on the "red list".*[16]

A mother is looking for food in the forest with her eight-month-old baby and her two sisters, but is shot by soldiers, falls down and faints. One of her sisters, who tried to run with the woman's baby, was arrested and taken away by the soldiers. The other sister hid and after the army left, she took her sister who had been shot home to her village. Not only was this woman disabled due to the gunshot wound, but she also had to bear her family's anger because she could not save her sister and baby. This woman must bear the customary penalty for the incident that made her a victim. She relates the incident:

> *My wound was very severe. The bullet penetrated my lip and cut off my tongue. My sister healed me only with leaves. For two months, I could not eat and drink because of the mouth wound . . . It was one month before people returned to the village and I was reunited with my husband and child* [two years old] *. . . For several years* [I] *did not dare go to the field, just pounded sagu. But, I had to pay customary fines to the family of my sister . . . who disappeared along with my baby . . . namely a pig and a weaving . . . because they think just because I went to the forest, my daughter . . . disappeared and never returned. My husband also blames me . . .*[17]

A woman who worked as a nurse in 1965 helped a blind woman give birth. At that time, the blind woman told the nurse about the violence she had experienced. This is her story as told by the nurse to the Documentation Team:

> *This woman said . . .* [she] *was invited to go to the beach and was raped several times by a soldier . . . from the Brawijaya military unit . . .* [who] *left this blind woman when she was well along in her pregnancy. From this rape she became pregnant and I helped her give birth . . . Her baby was taken by her family to Sorong. I heard that the child was raised by another family . . . When she was pregnant, the villagers accused her of having a relationship with a fellow villager, but when her child was born the child had straight hair . . . They said, "She is blind, so, yeah, it's not necessary to defend her." When the village was burned in 1966, everyone fled to the forest and . . . no one ever saw her again.*[18]

[15] SOR25 narrative.
[16] SOR16 narrative.
[17] MAN01 narrative.
[18] SOR36 narrative.

Biak District, 1967–69:
Sexual Violence and Shooting of Civil Society in Military Operations

The military conducted intensive operations in areas where they considered the OPM movement to be active and hiding, such as in Biak. This military operation was called Operation Baratayudha. This operation targeted civilians, and women and children were no exception. Several women victims gave their testimony.

> [In 1967] *OPM began to show up in the village . . .* [in] *North Biak. When the shooting began,I hid in the forest. The KKO unit* [now the Marines] *were in Marsyom . . . I lived in the forest beginning in June '68 until '80 before I came out . . . The KKO pursued us, but we hid . . . If the army left the forest, we'd build a hut* [in the forest]; *if soldiers came, we'd disperse . . . My second child was born in '70, a girl . . . In '79 I . . . walked with her* [to the village on the beach] *to ask whether soldiers had arrived. In fact there were soldiers hiding in the forest. The soldiers immediately shot, hitting* [my] *daughter who was standing in front of me. I carried the small child, I ran far. Soldiers also shot me, my clothes were torn, but I didn't die . . . My daughter was shot in the back, they threw her in the field . . . A person who lived on the beach buried her . . . In 1980, I came out of the woods and brought the bones to a house on the beach.*[19]

> *At the time of the 1969 incident, that time concerning OPM, I was still attending an Indonesian school. Soldiers entered the village . . . Tete . . . survived . . .* [We were] *still girls. They held one village, men and women. They tied* [us with] *a kind of rope used for goats* [and ordered us to] *walk.* [If] *you fell, they hit* [you] *with weapons.*[20]

A number of victims told about how the army limited their movements and access to food and drink.

> *The army bombed Perwomi* [the name of OPM's headquarters in West Biak] *. . . poisoned the springs and taro stalks,* [as a result], *I vomited blood . . .* [when in fact] *I had just given birth, until I got dizzy. The children also were poisoned . . . Those who lived on the beach could only go to their fields on Thursdays, and were accompanied by soldiers. We were* [not] *allowed to go on other days because . . .* [the soldiers] *were guarding the fields. People who were at home . . . also were not allowed to go to the beach, as they were suspected of giving food to the OPM. People who wanted to urinate were also guarded. If we wanted to go to our fields, we were searched.*[21]

A woman suffered torture and rape when she was forced to join in searching for her husband who was suspected as being with the OPM in the forest. She testified as follows:

> *Soldiers began to enter West Biak in . . . August 1967.* [In 1969] *I . . . was taken . . . as a guide to look for my husband and other OPM in the forest. Both my hands were tied behind my back. Along the way,* [I] *my head was hit with a pistol, kicked with boots on the left and right side of my abdomen . . . we were ordered to eat food that had already spoiled . . . had to drink dirty water, and I was raped.* [A member of the Marines] *pointed a gun at me and said, "Rather than us killing you, it'd be better if you were just raped." . . .* [First] *he raped* [my aunt] *. . . then me.*[22]

The sexual violence experienced by a young woman in Biak was not because she was accused of having a relationship with OPM, but because she was left alone at home.

[19] BIA04 narrative.
[20] BIA03 narrative.
[21] BIA05 narrative.
[22] BIA01 narrative.

> *I was cooking at home to eat, because at that time my old mother had gone to Jayapura. At night the army picked up all the girls. One soldier entered my house. When he saw I was alone, he immediately forced me to take off my clothes, if not, I would be shot dead . . . He used a bayonet to rip my clothes and I was raped. Since then, that soldier always came and asked me to serve him until I got pregnant and had a daughter. But when this child was born she died immediately.*[23]

Security forces committed sexual violence such as rape and sexual abuse against women in villages during military operations, and also during cultural activities they organized, like the organized singing and dancing event known as Yosim-Pancar [Yospan]. Women witnesses from West Biak and North Biak speak.

> [In] *1967, a military operation began in the town of Biak and shifted to the villages. In 1969* [we] *returned home to Swaipak, West Biak . . . and were living there* [during] *Operation Awareness. The Yospan event was a threat to parents because they* [had to] *allow their daughters, or even push their daughters, to attend Yospan rather than have the parents or husbands be the target of physical violence or threats . . . In the middle of the night, at 12 o'clock or later, the people would be awakened . . . girls and young women would be invited to go to Yospan, which was followed with intercourse. Usually the troops told the parents and husbands, they hoped the parents would understand.*[24]

A male witness from West Biak also told a story:

> *. . . in 1970-1974* [Troop] *753 came . . . while on duty, they took women. They had an event* [Yospan], *definitely women were invited, and definitely there was rape . . . girls from Sarui, Wusdori, Sarwa were deliberately hurt. If people argued, for sure they'd encounter misfortune.*[25]

Baliem Valley, Jayawijaya 1967–70:
Arbitrary Arrest and Sexual Abuse in the Context of Ethnic War

From about 1967-70, with the aim of securing Pepera in Baliem Valley, the Indonesian government set up many security posts and placed police at each post. According to witnesses, the police were usually assisted by local residents when they arrested people accused of theft and other acts of violence in the context of tribal war. A woman who was detained and was a victim of sexual violence speaks:

> *I came home from the field when suddenly . . . we were taken to the police post . . . and held . . . with the excuse . . . we had to pay fines for murders committed by our village against neighboring tribes . . . Every night, we were forced to have sex with the police and the local people who helped the police . . . We were taken to the creek and ordered to bathe, then they held and poked our genitals with their fingers . . . They also often did this . . . in front of our husbands . . . After two weeks of detention, we were released. Most women who were detained couldn't get pregnant again. Like me–when I came home from there, although they conducted a traditional ceremony* [to heal me], *I could not get pregnant. There was also once a time at the creek . . . a young and pretty* [woman] *was beaten . . . in the right eye* [with] *the stock of a gun because she refused to have intercourse, until she was blind in that eye. Now she's dead.*[26]

[23] BIA06 narrative.
[24] BIA19 narrative.
[25] Field notes on BIA07 case.
[26] WAM01 narrative.

Timika, Mimika District, 1977–87:
Gold Mine Security and Sexual Violence

The conflict in the mining area in Timika has continued since this area was first opened for mining in 1967. Women became victims as the result of military operations waged to "secure" the mining location. In 1977 the army carried out a counter-attack on a community thought to have sabotaged P.T. Freeport's infrastructure.[27] The Documentation Team interviewed a woman who was a victim of rape in 1977. This mother had just given birth a week earlier and was working in her field when three *oyame* [non-Papuan] soldiers raped her, beat her with their guns until she became unconscious, and threw her into a drainage ditch. She suffered back pain, suffered vaginal bleeding for five months, and can no longer work hard. Ironically, this woman became a victim again during the tribal war in Timika in 2003. She lost her livestock and her furniture was confiscated, so was forced to move to a new place. Concerning the rape experienced more than 30 years ago, the victim said, "I want [the perpetrator] to pay [fines] and apologize to all my children and grandchildren, so they can be free to associate with others without suffering any more insults. All this time people have talked [about this incident], so they are ashamed."[28]

The military operation brought the army to villages around Timika where women who tended their garderns were very vulnerable to army violence. A mother remembered her suffering in 1984 when soldiers were on duty in her village. One day, she and her child went to the field. When their path crossed that of the army, they were caught. Soldiers forced the mother to satisfy their lust. Because she refused, the soldiers beat and kicked her son, and threatened to shoot him. Because he was threatened with death, the son asked his mother to just obey the soldiers. He pleaded repeatedly with his mother who was also afraid her son would die. In the end, the woman was raped. After that, the boy and his mother were released.[29]

The military operation known as Operation Split Rattan by the Tribuana troops took place in the Timika area around the years 1985-95. A twelve-year-old Amungme girl became the victim of continual sexual violence. According to the informant, a patrol came to this girl's house where she lived with an older sibling and her parents. When the soldiers saw the victim, they invited her to go to their post. Because she refused, one of them held her by force, tore her clothes, and raped her in front of her parents. Soldiers took turns raping the victim. As a result of the rapes she became pregnant and gave birth to a child. After there was a turnover of troops in the village, this girl again became the target of rape, and this continued for five troop turnovers. In the end this victim had five children.[30]

Jayapura District, 1984–93:
Military Operation with Torture and Sexual Violence

From 1984–93 a security operation conducted in the Pantai Timur region of Jayapura District, from Bonggo to Sarmi, was related to several incidents of seething violence in Jayapura.[31] The first event was the arrest (November 1983) and assassination (April 1984) of Arnold Ap, a humanist who was also a composer and popular radio broadcaster, which then resulted in the displacement of people who were frightened.

The second event was the pursuit of a former member of Company 171 Brimob Papua, Awom Eliezer,

[27] Sem Karoba, *Papua Menggugat: Teori Politik Otonomisasi NKRI di Papua Barat; Bagian Kesatu: Seputar Arti Otonomi dan Politisasiny*a [Papua Contests its Status: Political Theory of the Autonomization of the Republic of Indonesia in West Papua; Part I: Concerning the Mearning of Autonomy and its Politization] (Yogyakarta: Watch Papua and Galang Press, 2005), 13.

[28] MIM06 narrative.

[29] MIM19 narrative.

[30] MIM09 case as told by a witness.

[31] Today this region has become a separate district, Sarmi District.

who defected in March 1983 and led OPM troops for approximately five years. Around 1985–86, several villages in Pantai Timur Sub-district were burned by soldiers from Jayapura Infantry Battalion 751 and the Pattimura, Ambon battalion. This measure, known as the "Awom incident", was intended as a warning to get Awom and his followers to surrender. The Documentation Team met a victim who testified about the tense situation. Before the burning, villagers had been warned by OPM to flee into the forest. After about a week in the woods, villagers began to go home, but the fear still had not disappeared.

> *When going to the field or anywhere, the army always went along to monitor the movements of the population. If the army did not follow, we were given a ticket stating we "checked out" at 08.00 and that we had to be back home on time. If we arrived later than the time specified, we would be punished. The penalty for a man was to be dunked in the sea or a river, while women were yelled at and hit or slapped. If you wanted to go out at night, you had to carry a fire torch . . . If the road was not lit the army would yell at you and accuse you of being OPM.*[32]

There was also a woman who was a victim of rape over a long period of time. The rapes began in 1986 when the victim was ten years old.

> *Every night if I wanted to sleep, a member* [soldier] *would come to my house to "take action" . . . If I did not want to have sex,* [I] *might be kicked, or have a gun held on me.* [He] *would also come to the house and threaten my father and mother. This continued for one year. The perpetrator usually gave rice, sardines, and onions. I became pregnant from the relationship with this TNI member and had a daughter, but she died when she was two years old. Now I am married and have a family. My husband does not pry into my past.*[33]

Another woman in the same village had a similar experience. The victim recounted that in 1998, postal officials from the Army Strategic Reserve Command (*Kostrad*) post and Jayapura Infantry Battalion 751 forced relations with a girl in the village. Because the girl's parents were afraid of being beaten, they handed over their daughter to the soldiers who served in the village. At that time, their daughter was 20 years old. From these relationships the victim became pregnant and gave birth to a daughter.[34]

Military involvement in the settlement of daily conflicts among residents was often accompanied by an abuse of power in the form of sexual torture. Around October to November of 1989, in one village (in Jayapura District) there were clashes among people who were attending a dance held by the military. A trivial problem had actually been resolved, but soldiers summoned those considered responsible, including a woman and a man, then punished them.

> *Soldiers took my sister-in-law and ordered her to eat a battery until she gagged. The army forbid us to take her to the hospital . . . The next day, I and* [a youth who was involved in the quarrel] *went to the post . . . They removed our clothes, then ordered us to go soak in the water . . . and ordered the two of us to lie on the beach for about an hour. We were not given any food, so we were very hungry. Then they forced* [the youth] *to rape me . . . After that, we . . . walked naked to the post, then, at the post, we were photographed. Once photographed, we were ordered to walk . . .* [me with a banana leaf, the youth naked] *. . . All the people saw the two of us, some could not stand it and did not want to look . . . After that incident, I really couldn't walk, during my pregnancy . . . my body ached all over, especially my spine.*[35]

Several other selected testimonies from other victims of violence in the city of Jayapura during the 1980s are summarized in the following table.

[32] SAR10 narrative.

[33] SAR07 narrative.

[34] Field notes on SAR01 case.

[35] SAR03 narrative.

Several Cases of Violence, Jayapura District, 1977–88

KJ02	Around the years **1978–81**, the victim was arrested after providing information to OPM. At that time she was pregnant. She was electrocuted, handcuffed, threatened with death, and asked, "How did you get pregnant? It felt good, ya?" She was forced to become the coordinator to get village girls to attend the *Yospan* and Lime parties where soldiers would be waiting. She was also used as a courier to search for OPM and get them to come out of the forest. As an army informant, she had to report [to the army] for four years. At the time of the incident, the victim's husband was still in the forest.
KJ01	From **1980–83**, the victim was detained for two weeks, then had to report for two years on suspicion of giving aid, such as food, to the OPM. While in detention she was given spoiled rice mixed with salt and had only one set of clothes. Both thumbs were electrocuted using a wire. Each time she wanted to worship or go to her field she [first] had to report to the post. She was also forced to summon village girls to attend a Sandhi Yudha Special Command Forces (*Kopassandha*) event.
KJ05	In **1983** there were still sweeping operations, physical violence, and disappearances. At that time, the uncle of an 18-year-old girl was pressured by members of the post to "surrender" his niece to become the wife of one of the members at the post. "Child, today you must come along, you know, because your uncle has been threatened with a gun" . . .This child became a "kept woman" of a soldier for several months, until he left the post. The victim then became the target of derision by her community: "Once your life was a mess, living with a soldier. Now, you are totally spiritual!"
KJ12	In **1983**, the victim and two others were detained and forced to sleep with soldiers: "They forced and threatened us, ordered us to take off our clothes, spread our legs, then they played with us. There were three soldiers who did that!"
KJ13	A mother explained how she saved her husband in **1983**: "Because I surrendered myself, my husband survived. The army forced me [to have sex]. Because there were so many, I just submitted myself for about three hours!"
KJ11	About **1987**, the victim and her father met soldiers when they were in their field. They were threatened with a sword and the soldiers beat the father's head with stones. "Let it go. I will surrender myself, as long as you don't torture my father!" the victim recalled.

Timika, 1994:
Torture of Mama Yosepha Alomang and Yuliana Magal in the Region of P.T. Freeport

Withe the arrival of P.T. Freeport in Timika, many community members fled to hide in the woods out of fear. About 1982, approximately 50 families surrendered to Indonesian soldiers. In 1984 several villages were bombed, causing massive displacement, including the Amungme people. Yosepha Alomang, an Amungme woman, led people to clean up the scattered corpses of small children and adults; it was difficult to estimate how many there were. Then the Amungme returned to hide in the forest. However, many died due to malaria and the difficult conditions in the forest. So in 1987, they surrendered for a second time and were held in a "social" camp. In 1994, Yosepha Alomang and Yuliana Magal were arrested for buying clothes and fishing nets for the OPM commander, Kelly Kwalik. They were taken to a military post and later transferred to the police post. There, they were for a month in a container that the security forces used as a toilet. They survived in very difficult conditions in a pool of feces. During their detention they experienced exceptional torture. Once released, they had to report for five years.[36]

[36] B. Giay and Y. Kambai, *Yosepha Alomang, Pergulatan Seorang Perempuan Papua Melawan Penindasan* [*Yosepha Alomang, the Struggle of a Papuan Woman to Oppose Oppression*] (Abepura: Elsham Papua, 2003).

Until now, MamaYosepha Alomang still struggles to defend the human rights of the people although she has been repeatedly detained. In the 1990s, Mama Yosepha arrested for protesting the development of an airport, employee housing, and a Sheraton Hotel by P.T. Freeport that took people's land in the vicinity of Timika.

Keerom District, 1995–96:
Takeover of Communal Land for Oil Palm Plantations

Tanjung Morawa II Limited Liability Archipelago Plantation Company (PTPN) used the People's Core Plantation (PIR) system to manage the first oil palm plantations in Arso, Keerom District in 1982–83.[37] At the opening of the first plantation, the Governor of Papua promised the people they would get permanent housing, cars, and paved roads.

> *The people were fooled by the promises, so that they gave 500 hectares of their customary land. But now, it's* [become] *5000 hectares. The chief of the eight tribes was held at gunpoint to sign a letter handing over the Arso forest. While aiming a gun at him the soldier said: "You have to sign for the palm oil . . . tomorrow you will be rich, not poor anymore."*[38]

Since the arrival of the plantation company, local women most felt the impact on traditional sources of food, especially because of the conversion of their sago palm land to oil palm plantations, as seen in a woman's following narrative:

> *Before the plantations entered, we had vegetables; the dogs caught mice for us to eat. We also looked for fish in Tami Stream. There were lots of sago palms on the land that is now planted with oil palms. When they worked on the plantations, the women usually cleared the locations that were to be planted with the oil palms . . . while working, their hearts were sad because they saw that the sago trees had been felled. I felt sad . . .I cried . . .*[39]

Another woman added:

> *. . . we also lost our staple foods, like sago that was already difficult to get . . . Now, if you want to go to the forest* [to search for sago] *you must walk by foot a long way* [kilometers] *into the forest . . . now the forest is ruined.*[40]

The lack of adequate information regarding management of oil palms coupled with increasingly deplenished production, caused many people to realize the difficulty of managing oil palm plantations, and so they began to lease their land to transmigrants using a harvest-sharing system. The process of impoverishment in the community was visible. And in the midst of hardship in the family economy, women often experienced violence from their husbands, as told by a woman resident of Keerom:

> *The people never got any knowledge about how to manage the oil palms. So, they sought help from newcomers* [transmigrants] *to harvest and sell it. So they divided the harvest . . . Beginning in 2007, the plantations were no longer producing . . . revenues declined . . . sago palms tree planted by tribes disappeared . . . there were no longer sources of food, while income from the oil palms was insufficient . . . Since then, my husband likes to get violence with*

[37] ,The PIR system used advanced technology and often employed transmigrants to develop large plantations. According to a presidential decree, this system was intended as a "core" (*inti*) to help assist and support crop farmers in the surrounding region in an integrated and mutually beneficial system. Plantation crops covered by the scheme included oil palm, rubber, sugar cane, and other crops as determined by the Minister of Agriculture. See Presidential Instruction 1, 1986, http://naker.tarakankota.go.id/produkhukum/inpres01-1986.

[38] KER02 narrative.

[39] KER01 narrative.

[40] KER03 narrative.

me, [he] *is not open about his income, he has a relationship with another woman . . . He once said: "You have no right to this land . . . it is mine."*[41]

Another problem women face as plantation workers is minimum health protection and work safety along with low wages, as seen in the following narrative:

In 1991, I came from Wamena and immediately began work on an oil palm plantation. My work was to lift the oil palms until I had chest pain, also until I had a miscarriage. It was heavy work, but the pay was low: [Rp] *200 thousand per group . . . now it* [payment] *is no longer per group, but per person. There are too many cuts so that we get only* [Rp] *200-400 thousand per month.*[42]

Mapenduma Village, Jayawijaya District, and Jila Sub-district, Mimika District, 1996: Hostage Cases

In January 1996, it was reported to the Jayawijaya Military Command (Kodim) that a group of international and national scientists, who joined the Expedition Team Lorentz '95 (researching the environment), had been held hostage by a group of OPM, led by Kelly Kwalik, in the village of Mapenduma. The same month, troops of the Special Command Force (Kopassus) led the liberation of the hostages. The large-scale military operation deployed to quell the OPM group also had an impact on the communities in the area of Mapenduma.

The violence spread to Jila Sub-district in Mimika District. A witness reported a case of an Amungme girl Amungme who was repeatedly raped following military action related to the Mapenduma case. At that time, Nabire troup 753 was on duty in Jila and had begun its sweeping operation. According to the witness:

That was not a safe time; people were scared because they were always threatened by the army. The victim, who at the time was just 14 years old, was taken from her home . . . [soldiers] *took turns raping her, and eventually became "customers," that is, each* [time there was] *a turnover of troops, the victim became the target for sexual relations with them. If they were not served, people would be killed, beginning with her parents and next of kin. And finally the victim became economically dependent* [on them] *to get rice, salt, and vetsin* [monosodium glutamate]. *The victim never married because she was branded . . . a dirty woman . . . The victim got . . .* [a venereal disease] *and eventually died.*[43]

Women and children were also among victims of a massacre of civilians by Tribuana troops during their Split Rattan Operation in Jila in 1996. A man who was an eyewitness tells about the rape and murder he saw on the way to his brother's house:

I was surprised because my brother, his two wives, and two children were being tortured. My brother was then shot dead, his two wives raped. His first wife was shot dead; the second wife was raped and tortured, but left alive. Upon seeing the incident, my friend disappeared . . . and I ran and hid. In the morning, about six o'clock, I returned to the scene with some others to see how things were. We found that those who had been killed had just been left like that . . . There, a mother and her two children had been shot dead. They shot . . . [the mother] *directly in the head . . . her brains . . . were like scattered pots. It was dreadful to see. My brother had been killed with a barrage of bullets . . . until the trees and grass around him had been laid clean. His body had been destroyed; they had amputated his hands and ears . . . I sat and wept, because I could not bear to see the body of my brother who had been slaughtered like an animal . . . Finally, all the corpses were dumped in the river . . . I remained sitting by the creek until all the*

[41] KER01 narrative.

[42] KER03 narrative.

[43] MIM08 case as told by a witness.

bodies sank.[44]

Bloody Biak, 1998

In early July 1998, a group of people raised the Morning Star flag on top of the water tower near the city of Biak's port. Many citizens gathered, prayed, and sang church hymns from July 2–5. On July 6th, residents who had gathered were attacked by a joint military and police (Mobile Brigade) force. The Documentation Team noted the experiences of several women who were in Biak at that time.

> *We heard the sound of gunfire and screaming . . . "Get out! Out of the house!" . . . Joint security forces were walking and . . . shooting in the air . . . A soldier held a gun on me and ordered me to walk to the harbor . . .* [By] *the side of the water tower I . . . saw the masses . . . holding hands and circling around the tower. They were singing a hymn.* [Suddenly] *a shot was heard . . . the people scattered . . . I saw a woman shot . . . in the leg . . .* [After being detained at the port]*, we went home, passing by . . . the water tower . . . There was a mobile water tank . . . spraying the blood at the foot of the water tower. The mobile tank was also spraying away blood that was on top of the tent that the masses had brought earlier to sit under while at the water tower.*[45]

> *At about 5:30 in the morning the joint military/police force attacked . . . At that time, I* [one of the women victims] *and others were still under the tower. We were shot at with real bullets . . . I took my Bible . . . kept running and hid with five men in a toilet, but then we were ambushed by Mobile Brigade troops . . . we were herded by a soldier to the seaport. He beat me with bougainvillea flower branches* [these have large, sharp thorns] *and continued to drag me like an animal. At the port . . . there was a police officer dressed like a thug who said, "Ask your God for help. Later your Gold will come help you." Then they beat me again. I was detained at the port from 8.00 am until 5.00 pm before I was released.*[46]

1.2. State Violence: 1999–2009

The Documentation Team began the process of collecting testimonies of women victims of state violence with a question, "Did this violent situation improve with the reform era that led to Special Autonomy?" Results showed that hopes for improvement changed to disappointment given the fact that the government still used a security approach as the main way to deal with public discontent. Furthermore, during this period several violent incidents surfaced, such as cases that, according to the National Human Rights Commission (Komnas HAM), indicate crimes against humanity, such as Abepura, Wasior, and other cases. Arbitrary behavior and discrimination of security forces against persons who are considered separatists also have an impact on various forms of violence against women, including sexual violence.

Timika, 1999

In the early days of reform, exactly on December 1, 1999, the people of Timika raised the Morning Star flag in the yard of the Three Kings Catholic Church. A month later, on January 2, the Mobile Brigade and army forcibly lowered the flag, while shooting at the people in the churchyard. Four women were among the victims—one was hit so hard her hand broke and her opposite leg was shot and eventually amputated, another one was beaten, the others died from gunshot wounds.

One of the four victims had gone to Timika to get aid such as used clothing and money from her sister. She thought she would go for just awhile and then return home. While in Timika she heard that the Morning

[44] MIM14 and MIM15 cases as told by a witness.

[45] BIA09 narrative.

[46] BIA08 narrative, combination of two sets of field notes.

Star flag was flying at the Three Kings Catholic Church. She also went and entered the churchyard. At dawn, the flag was lowered by force. The flag was still at half-mast when the forces attacked. The people who were gathered began running to save themselves.

> *When I felt I'd been shot, I immediately shouted the name of my mountain* [that is considered sacred] . . . *I fell prostrate on some blood. My leg was shattered . . . I* [was taken] *to Tembagapura for treatment . . . The doctor immediately . . . gave me a numbing shot, then, amputated my leg. Until now I do not know where the leg that was cut is or where it has been buried . . .* [When] *I regained consciousness . . . my left leg was missing; I immediately cried . . . During my treatment in Tembagapura until I returned home to Timika . . . no one came to see me or to take responsibility for this incident . . . My foot . . . appears to have healed and the skin has closed, but that is only on the outside; inside the leg tissue is very painful. If people just touch my leg, I feel like I want to faint . . . I am often despised by people as one with a stump. I am ashamed. I heard that people got a lot of Special Autonomy money, that people had been showered with* [much] *money, but I can't go to the market, I can't work in the fields. I hope those eating Special Autonomy money can see me. If I don't go to the market, what am I supposed to eat?*[47]

Another woman went to the Three Kings Catholic Church to see the flag flying, but when she got there, the army had it surrounded. There were women standing face to face with the soldiers. They asked that there be no war, no murder or bloodshed. The soldiers took the women's noken and hit them until they they had wounds.[48] Three women had to be treated, including a mother who suffered a broken hand. Until now, her hand still hurts and she cannot lift heavy things.[49]

Wamena, Jayawijaya District, 2000–02:
Cycle of Violence: Flags Lowered by Force, Non-Papuan Women Killed

On October 6, 2000, Morning Star flags that had been raised by people in various places, were lowered by force. The Mobile Brigade used a chainsaw to cut flagpoles, while firing at people. In the face of this incident, people became angry and carried out opposition by blocking roads with felled trees and other objects. They then launched a counter-attack, not only against Mobile Brigade forces, but also against the non-Papuan population in the vicinity of the town of Wamena. More than 25 people died in the incident. The Mobile Brigade then conducted a massive operation and arrested dozens of people who were then prosecuted. A woman witnessed the murder of a nurse by local residents who were furious due to shootings by the Mobile Brigade.

> *At that time . . . we just stayed in the house and prayed . . . At the Mission Market, police were shooting at people from inside people's houses* [the police hid in people's homes and fired]. *Seeing this, people began taking revenge on regular people* [vendors] *at the Mission Market. A nun who was a nurse* [a Batak woman] *was killed, also a mother from Manado and her son . . . Wamena became silent because all the people fled. Some got on a plane, others returned to their villages . . . Stalls closed, there was no economic activity, and schools took holidays.*[50]

Abepura, 2000

On December 7, 2000, a group of people attacked the Abepura police station. This attack triggered a counter operation by the Mobile Brigade who detained and tortured hundreds of people, and killed three. A female staying in an *asrama* (a rental house for students) who, at the time, was 14 years old, recalled:

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[47] MIM28 narrative.

[48] A *noken* is a traditional Papuan bag made from bark, tree roots, rattan, or orchids which has several functions, including use as a basket to carry garden produce.

[49] MIM29 narrative.

[50] WAM28 case as narrated by a witness.

> [T]*he Mobile Police . . . came at us . . . shooting at the louvered glass windows, lights, and screaming at us to get out of the asrama . . . After we all were examined and beaten, we put in a truck . . . we got down* [at the Jayapura police station] *and the women were separated from teh men . . . The police hit our backs and burned our hands with cigarettes . . . They said: "Women with curly hair, ugly faces like this, who would dare to attack the police . . . These women want to join men to attack police."*[51]

Sarmi and Pantai Timur Sub-districts, Jayapura District, 2001:
Wife as Bait to Draw Out OPM

While pursuing members of OPM's National Liberation Army (TPN), the Indonesian army also used wives as bait so their husbands, who were accused of being OPM, would come out of the woods and surrender. An informant narrates:

> *In 2001 there was a shootout between members of the Special Command Force (Kopassus) and the TPN . . . The wife of . . .* [a member of the OPM forces] *told me that two members of Kopassus came to her house . . . with the aim of taking her to their post as security so that . . .* [her husband] *would surrender and come out of the woods. Kopassus . . . forced this woman . . . to go to their post, but she fiercely refused. Finally, Kopassus wrote a letter and* [ordered her] *to deliver it* [to her husband] *in the forest.* [Her husband] *finally came out of the forest . . .*[52]

The wife of the leader of the TPN/ OPM narrated a similar experience. She was called to the post and asked about her husband. Because this woman did not give an exact picture to the soldiers, she was held along with four other women whose husbands were also thought to be in the forest. This woman was held at the post for a week and forced to divulge the whereabouts of her husband. According to her, the army said that if her husband did not return, then she would have to remain in custody. One week later, this woman and the other four women were released, but still had to report to the army for six months.[53]

Wasior, Manokwari District, 2001–02

A timber company operating in the Wasior forest made an agreement with local communities, saying that people would be paid after the wood was felled. However, because the payment was not forthcoming, the people closed the road to the logging area. The timber company then asked the Mobile Brigade to guard the company's activities. This incident resulted in increased violence, and, it is thought, the killing of five members of the Mobile Brigade by an unknown armed group. These killings triggered a broad Mobile Brigade operation. The pursuit of persons considered part of the armed resistance was carried out blindly without distinguishing who were civilians. Many women suffered, like the woman who at the time was still nursing her baby. After her home in Wasior was burned, she and her family fled to Nabire on a boat. But even in Nabire they were not safe.

> [T]*roops came with two trucks and surrounded the house . . . I was hit from behind with a weapon and was kicked* [so that I] *fell. I was holding my third child, who was just one week old. We fled into the forest . . . I fled with my child . . . eating only papaya from the field and nursing my baby. My husband was beaten, was shot in the left leg, and detained along with my father . . . The place we stayed* [in Nabire] *was burned. At that time I did not know the fate of my husband and my father.*[54]

[51] ELSHAM documentation (KJP26 narrative).
[52] SAR13 narrative.
[53] SAR05 narrative.
[54] MAN13 narrative.

A few months later, the Mobile Brigade operation was still active. Members of the force who wore black clothes and masks entered the home of a mother to search for weapons and her husband. The woman was ordered to kneel in front of the Mobile Brigade, and then her house was burned.

> *I spoke, asking for God's help in my local language. The Mobile Brigade said, "Mother, what language is that? That's witch doctor language! You must tell your husband he has to report to the Mobile Brigade." My husband . . . finally went to report himself to the Mobile Brigade. Since then, he has never returned to . . . the family.*[55]

Another woman told about her experience at that time as the child of someone being sought by the Mobile Brigade.

> *On July 4, 2001 . . . my father . . . heard a car coming . . .* [He] *told me to get up and we sat down to pray. While we were praying . . . the Mobile Brigade put a jerry can of gasoline in front of our house, then, shot at the gas to burn our house. My father cried and hugged me as he said: "We live like this, but these people come and make us like this." And father went, just leaving me at the breadfruit tree . . . and ran . . . He never returned . . . Since my father disappeared, my mother remarried and I live alone with my younger siblings. I have a lot of uncles, but* [they don't give us any attention].[56]

Puncak Jaya District, 2004–05:
In the Forest Hungry, in the Village Raped by Security Forces

Cases of sexual violence against children by security forces were discovered that happened even during the period of special autonomy. Impunity for past crimes led to sustained impunity. In October 2004, an OPM group killed five members of the Special Command Force (Kopassus) who were walking from Wamena to Mulia City. Kopassus vehicles were burned and their weapons confiscated. In order to find the OPM group responsible for the killings, a military operation was launched that targeted communities in several areas in Puncak Jaya District because it was considered OPM territory. Houses were burned, livestock were shot and stolen, and gardens destroyed so that hundreds of people fled into the forest. The Documentation Team obtained testimonies from several women who were victims of rape during the military operation in Puncak Jaya. They were targeted because the army thought they had a relationship to members of OPM's National Liberation Army (TPN) or had information about them.

After her village was attacked, a mother with her children and other people fled into hiding. Because there was no food, she had to return to her garden near the village to dig up yams. It turned out that her garden was not safe.

> *Two soldiers approached me . . . They propped me against a rock and raped me . . . After that . . . they say . . . "Your husband is OPM, ya? Tell him to come here." Then, they took the yams I had dug up. I just got home . . . when another soldier came . . . He dragged me close to a small ditch and I was raped again . . . I didn't tell anybody because . . . I was afraid . . . After that I never went to the garden again. We remained hungry . . . but could not look for food. After one month, my one-year-old child died. She got sick until she was thin and died. We buried* [her] *under the red fruit tree.*[57]

A 29-year-old woman from the Lani tribe recounted a similar experience.

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[55] MAN11 naarative.
[56] MAN12 narrative.
[57] PUN02 narrative.

> [T]*he army came down in a helicopter, we all ran. I came to the village because we were hungry and I had to come dig yams . . . I was surprised because there were soldiers in the honai* [which had not been burned]*, the tip of their weapons were poking out.*[58] *Startled, I . . . turned right around* [to] *go back home, but they chased me and covered my mouth. Another one came, took my hands and pulled me into the honai. There were five of them and they rubbed my breasts. Another grabbed my genitals and they said, "There are OPM in the village, yes?" But I said there weren't, then was quiet . . . they took off my shirt, bra, and skirt . . . ordered me to lie down, they took turns* [raping me], *after that they ordered me to go home.*[59]

After fleeing to the forest and eating only leaves, another woman was also forced to return to her garden in the village. In March 2005, she went with her daughter, but soldiers hiding on the side of the road attacked them.

> *There were seven of them and they pulled us . . . laid us down . . . My daughter . . . was crying, but they shut her mouth . . . I said, "Let me be raped, but not my child." But one soldier said, "Mama shut up." My daughter had very heavy bleeding. I was raped by four soldiers . . . my child was raped by the three others. My daughter cried and . . . cried . . . I also cried . . . My daughter is grown now and unmarried . . . If on the street she sees the army or police* [she] *becomes afraid and cries, she wants to hide . . . She can get angry with us or others walking with her. Ya . . . we can't do anything.*[60]

The sweeping operation that targeted OPM commander Goliath Tabuni did not only result in violence against women. Women victims interviewed by the Documentation Team also talked about the impact of the operation on their families. There were family members who suffer from pain while fleeing, some died of starvation or were shot, and their children could not continue their education. The "separatist" label they were burdened meant that their children were not given jobs as civil servants even if they were college graduates.

Women had to struggle to survive when they fled into the forest when the sweeping began in 2004, while their husbands had to flee because they were accused of being OPM. One woman told about how the old women from the village, together with the mothers who carried their children, ran into the forest. After a month in the forest the children started getting sick, most of them ill with cholera. Mothers looked for leaves that could be eaten; they cooked them by burying them beneath embers. The difficulty was that they had to guard the flame because if it were too large, the smoke would show their hiding place to the army.

> *At that time, my younger sister was eight months pregnant . . . Although not yet time . . . her child was born in the forest, but after a few days it died because . . . it was very cold and her breast milk . . . was not flowing well . . . A child 13 years old died . . .* [then] *her parents died. We buried* [their] *bodies in the forest . . .* [We thought we'd better] *make a temporary shelter* [because if not] *. . . the children and mothers would die in the forest . . . We formed three groups to look for wood, rope vines, and long grass . . . After we made the shelter . . . my mama also died . . . Children were playing on top of the mountain, when the helicopter came they shot my son . . . through the head and he died on the spot. Ten people died while we sought refuge in the forest.*[61]

[58] A *honai* is a traditional Papuan hut.

[59] PUN04 narrative.

[60] PUN07 narrative.

[61] PUN06 narrative.

Women Victims of the Operation in Puncak Jaya District, 2004

PUN11	In 2004, "I fled . . . into the forest. [Five] friends . . . died of starvation . . . In 2009, 20 people died of illness after returning . . . from the forest . . . Our children didn't attend school because teachers and schools did not exist . . . If the women wanted to go to their gardens that had to get permission from . . . the army."
PUN09	"The army . . . shot pigs, dogs, burned houses, and held us at gunpoint, so we took our families to the forest . . . [OPM] came and burned the school [that the army had converted into their post]. Our children have not been able to attend school from 2004 until now . . . We are often hurt because the army comes and tells us we are separatists they they burn our houses, so we seek revenge."
PUN10	In April 2004, ". . . the army and Mobile Brigade were shooting all over the place in our village. I grabbed my child [nine years old] and ran near the rocks . . . My child was hit by a bullet, other relatives carried us and ran into the forest where we all sat and wept. We buried my child in the forest . . . We stayed three days in the forest and . . . on the fourth day we sought refuge in Mulia City."
PUN05	The mother, two younger siblings, and the child of this woman all died in the forest. A brother also died because during the sweeping a soldier hit him in the chest with a weapon and he kept vomiting blood until he died. The family wanted to bury him in the city, but people kept bothering them: "Who told you to make problems?" so they fled into the forest. There they survived by eating leaves. *We have never received aid from the government . . . Our children have never returned to school . . . If they see police and soldiers coming, the children run away . . . There are children from this village who have already graduated from college, but the government says if they become civil servants, they will give the money to OPM, so they may not be civil servants . . . The young women who want to sell in the market are raped at the military post, but we can not report this* [because] *. . . they'd come and burn our village . . . I know that two women were raped.*

Timika, 2005–09:
Exploitation of Natural Resources, Ethnic War, and Violence Against Women

The situation in and around Timika is a further example in which state policies related to the exploitation of natural resources and corporate behavior eventually led to a situation where violence was rampant, including tribal war and sexual violence against women. There is state violence and also state negligence when the state permits tribal warfare. Here is a case that can be called violence in society as well as violence by the state.

In Timika in 1996, there was an agreement between P.T. Freeport and traditional institutions that arose from environmental and human rights advocacy efforts, namely that 1% of the annual profits of P.T. Freeport would be given to indigenous people around the mining location. However, the 1% fund also increased conflict. There had been much criticism regarding misuse of these funds such as unfair distribution of them (the funds were used for personal benefit by the traditional chief or leader of the local community) and a rise in inter-ethnic conflict due to jealousy. Discussions with women in two villages showed that women gained no benefit at all from these funds, either directly (in the form of cash or special programs for women) or indirectly. Particularly in these two villages, the condition of women's health was alarming. In addition to poverty, they had minimal access to education and the economy, and were vulnerable to various kinds of violence.

Worse yet, there was inter-ethnic conflict in 1996, 2003, and 2006 in a village in the Timika region that resulted in many casualties and consumed a lot of material. Many husbands and family members were killed, and women become more vulnerable to violence because they were considered enemies by the

opposing tribe. A woman relates her experience as a victim of rape by an opposing ethnic group.

> *We were walking . . . to the market . . . I* [with my two children, eight and nine years old] *was forced into a car. We were taken . . . put in a house . . . After that I lost consciousness. When I regained consciousness I left the room I saw all the women naked and we were taken home . . . At that time,* [I] *could not stand,* [I felt] *very heavy, and a lot of blood came out. I was treated for one month in the hospital . . . Now I am just at home. My husband also stopped working because he felt ashamed around co-workers and his family who were of the same ethnicity.*[62]

With the military operation in 1977 to guard mining interests, security posts were established in the region; some are still standing today. With the presence of security forces, many girls experienced violence, which continued until 2005. According to a neighbor, an 11-year-old girl was taken by force by Battalion 753/Nabire troops to their post in 2005. She was held at the army post where they took turns raping her. This happened repeatedly, whereas her parents were resigned to the situation for fear of being shot. The victim suffered trauma and carried a psychological burden. Because she was still a child and never treated, therefore her genitals sores became rotten. At first she was silent and only brought to the hospital after the wounds were severe, but she could not be helped. This child suffered for four years until she died in 2009.[63]

In 2006, five under-age girls were raped during a dance. The five girls were told to drink coffee that had been mixed with drugs stolen from the local health center. When they were unconscious, several members of Battalion 752/Sorong, who at the time were on duty in that location, took turns raping them. Someone reported this incident to the church, but the perpetrators were never given any sanctions.[64]

Another incident occurred in 2008, when the victim wanted to go bathe with her friends in the *Selamat Datang* (Welcome) River in West Mimika. On the way to the bathing spot, the perpetrator invited the victim to get on his motorcycle and he would take her there. However, he took her to another place in the direction of the Mile 32 Check Point and raped her in a house. After he raped her, the perpetrator threatened the victim not to tell others, and then drove her to the bathing spot. The victim's parents then reported the case to the Mimika district police and the perpetrator was detained at the District Police detention center 32 for a month. This case was also processed in the Mimika District Court, but until now there has been no verdict/sentence for the perpetrator. At the time of the incident, the victim was only eight years old.[65]

Boven Digoel District, 1997–2008; Merauke District, 2001–09:
Repeated Sexual Violence at the Border

Since 1971, military troops have been stationed along the international border between the Republic of Indonesia and Papua New Guinea. Field notes of the Doumentation Team mention that in 2009 there were 50 military posts in border areas from Kampong Kondo, Naukenjerai Sub-district, Merauke District to the region of Boven Digoel District. Each post usually had 22 personnel, and 30 people guarded the head post. The presence of the military in the midst of communities gave rise to various issues, such as cases of sexual violence and sexual of young women who became "girlfriends" of members of the security forces, as reflected in a number of testimonies of victims in these two districts.

A woman with the initials "MO" lived with her aunt in a village in the Indonesia-PNG border region after her parents died. In this village, MO repeatedly experienced sexual violence by security forces. MO's

[62] MIM10 narrative.
[63] MIM13 case as told by her neighbor.
[64] Cases of MIM01, MIM02, MIM03, MIM04, and MIM05 as told by an informant.
[65] MIM07 narrative.

experience indicates that victims of sexual violence were known by security forces and in this way became vulnerable to repeated acts of the same sexual violence. This is a pattern also found in other conflict areas such as East Timor and Aceh.

MO first experienced violence in 1997 when she was 14 years old. When her aunt went to the field, a member of Infantry Battalion 509 came to the house, locked the door, and then raped MO in the bedroom. In the afternoon, he returned and ordered MO to drink "medicine" that he brought in a cup. Two days later, MO was shocked by "smooth bleeding" for a week. Several years later another soldier, who followed MO everywhere, attacked her again. While on the way to her garden, MO was intercepted, had a gun held on her waist, and was then raped "from morning to evening, until I fainted." MO felt treated like an animal, until her "belly sat with a body" (she was pregnant). This soldier also came with a weapon and "medicine" and forced MO to drink it. When MO's aunt found out about this relationship (MO suspects that someone reported it to her aunt), her aunt stabbed MO in the neck with a pair of scissors and expelled her from the village. MO moved to the region of oil palm plantations.

About 2004, after she was married, MO brought her two children for a vacation to the village where a security post was located about 500 yards from her aunt's house. One day, when her aunt was out, a member of Infantry Battalion 534 came to the house. With the excuse that he was bringing some cake, he entered the house, then raped MO, and quickly left because he did not want to be seen. MO could not scream because he stuck his gun into her mouth. At that time, MO was two months pregnant with her third child. She waited until she gave birth before she told her husband what happened. Her husband was very angry and divorced MO. The fourth incident occurred in December 2008, when MO was again home on vacation at the end of the year. On New Year's Eve, there was a farewell party with troops of the Special Forces Command (*Kopassus*). While MO was waiting for a vehicle on the side of the road to go home, a *Kopassus* soldier from Biak whom MO knew came by on his motorcycle and invited MO to get on. Arriving at a secluded spot, the soldier dragged MO into the forest and raped her. The perpetrator threatened: "If you do not want to service me, I will leave you here."

MO was raped by four different soldiers, forced to drink "medicine" to prevent pregnancy, called a whore by people in the community, then expelled by her aunt, and eventually abandoned by her husband. MO now lives with her second husband. She said: "I was hit too much, kicked; sometimes I cry, because I'm hit all the time."[66]

Through field research, the Documentation Team found that cases of sexual exploitation were very dominant in one village in Merauke District where at least 17 local women became victims, then were summarily abandoned by the soldiers who had been on duty in that village. Among 16 of the women who are still alive, 13 had given birth to children resulting from the exploitative relationships, while one of them was pregnant with a second child at the time the field research was conducted.

In April 2003, a 21-year-old indigenous woman visited her uncle whose wife was from Java. This auntie usually invited soldiers to her house when girls stayed there. She "liked to offer members [of the army] the 'use' of the girls there." While at her uncle's house, this young woman went fishing when a member of Infantry Battalion 623 appeared and said, "I was told by mama to come fishing with you. I've paid mama, so I can use you freely." The soldier held a bayonet and gun on the woman, and then raped her. Although the soldier then brought the family food, the victim's family still reported him to the commander of his post. The soldier was fined IDR 4.5 million, but without any legal process or other disciplinary sanctions. In the end, the victim became pregnant and gave birth to a child, while the perpetrator and his troop was no longer on duty at this post. The victim spoke about the discrimination she experienced:

[66] MER15 narrative.

> *If my child is naughty, the villagers here like to say, "Uh, the child is basically a bastard. This is not your region. This region is indigenous." I would feel very ashamed, oppressed . . . insecure and like to stay at home alone. My son and I were often evicted from my parents' house. We moved and stayed at my brother's house, but also evicted* [from there]. *We often moved from house to house. My family was often angry with me and with my child . . . "The two of you must leave this house. Don't make this an illicit house."*[67]

Five years later, a similar incident occurred. A soldier with Infantry Battalion 752, Sorong, West Papua, approached this victim and her family, requesting permission to date her and promising he would be responsible. However, after dating for two months, the victim was forced to have repeated intercourse with this soldier, and finally became pregnant. The perpetrator was still on duty in the location, but no longer cared about his "girlfriend". Up to now this woman remains afraid to report this case to the sub-district military command for fear her family will be intimidated.[68]

In 2008, another indigenous woman experienced similar sexual exploitation. A member of Infantry Battalion 320 approached the woman and her family. Their dating relationship continuesd until there was forced sexual intercourse. The rapes continued until finally the woman became pregnant and then was abandoned by the perpetrator.[69]

The cases listed in the matrix below reflect that sexual exploitation and violence by border troops was a pattern of state violence that occurred in a number of villages that formed the basis of border security forces.

Victims of Sexual Violence by Border Security Forces
Merauke District, 2001–09

MER04, Md	A soldier with Infantry Battalion 733 who was on duty at a post in one village from **2001–02** wooed Md by bringing her rice and canned fish, cooking and eating it together with Md and her family. Eventually, Md also wanted a sexual relationship. When she became pregnant, the soldier ordered her to drink young pineapple, but the effort to abort the fetus failed. When he left to return to Ambon, the soldier gave his HP number to Md, but it turned out to be the number of someone else. Md felt cheated and that she was worthless. Every day her parents were anger with her. After giving birth, her child was taken to be raised by Md's older sibling.
MER09, Mi	The perpetrator, from Infantry Battalion 733, often went to Mi's house while on duty in her village, beginning in **2001**, when Mi was still in the third grade of junior high school, until **2002**. He would break in through a door or window while Mi was napping and no one else was in the house. He stabbed Mi with a piece of wood that was leaning againg the wall of the house, and ripped her blouse. Mi was pregnant when the perpetrator moved to another location. Mi was given the new address, but it was not the actual one. She gave birth to a girl in March 2003.

[67] MER01 narrative.
[68] Ibid.
[69] MER27 narrative.

ER03, Mc	In **2003**, Mc became pregnant by a member of Infantry Battalion 631. Almost every day he brought a little food or money. When Mc was two months pregnant, the soldier returned home to Kalimantan, but promised he would return to take Mc as his wife. Mc followed him as far as Merauke, and was there nearly two months waiting for news of him. Mc finally returned home where her parents were angry with her. Her child was born in July 2006. Mc felt ashamed and always avoided any soldier who approached her. "Until now, I can be strong because I have a friend whose fate is the same as mine."
MER10, Mj	At the beginning of **2006**, a member of the sub-district military command met Mj, invited her to his house at the military post, and that happened frequently. The same year, Mj dropped out of school (Grade II of Junior High). She also began to have a sexual relationship with a member of Army Strategic Reserve Command 320. Then Mj moved and lived in the district seat for about six months, then returned to her village where she was resumed her relationship with the sub-district command soldier for one year. At the time she was interviewed (2009), Mj had just turned 17, was unmarried, and pregnant.
ER14, Mn	In **2008**, Mn, a widow with three children, became acquainted with a member of Infantry Battalion 320 who often gave her betel nut, food, and money. At first Mn was able to refuse sex, but after she was threatened she "surrendered". They usually met at night outside the village and this continued for about six months. When Mn became pregnant, the perpetrator just remained quiet until he moved to a new assignment. Mn was five months pregnant, before her parents knew. Mn gave birth to a boy in April 2009.
MER02, Mb	In **2009**, a member of Infantry Battalion 752/Sorong met Mb, a widow with two children. One day, Mb was walking with a friend and met this soldier and two police officers. The police ordered the soldier to follow them, while the women were told to go home. Then, one of the police officers became a mediator, taking Mb to a quiet location where she had sex with the soldier. After that, the soldier often went to Mb's house, bringing sugar, coffee, and rice. He promised he'd help to get Mb's younger brother into the army in Jayapura. But when he heard that Mb was pregnant, the soldier never appeared again. Mb always felt like crying and thought about her two children, should later they find out what happened.
MER07, Mg	In August **2009** a soldier from Infantry Battalion 752/Sorong and his friends attended a dance party at the house of the village head. When the victim left the house to urinate, she was followed and beaten by one of the soldier's friends until she fell unconscious. According to a witness, Mg was dragged into the trees behind the house where the soldier was with several of his friends. This was reported to the customary police who came. When Mg regained consciousness, the customary police explained to her that the soldiers and his friends wanted to rape her.
MER08, Mh	Mh's experience, who also attended a dance at the house of the village head in **August 2009**, was similar to Mg's experience. It was late at night when Mh was told by the village head to go to the back to fill the generator with oil. At that time, Mh was caught and her head covered with a sarong, taken to a soldier and a friend who had also attended the dance (it was the same perpetrator as in the case of Mg). Although her hands were held and her mouth closed, Mh struggled, managed to free herself, and ran away.

1.3. No State Efforts to Fulfill Victims' Rights to Healing

One thing the documentation team noticed in listening to the experiences of victims was the absence of efforts to help the victims, except for very limited efforts by civil society and the victims themselves. Several cases of violence had a physical impact. For example, one victim who was shot had to have her leg amputated (MIM28); a victim's tongue was pierced by a bullet (MAN01); a woman experienced various

health problems due to an attempt at forced abortion (MER20); and a woman who was a victim of rape and sexual slavery for many years finally died due to a sexually-transmitted disease that was never treated (MM08). There were also victims who testified about how their family members had died of starvation (SOR25) or were hit by a bullet (PUN06) while seeking refuge in the forest for months and years due to military operations. However, victims' pain was not just physical but also psychological as the result of discrimination and ostracism. From various victims' stories, the Documentation Team heard how a victim of state violence was ostracized by the general public (MER15); about a victim who suffered discrimination so that her career as a public servant could not advance (SOR16); or about a victim's child who was not accepted at a certain school (SOR25).

Why doesn't the state take action to restore the rights of victims of state violence, recognize the violence perpetrated against women, and also deter perpetrators by punishing them?



Source: Komnas Perempuan, 2009

2. Domestic Violence

In their study, the Documentation Team found 98 cases of domestic violence, where there were as many as 93 adult female victims and 5 child victims. Although the cases we studied included old cases that occurred during the pre-reform period, most documented cases occurred during the era of Special Autonomy. Perhaps this reflects an increase in cases of violence in the era of Special Autonomy, or also an increase in public and women's awareness that domestic violence is a form of crime.

Summary Findings on Violations against Women in the Household*

Type of Violation	**Perpetrator**			**Total Violations**
	Husband	Boyfriend	Other Family Member	
poligamy or adultery	51			51
economic neglect	58	2		60
non-sexual physical violence (beating, etc.)	64		2	66
psychological violcence (threats, verbal abuse and anger)	25			25
marital rape	7			7
rape of girl child	2			2
murder of girl			1	1
forced marriage			3	3
impact: contracted HIV/AIDS from husband	5			5

Source: Documentation Team results, November 2009

* One victim may have experienced more than one type of violation.

Domestic violence means all forms of violence against women in the household as defined in the UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (A/RES/48/104, February 23, 1994):

> *Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring in the family, including battering, sexual abuse of female children in the household, dowry-related violence, marital rape, female genital mutilation and other traditional practices harmful to women, non-spousal violence and violence related to exploitation;*
> Article 2 (a)

A survey on violence against children and women conducted by the Central Agency on Statistics in 2006 found that the number of cases of violence against women in Papua was the highest in Indonesia. According to the survey, violence in Papua reached 13.62% of the cases reported nationally. Of that percentage, beating was the most prevalent form of violence experienced by women in Papua, with a rate of 70.3%.[70] Experts were of the opinion that there had been a change in men's values and behavior, that related to the disbursement of Special Autonomy funds that had continued to increase since 2001, that

[70] *Tempo* daily newspaper, December 12, 2007.

caused women to become the target of violence. The Institute for Research and Empowerment of Women and Children in Papua (LP3AP) in cooperation with the Agency for Papuan Women's Empowerment (BP3) provide support and a crisis center for women victims of violence. The data they have collected suggests that the main perpetrators of violence are women's own partners who work mostly as local officials or civil servants. The Papuan Special Autonomy funds that are so large, are also apparently implicated in high levels of alcohol consumption among men as well as an increase in the tendency to engage in polygamy or adultery.[71] Such phenomena are very dominant in Jayapura as the urban area which is a stopover for many people who go to Papua. In many cases, men, including heads of households, are more prone to use the funds received irresponsibly, for example by buying liquor or prostitution services so that there is an increased tendency for cases of domestic violence and HIV/AIDS where the wife becomes the victim.

In giving a real portret of the situation of violence against women in the family (more commonly known as domestic violence, according to Law No. 23 of 2004 on the Elimination of Domestic Violence) in Papua, the Documentation Team inevitably had to look at several issues directly related to women's vulnerability in the domestic context, among others, the problem of polygamy and adultery, rape in the household, and HIV/AIDS as a fatal impact effecting victims of domestic violence.

2.1. Polygamy and Adultery

Many cases of domestic violence recorded by the Documentation Team happened because the husband of the victim had a sexual relationship with another woman. For example, a woman in Biak suffered violence not only from her husband, but also from the woman who was having a relationship with her husband. The victim's husband had affairs with several other women since November 1985. The victim was once hit with wood until she was bruised and with a plastic chair that broke on her head. Her husband's emotional outbursts were not directed only at his wife but also ast his daughter and mother-in-law. The husband continued to threaten the victim: "Before I'm killed, you'll be killed first." The pastor of a local church handled this case, and eventually the husband signed a statement saying he would not repeat the violence.[72]

Another victim was married in church and had five children; her husband was a farmer. According to her, the violence she experienced was related to her husband's second wife who was younger than she.

> *I was always hit . . . because the second wife was still young and had one son. One time . . . while I was cooking ... this second wife came holding a piece of firewood and . . . beat me; I fell unconscious on the spot . . . I thought my husband would defend me, but . . .* [he] *took a knife and stabbed me in the leg . . . My husband always sided with his second wife . . . Sometimes I was disappointed with my husband's behavior; we would argue, but only briefly. After that we would go back to living together. I never complained about this to anyone else. I usually just prayed . . . I'm old, so* [he] *pays more attention to the second wife who is still young, although* [she] *can't run a household well.*[73]

Another woman's husband became the village head in 1996. Since then his behavior became increasingly violent. Each time his salary was paid, the husband would get drunk, then beat and kick his wife all over her whole body until it was swollen and bruised. His wife was hit with wood in front of her children. If not drunk, the husband was usually angry. This victim often left her husband, but he always looked for her and

[71] Interview with Selfiana Senggenafa, LP3AP Director, September 2008. Each year LP3AP gets more cases of violence. In 2007 the institute received 87 cases and complaints, with 74% cases of violence against women, especially domestic violence. See LP3AP report, 2007 (unpublished).

[72] Field notes on BIA30 case.

[73] WAM09 narrative.

brought her back. Her husband once brought home a woman from Manado who asked, "Mister, who is that woman?" But the husband did not acknowledge his wife and children. One child sought work in Timika; if he found some, he wanted his mother to join him. "[My husband] liked to drink in cafes. If there was money, he always left. When he'd come home he'd say, that we weren't like the women there [in the cafe]. Ordered to do this or that [sexual services], they were just willing."[74]

A woman in Manokwari married her husband in church two years ago, but they had been living together since 1989. When they first started living together everything was fine, but after their fourth child was born about 1998-99, the husband started beating his wife.

> *I was hit with a coconut palm leaf that had sharp thorns . . . my head needed three stitches and I was taken to the hospital* . . . [I reported it] *and my husband went to jail for eight months. But, after got out, he . . . beat me again with a block* [of wood]. *I reported it to the police, but my husband had a brother who was a police officer who removed my demand . . . My husband then lived with another woman . . . in March 2009 . . . One time* . . . [he] *pulled me off a motorcycle. After that, I was afraid to leave the house, afraid I'd meet my husband and that he'd kill me . . . Now, I live in my father's house* [with my parents].[75]

In August 2008, a woman's husband had a customary marriage with another woman, a widow, at the village office. The first wife was forced to sign a letter of consent accepting this second marriage. At one point, the first wife had a quarrel with her husband's second wife. Not long after that, when the first wife was getting ready for church, she was beaten black and blue by her husband, who slashed her left temple with a razor blade and hit her body and head until there were wounds. Those in front of the church intervened. As a result of frequent physical violence, the first wife can no longer carry heavy things on her head. She also experiences stress because she is separated from her husband and must take full responsibility for her two children.[76]

For four years the victim has suffered domestic violence by her husband who works at P.T. Freeport in Timika. As the legal wife, the victim asks for her husband's salary to care for the children, but usually she gets only a portion of the bank transfers. Wives of other Freeport employees experience the same thing. The victim complained, "I never know where his salary goes, how much his salary is, which department he works in. My husband is never open." The husband married again, a woman from Ambon who lived in a rented house in Timika. The second wife gave birth in May 2009. The husband wanted to accompany the child from his second wife when it was to be baptized and also wanted to bring the second wife to the village, but the first wife did not want this. The problem has been dealt with twice according to local custom, but to no avail. The first wife is disappointed; every night she prays. She rebukes her husband and the second wife, "You two know the 'ten commandments' [God's 10 Commandments in the Bible], but you do not follow them."[77]

[74] Field notes on BIA24 case.

[75] MAN06 narrative.

[76] Field notes on WAM03 case.

[77] Field notes on BIA18 case.

Summary of Polygamy and Adultery Cases

Periode 1980–98	
KJ08, Jh	Jh's husband has lived with two "wives" since **1980**. "I don't know why the police don't arrest my husband . . . I've showed the scars from my beatings . . . to the Police Chief. Or maybe [because] my husband is involved in the Tribal Council, the police are reluctant to arrest [him]."
KJ09, Ji	Ji has lived with her husband since **1982**, but because her husband likes to change partners, Ji drank insecticide two times, but got help before she died. Ji was also rape by her husband so that her reproductive organs were injured. Ji's husband threatened to report that Ji's family was involved in the OPM. For he had paid her dowry in full, her husband said: "I won't let you go, you're already paid for, so you can't get married again."
KER01, Kar	Kar became an economic victim due to the entry of oil palm plantations in the region in **1982–83**, and was also a victim of domestic violence. Since the loss of her family's sago trees, Kar's family became poorer. Her husband began to be quiet about his income and his relationship with another woman.
KJ10, Jk	Jk was 16 years old in **1988** when she began to be raped by her stepfather. Her stepfather said, "You must reciprocate your father. You must sleep with your father." Once she became pregnant, Jk was ashamed to live in the village.
SOR21, Su	At first, Su's husband did not allow Su to work, but once she learned in **1991** that her husband was having an affair, they were always fighting and eventually the husband allowed Su to work. Su said: [Our three] *are grown . . . My husband works at the BRI bank, but often doesn't come home until the next morning, sometimes he doesn't come home at all . . . He often beats me when he's angry and never gives me his salary . . . to pay for household expenses and the children. Due to financial difficulties I decided to work to support the children.*
WAM12, Wm	*I am the first wife who was legally married . . . In* ***1993*** *. . . my husband began living with another woman . . . Since then, we're always fighting* [until we] *even hit each other. Finally, I . . . took the children and left the village . . .* [My husband lived] *with his second wife . . . If I take some of his salary, he never shares it fairly . . . I shed tears to earn enough money for tuition fees and daily necessities . . . I feel it's not fair and has never been settled.*
KJP06, Kf	The husband began switching partners in **1996**. Kf also always suffered beatings and humiliation. "You choose a kinfe or a sickle, I'd bury you, who'd know? Bitch, pig . . .!" Kf imitates her husband's expressions.
KJP07, Kg	When he left to continue his studies outside of Papua in **1997**, Kg's husband married according to Islam custom in Java. It was reported to the police, but there was no settlement. In fact, the police blamed Kg. "Probably the wife had an affair." The husband often tells the children: "Your mom, she's a whore . . ." The husband also threatened Kg: "If the report this, I'll kill you. Good thing I don't carry a pistol; otherwise I'd kill you."
Periode 1999–2009	
MER13, Mm	*My husband was having an affair with another woman . . . I was often beaten until I was black and blue . . . evicted from the house. I tried to report to his superiors, but* [my husband] *threatened me . . . His relations with that woman made* [her] *pregnant . . . I choose . . . to return home to my country, PNG. I want us to have a settlement and he must pay me and my three children.*

Wam13, Wn	Wn was kicked and punched until her nose and face were bloody. The case was reported to the police and her husband paid a fine of a pig to Wn's brothers, but after that Wn was beaten again. Once Wn was driven away to her parents' home, but after three days her brothers returned her to her husband along with two pigs as a sign of apology. That night, Wn was beaten and expelled again from her husband's house. *Now* [my husband] *has become head of the sub-district . . . Although it's been managed, the problem won't be finished because his government position will always justify him.* [My husband] *has four wives and I am the third wife. He only pays attention to his newest wife, while the rest of us live in the village with no attention whatsoever.*
BIA28, Bac	After Bac husband came home from studying in Java their household was no longer harmonious. His salary was not as much as usual and the husband was always angry for no apparent reason. It was several years later before Bac knew her husband had a mistress. Bac reported this to her husband's superior, but there was no response. Bac's husband married and now lives with the second wife, whereas Bac's three children cannot continue their education due to lack of funds. According to Bac, the company where her husband works doesn't care about a problem such as this one; many of the employees have more than one wife.
BIA 29, Bsd	When he gets home from work, Bsd's husband is often drunk and doesn't hand over his salary. He also likes to have affairs. When Bsd admonishes him, he beats her. Because his salary is paid through the bank, ATM machines and credit cards allow the husband to sleep in hotels or shop at the supermarket and his wife is the victim. Bsd reported this problem to her husband's office. Bsd's husband is living with another woman and now works in Java. The children are with her husband, but Bsd does not know where they live or what their circumstances are. Bsd and her husband divorced in court without any provisions for Bsd.
BIA23, Bx	The perpetrator was an army soldier who wanted to marry Bx even though she already had a husband, a child, and was three months pregnant. Bx finally left her first husband and married the soldier. When she gave birth to twins, the problems began. Her (second) husband would always hit Bx; he once threw a spear at her and it broke a glass window in the house. The husband wanted to have sex with Bx's 13-year-old daughter. The child ran away from home and lives with her grandmother. The stepfather was angry, then left Bx and lives with another woman.
KJP20, Kt	After living together nine years, Kt's husband started to be get rough with her in **2001**. He liked to drink alcohol and ask for all sorts of things. *I was threatened, had to surrender my daughter* [from my first husband] *to be his wife . . . he forced* [her] *to satisfy his sexual appetite . . . To hide the shame, I allowed my daughter to marry and live in another city.*
KJP05, Ke	Ke accepted her husband's violence since **2003** because he is a tribal chief (*ondoafi*). "I was beaten and threatened by him . . . gave him permission to live with someone else." Neither did Ke's family defend her because of her husband's status as an *ondoafi*. "Let it be, what more he's an *ondo*!"
MIM34, Ta	In **2003, 2005, and 2009**, Ta experienced domestic violence. Her face and ears were burned and she had to be hospitalized for two months. The police processed the case to the point of prosecution, but because she took into account custom and family pressure, the victim withdrew her case.

WAM04, Wd	Wd had a customary marriage in **2004** because she was pregnant, but her husband was still secretly involved with his ex-girlfriend. Wd's husband was warned by his girlfriend's father to break off the relationship with his girlfriend; We'd husband became angry and hit Wd: [The husband] *threw a motorcycle helmet at his wife . . . stomped on Wd while using his hand to hit her on the back and head . . . he punched her on the left side of her lip so that there was a wound with lots of blood . . . The husband said, "You live with someone else, it's impossible they would give a dowry."* In a family meeting, the girlfriend said she had to live with Wd's husband, because as long as they'd been in a relationship, Wd's husband had promised that he would leave Wd and marry her. The husband said he would terminate the relationship with the second woman, but he secretly is still in contact with his girlfriend.
WAM11, Wl	Wl's husband, who works in the office of the head of district, has three wives. Wl is the first wife. If the husband receives a public servant allowance, he goes and sleeps with his other two wives; if the money runs out, he returns to Wl. According to Wl, her husband married again to have boys because all her children were girls. *It's been a long time since my husand left me . . . He would always hit me. My relationship with his second and third wives isn't good at all. We don't live together because we always fight.*
WAM02, Wb	After her husband died, Wb married her husband's younger brother. After a year **(2006–07)**, Wb was not pregnant and her second husband began to hit her. In early 2009, the husband became very angry just because his two wives were arguing over a machete. The husband hit Wb in her field until she was bruised. He pushed Wb into a trench and stomped on her. He took a piece of wood and beat her. Later that afternoon, while Wb was roasting casava, her husband did the same thing and took a piece of burning wood and hit her on the forehead until there was a wound. He then drove Wb out of his house. Since then, Wb has lived with her nephew.
WAM1, Wp	Wp financed her husband's continuing study in Java. In **2007**, Wp and her children moved to Jakarta at the request of her husband. There, Wp heard that her husband already had another wife. Wp returned to Papua. A few months later, her husband appeared in Papua with his second wife and asked to live together with two wives. Wp agreed and they lived together for a month. *Apparently, I was always blamed . . . One day he hit me . . . my head . . . so that* [it needed] *ten stitches . . . He told me to get my things* [and] *go home . . . We ran, stayed with my parents . . . until now.*
YAH07, Yg	Yg, a farmer who married her husband according to custom in 2005. Because she did not get pregnant, in **2008** her husband secretly married again and brought home a second wife. There was frequent fighting. One time the husband picked up a piece of wood and hit Yg in the head there was a wound and she fell unconscious. Yg's family demanded a fine for the blood. The problem was dealt with at the police station. Yg's husband unilaterally divorced Yg with the excuse she could not get pregnant. Yg felt that everyone ostracized her. She went home to her parents.
MER12, Ml	Ml and her husband had three children. When her husband sold their garden and had an affair with another woman **(in 2008),** Ml and her husband quarreled. Finally Ml took the three children and went to live in her parents' house.
KJP10, Kj	Kj experienced psychological violence beginning in **early 2009**. Her husband's relationship with another woman led Kj to try and work things out with her husband, but led to a fight between Kj and the other woman.

2.2. Marital Rape

A woman of Ambonese descent who lives in Papua has experienced domestic violence since 1995. When her husband was fired from the army, he began treating her very harshly. With the excuse that his wife was having an affair, the husband hit, kicked, and stripped his wife naked, then forced her to have sex. Various ways have been tried to address this problem. A priest once attempted mediation, and the beatings were reported to the police. In 2009, the wife filed for divorce in court, but the husband did not want to separate because he had already followed his wife's religion and had become a Catholic. The husband felt deserving because he had brought his wife to Papua during the riots in Ambon: "If she [wife] wants to split with me, she must leave Papua; if not, she will die. She brought me to enter Catholicism . . ."[78]

Domestic Violence and Liquor

The statements of wives who are victims of domestic violence show there is a close link between alcohol (the husband gets drunk) and extreme physical violence (when drunk, the husband becomes even more violent). The narrative of one mama represents those of many other mamas who told what they experienced when their husbands got drunk.

Fighting in my family generally happens because my husband gets drunk after drinking . . . CT [Mouse Brand, an inexpensive brand of Indonesian liquor] . . . *What I see, wives are hit [until] they're half dead by a drunken husband . . . a husband who's a mess isn't caught or restrained. This is also perhaps because in addition to several people who sell this CT, there are also police officers who sell and even drink it. So, how are security forces to provide security?*

I live in a police dormitory. These barracks have become ours because of the dedication of our parents . . . There are about six families there . . . As wives, we feel very uncomfortable because our husbands do not have steady work, but [they] *all . . . like to chip in money to buy drinks . . . My husband was almost paralyzed, and nearly blind* [due to drink]. *This happened in 2008. Fortunately, he could still be saved after being treated at the public hospital. But . . .* [he] *couldn't change; . . . he still likes to get drunk. Perhaps because there is no penalty for getting drunk . . . Sometimes beside the house of the police, [there are] young kids sitting drinking CT. I'm surprised; why do the police let them be? . . . On the average my husband gives me no more than Rp 50,000 to 100,000, while the price of a bottle of CT . . . a large bottle is Rp 15,000 to Rp 20,000. This is expensive for me, also . . . other friends who are mothers. As a result, our children can't attend school because the burden of living costs is so heavy . . .*

I never reported to the police when I've been hit if I can be at, although I live in the barracks of the police dormitory. What I do is to secure myself at the home of my brothers. I am also ashamed when sometimes I ask my brothers for help when the kitchen is empty. The police also cannot restrain my husband when he is drunk, because they say it is a private matter, a domestic [matter]. *Once I was beaten on the head and needed six to eight stitches, but there was no handling of the case whatsoever.*

I married in 1985, married in the church. My children are all girls. Sometimes I think, "Maybe it's because I never had a son, that my husband always drinks." But I remember, my husband has been drinking since . . . he was in junior high school. He's been drinking since he was young. He got married, had kids . . . grandchildren by now, and he's still drinking. When he was young the kind of drink he liked was . . . canned beer. Now it's CT . . . that makes him "vicious". . . if there is money from work, [he] *doesn't hand it over . . . but uses it to buy drinks. If he's drunk, I wait to be hit . . . This situation makes* [us unable to support] *the cost of the children's education . . . Luckily, my older brothers give us attention . . . My oldest child was able to graduate from high school . . . because of her uncles. The family has taken action by separating us, but I remember* [feel sorry for] *the children who are small, also because I am bound by a church marriage. So, I have survived until . . . now . . . The police must crack down on those who sell CT . . . They don't have permission, including police officers* [who join in selling, protecting, and using it].

SOR20 Narrative

[78] Field notes on KJP25 case.

After marrying in 2000, a wife hoped for a good life, but the reality was different.

> *My husband forced me to have sex with a widower only to get a drink . . . I* [also] *had to serve my husband together with another woman, and my husband forced us to stimulate each other to have sex. Also at that time, while watching a porn CD . . . After that, I was beaten, dragged through the streets, and all my clothing was open.* [I] *reported* [this] *to the police, but there was no settlement . . . I hope there's no game between this evil man and law enforcement; my husband was held just one night, then released.*[79]

A woman (Tah) became engaged in Mimika in 2001 to her "husband" who gave a customary gift of betel nut after he divorced his first wife several years earlier. Although Tah has tried to have an official wedding, that still has not happened. Her husband is raising three children from his previous marriage, while (Tah) also has four children from a previous relationship. After (Tah) was spoken for, her husband began working at P.T. Freeport. When her husband came home after work he always invited his children to watch videos until late at night. One time, a tape was left in the video player. When Tah played it, she discovered that the suspicions she had held all along were correct—the content was pornography.

> *After watching a porn movie, my husband would conduct or practice with me what he'd watched. I was threatened as well—if I didn't serve him he'd look for another women outside the home. If I didn't want to* [do the things he wanted], *I was also threatened* [that] *I'd be murdered.*[80]

Another woman experienced sexual violence from her husband from 2004 until now. Her children and neighbors knew about the rape and sexual violence but could not do anything. This usually happened when the husband was drunk. This woman was also beaten with stones, a crowbar, and machete. She was once hospitalized, but could not be released from the continual torture.[81]

A young woman was raped by a man in 2005 and then was married according to custom to become his third wife. In 2006, her husband and his two other wives gave this woman drugs to make her sterile, while her husband explained the medicine was in order to be safe. Now the victim cannot get pregnant.

> *He often forced me to "serve him" anytime and anywhere: on the road, at the creek, in the fields or at home, according to his wish . . . Usually he beat me, saying, "I did not marry you to have children, but to release my lust for." . . .* [Once] *in the field, he treated me so roughly that I was forced to serve him. However, this time he wanted to practice what he'd seen in the films he watched in the city. He told me to strip naked, then he forced me . . . He stranggled my neck so I just did what he wanted . . . My genitals hurt for a week. Three days later, he forced me to do the same thing in the honai, but I didn't want to. Finally, he beat me up in the middle of the night and locked me inside the honai. For three days I did not eat or drink, and had to urinate and defecate in the honai. On the fourth day . . . I managed to go home to my parents . . . I stirred my parents so I could divorce and it was reported to the police, but until now the problem has not been completely taken care of . . . Sometimes I spend the night with my family* [parents], [my husband] *goes to take me home just to vent his desire.*[82]

A woman had a customary marriage in Wamena; her parents raised one of her children. In June of 2009 this mother wanted to have a worship service at her parents' house for her child's birthday, whereas her husband wanted to have a disco party at night in his home. The husband and wife began to quarrel.

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[79] KJP15 narrative.

[80] MIM33 narrative.

[81] KJP13 case.

[82] WAM16 narrative.

While beating me on the street, he . . . pulled my hand to take me into the house and into the bedroom. He locked the door, then kicked me in the hip . . . [He] *held a screwdriver . . . stabbed me, and fortunately hit my hand and broke the skin. After that,* [my husband] *ordered me to take off all my clothes: shirt, pants, ordered me to get naked . . . and he raped me. After I was raped, he told me to wash off the blood outside while naked without even a piece of cloth to cover* [my] *body. Luckily no one was at home that night . . . After I washed off the blood, he pulled me inside again and ordered me to go to sleep . . . I was still bleeding, really hurt,* [so that] *I could not sleep* [and] *at 5:00* [in the morning] *I ran away to my parents' home. Fortunately* [my husband] *was sound asleep so I could get away.*[83]

2.3. Police Do Not Protect Women Victims of Domestic Violence

The Documentation Team found another important thing about domestic violence that relates to reporting and handling of cases. Only some of the documented cases had been reported to the other parties, such as to the church, a husband's supervisor or commanding officer (both in business and the military), NGOs that support victims, traditional leaders, or the government. Among reported cases, most were reported to the police, but were not handled or settled well. The Documentation Team noted at least 20 cases of domestic violence where reporting to the police did not produce anything as reflected in the following examples.

One proof that the police are reluctant to handle cases of domestic violence is a written statement the perpetrator makes at the police station promising that he will no longer act violently. This statement does not have any legal value or bring meaningful change. For example, for a long time a wife (Su) was beaten by her husband, a man who also often had affairs. In November 2008, Su reported about her husband's beatings to the police, "but it was not processed further." The only thing done was a statement that if a problem arose again and the husband did not give the wife his salary, the wife could again take action against her husband.[84] Another woman said her husband once made a statement (which is still at the office of the Military Police) that he would not cheat again, but he continued having affairs.[85] Reluctance or delay by the police in taking action when cases of domestic violence are reported to them makes the wives feel that the police side with their husbands. In 2006, another case was reported to the Papua Police in Jayapura, but was withdrawn when the husband, a police officer, made a statement in which he promised not to commit violence again. A few months later, the perpetrator was again violent, but the victims did not report it until 2009, when she got a death threat.[86]

The experience of a woman victim of domestic violence in Wamena illustrates how difficult it is for a wife to settle a case of domestic violence. Her case was "settled" four times at the village level by the head of the village. He decided the husband had to pay fines to the victim and her family, but the husband stalled and just made promises. Finally, the victim reported to an NGO that accompanied her to report the case to the Wamena police. Her husband did not want the case handled by the Criminal Investigation Unit, and asked that the Vice Chief of Polic handle it. The police never settled this case. The wife's counselor then took the case to the Wamena District Court, but until now it has not been settled and no verdict has been issued.[87]

[83] WAM14 narrative.

[84] SOR21 narrative.

[85] Field notes on BIA30 case.

[86] KJP24 narrative.

[87] WAM16 narrative; information regarding handling of the case comes from the wife's counselor.

2.4. Domestic Violence and Economic Neglect

Victims of domestic violence repeatedly told about great difficulties they faced due to economic neglect. When a husband had spent all his wages on liquor or to support his mistress, he neglected his family, and his wife, and sometimes members of his wife's family, had to bear the economic burden.

> *At the beginning of 2007, I started to see changes in* [my husband's] *behavior, among others he rarely came home with the excuse that he was working overtime. Gradually his attention to the family diminished, and money for the family was also limited. Finally, in May of 2007 I found out he had pictures of a woman on his flash drive. Immediately, I took my husband to court for a divorce in August 2007. From September 2007 until now, I have had no long financial or emotional support.*[88]

Husbands have various excuses for leaving their wives. One case of violence related to the husband's perception of the gap in social status with his own wife. His wife sold betul nut, while the husband was once elected as a district official. Previously, their domestic situation was good, the children attended school and the wife was happy.

> *However, I must forget my pleasure . . . because I do not know how to read and write and am not good at receiving guests. My husband finally decided to leave me by issuing a letter of divorce. The problem was handled by the family and eventually he married a widow from Biak. As a human, I was disappointed, hurt, and felt loss, but what could I do? It was all in vain . . . the rice had already become porridge. My husband said, "I love mama, but one requirement to be the wife of a district official is that she is capable in all areas, while mama cannot handle all of this." I realized that I had many shortcomings . . . I had to accept this fact. Currently I can only . . . sell betel nut. Every day, I . . . sell betel nut . . . From these earnings I am able to support my children and my needs. Meanwhile, since my ex-husband became an official he no longer paid attention to me and to the children. The children often go play at his home, but their stepmother ostracizes them, so the children are reluctant to go again. Now my husband is no longer an official . . . Until now I do not know what his situation is like. May God see what has been sown over the years.*[89]

Although not divorced by her husband, a wife's ability to earn money from hard work is hampered by injury or pain due to violence committed by her husband. One victim still suffers from pain in the legs and lower back so that she can no longer split sago with an axe. As a result of being repeatedly beaten by their husbands until they are black and blue, including being hit on the forehead until it bleeds, other victims of domestic violence often suffer from headaches and nose bleeds. If they must carry a load, the entire body feels very painful.[90] A woman farmer experienced the same thing. As a result of being frequently beaten by her husband, she could not bear heavy loads on her head, which is an important skill for women farmers. She also suffered stress because she's been separated from her husband for so long and alone must be responsible for her two children.[91]

2.5. Husbands Commit Poligamy/Adultery, Wives Are Infected With HIV/AIDS

> *A lot happens in society, where women who don't know anything in the end contract HIV/AIDS because of their husbands' "snacks" outside* [the home]. *They get cash from special autonomy funds, then in a matter of days use it*

[88] MIM25 narrative.

[89] WAM10 narrative.

[90] Field notes on WAM02 case.

[91] Field notes on WAM03 case.

up paying prostitutes and buying liquor.[92]

It is estimated that HIV/AIDS was first seen in Papua in 1992. Various factors influence the rapid progression of HIV/AIDS in Papua, including the movement of the population, little information about reproductive health and access to contraception, women's powerlessness to protect themselves, and also the emergence of houses of prostitution in various areas in Papua. HIV/AIDS cases have been found in all districts of Papua and the number increases every year.[93]

The increase in the number of HIV/AIDS cases in Papua is alarming. Results of Integrated Surveillance of HIV and Behaviour (STHP) conducted in 2006 state that Papua has the highest proportion of AIDS cases compared with other provinces in Indonesia.

> [AIDS cases in Papua] . . . *are . . . the second highest after Jakarta. However, when compared with the population, then the case rate (total cases/total population x 100,000) in Papua there are 60.93 per 100,000 peope . . . 15.39 times higher than the national rate (3.96). While in West Irian Jaya* [West Papua] *it is as high as 10.24 per 100,000 people, or 2.59 times higher than the national rate.*[94]

Papuan women are vulnerable to HIV/AIDS infection from their partners. Papua Provincial Health Bureau data as of March 2009 indicate that as many as 4,545 people in Papua Province are known to be infected with HIV/AIDS. Data of people with HIV/AIDS per district are: Biak District: 453 cases; Jayapura District: 298 cases; Jayapura City: 231 cases; Keerom District: 2 cases; Puncak Jaya District: 19 cases; Nabire District: 607 cases; Jayawijaya District: 118 cases; Merauke District: 1028 cases; Mimika District: 1879 cases.

If a person with a positive HIV/AIDS status has sex with more than one person, it is difficult to trace who spread HIV/AIDS to whom. Transmission of HIV/AIDS does not only occur through unprotected sexual intercourse, but can be transmitted through other means, such as the use of unsterile needles or through blood transfusions that are not examined. Nevertheless, the Documentation Team found several cases where the wife was powerless to protect herself from HIV/AIDS. The wife obviously could not control the sexual behavior of her husband to ensure he always had safe sex, so it is appropriate that these cases are included as an impact of domestic violence.

> *I married at 14; I was still in elementary school, grade V. At that time I was forced by my family to get married according to custom to a tribal chief who already had three wives. I tried to refuse because I was still small and wanted to attend school like other friends, but because the tribal chief constantly pressured my family I had no choice but to marry him through a traditional ceremony to become his fourth wife. The three other wives accepted me well and taught me how to behave as the wife of a chieftain, including how to garden, raise pigs, serve the community, and serve my husband. After one year of marriage, the chieftain brought a woman from the town of Wamena and told us that she was the fifth wife. Since the presence of the fifth wife, our family began to get sick one by one, starting with my husband who got ill, then died, and was followed by the fifth wife, then the third wife, then the* . . . [second] *wife, and the first wife. They all died the same year. Because I was also sick, my parents and siblings decided to take me to the hospital in Wamena. After being examined, I* [learned that I] *was infected with HIV/AIDS. The*

[92] Interview with Rev. Dora Balubun, STh, Abepura, September 2008.

[93] R. M. Pratiwi, "Gema Suara Perempuan Papua," ["The Tremor of Papuan Women's Voices,"] *Jurnal Perempuan* (December 2008), http://www.arsip.jurnalperempuan.com/index.php/jpo/comments/gema_suara_perempuan_papua/. This article covers a national seminar conducted by the National Women's Commisson and the Women's Working Group of the Papua People's Council to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the National Women's Commission. Information about the onset of HIV/AIDS in Papua comes from a speaker at this event.

[94] *The Situation of Risky Behavior and the Prevalence of HIV in the Land of Papua 2006: STHP Results 2006 in the Land of Papua* (Central Statistics Bureau and Department of Health, 2007), p. i. The Department of Health and the Health Bureau for the Land of Papua conducted this survey in cooperation with the central and provincial divisions of the AIDS Reduction Commission, and the Central Bureau of Statistics in September-October 2006.

disease is new to me, but the medical examiners suggested I take antiretroviral medication regularly. Now my weight is back to normal. I'm healthy and can work in the field and live normally.[95]

One wife did not know that her husband had HIV/AIDS until he was very weak and could not get up. The wife took her husband to the hospital and he was treated for two weeks.

> *No doctors or nurses wanted to come and check on my husband's condition. It was as if they were scared and disgusted to see us. Finally . . . a doctor . . . said, "You can take him home tonight." . . . That night I was forced to carry him home . . . He worked for the state electricity company (PLN) after being unemployed for several years. But then he started getting drunk a lot and rarely came home, and it turns out he was going to prostitutes. He had affairs with two women. One of them has already died . . .* [It was when] *he knew he would die before he confessed and expressed regret and apologized to me.*[96]

A woman who lived with her husband in Nabire also tested positive for HIV/AIDS. Her husband came home drunk. He got angry and said that his wife was no good, and sold betel nut in order to meet other men. He beat his wife and chased her with a machete, so the wife ran away and hid at her family's house. When the husband realized what had happened, he asked her family to persuade his wife, and then she returned home to her husband. The wife knew that her husband was ill when he went to the hospital and officials said he had HIV. After that the wife did not want to meet her husband and left him in hospital until he died. After her husband died, the wife was examined in 2009 and it was found that she too was infected with HIV.[97]

2.6. Layered Violence: Victims of State Violence Become Victims of Domestic Violence

One very pathetic phenomenon is experienced by victims of state violence who are then ostracized by their own families and eventually become victims of domestic violence. The Documentation Team found at least fourteen victims of this "layered violence". In the 1980s, soldiers caught a woman and her three-month-old child, and then raped her. Nearly twenty years later her husband left her, with the excuse that the victim had been violated:

> *I . . . was ordered to go into the forest to look for my husband . . .* [I was] *followed by six soldiers. After that I was taken to the post . . . beaten and raped by soldiers—two Papuans, three non-Papuans. After two days, I was taken to the hospital because my genitals . . . were bleeding and had to have stitches. After I was examined by intelligence . . .* [I went home] *. . . My husband finally married again in 2005 . . . I feel it's not fair at all because what I experienced was to save my husband.*[98]

One woman became a victim in 1968 during a firefight between Marines and the OPM in Marsyom Village, North Biak. The victim, along with her family and other villagers, fled into the forest and lived there until 1980. After returning to the village in 1980, the victim's husband went to look for work in Merauke due to economic hardship, and has not returned until now. She received news that her husband has married again. In this difficult situation, the victim alone supports her children by selling betel nut:

> *In the end my husband left me, didn't look after me, I alone pay for my children's expenses. Some have . . . dropped out of school, some have no work. I myself sell and look for food until now. All this time, the man doesn't take*

[95] WAM25 narrative.
[96] SOR22 narrative.
[97] Field notes on NAB01 case.
[98] KJ07 narrative.

notice. Because of this problem, I just live alone.[99]

Even more tragic, is the situation of a woman from Merauke who lives in the area of oil palm plantations and was repeatedly raped by soldiers from 1997–2008. When she told her husband what she had experienced, he divorced her.[100]

Slightly different are the experiences of women victims who were forced to use birth control and then later became victims of domestic violence or were abandoned by their husbands, as they were thought unable to fulfill their duties as wives.[101]

2.7. No Safe Haven

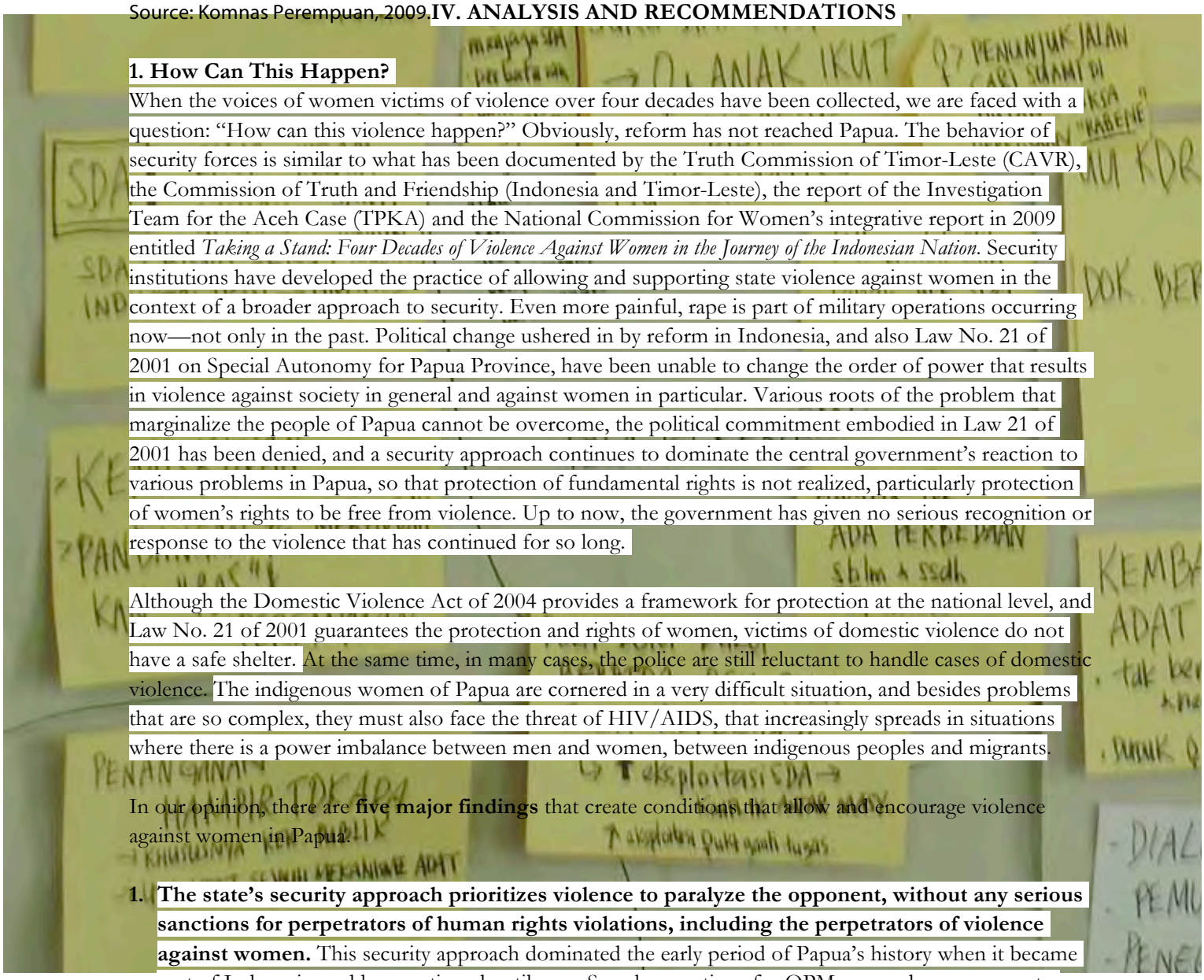
The Documentation Team observes that in the handling of domestic violence cases, almost no victims receive the healing and protection they need. This is evident by several victims of domestic violence who were hospitalized because they had teeth knocked out (SOR07, SOR08); broken bones (WAM13, MER22); a torn lip (WAM18); and knocked unconscious (WAM07). Women may experience domestic violence for years and years, where the victim experiences extraordinary abuse, including, for example, being raped by her husband (KJP18) or forced to have sex with other men (KJP13). One victim of domestic violence even got venereal diseases, including HIV/AIDS, until finally she died (WAM26). Victims of domestic violence are ostracized by society (SOR04) or by members of their own families. Victims of domestic violence experience violence in their homes (WAM16), on the roadside (WAM18), and in their fields (WAM02). Sometimes a wife who tries to escape from her husband is chased by him (WAM18) or is urged by her own family to return to her husband (WAM15). When the victim seeks protection from the police there is no guarantee that the police will do anything.

That up to now there is not a single safe house for victims of violence in Papua shows that the state and society are not serious about addressing the problem of violence in the family.

[99] BIA14 narrative.

[100] MER15 narrative.

[101] BIA21 and BIA22 narratives.



Source: Komnas Perempuan, 2009.

IV. ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. How Can This Happen?

When the voices of women victims of violence over four decades have been collected, we are faced with a question: "How can this violence happen?" Obviously, reform has not reached Papua. The behavior of security forces is similar to what has been documented by the Truth Commission of Timor-Leste (CAVR), the Commission of Truth and Friendship (Indonesia and Timor-Leste), the report of the Investigation Team for the Aceh Case (TPKA) and the National Commission for Women's integrative report in 2009 entitled *Taking a Stand: Four Decades of Violence Against Women in the Journey of the Indonesian Nation*. Security institutions have developed the practice of allowing and supporting state violence against women in the context of a broader approach to security. Even more painful, rape is part of military operations occurring now—not only in the past. Political change ushered in by reform in Indonesia, and also Law No. 21 of 2001 on Special Autonomy for Papua Province, have been unable to change the order of power that results in violence against society in general and against women in particular. Various roots of the problem that marginalize the people of Papua cannot be overcome, the political commitment embodied in Law 21 of 2001 has been denied, and a security approach continues to dominate the central government's reaction to various problems in Papua, so that protection of fundamental rights is not realized, particularly protection of women's rights to be free from violence. Up to now, the government has given no serious recognition or response to the violence that has continued for so long.

Although the Domestic Violence Act of 2004 provides a framework for protection at the national level, and Law No. 21 of 2001 guarantees the protection and rights of women, victims of domestic violence do not have a safe shelter. At the same time, in many cases, the police are still reluctant to handle cases of domestic violence. The indigenous women of Papua are cornered in a very difficult situation, and besides problems that are so complex, they must also face the threat of HIV/AIDS, that increasingly spreads in situations where there is a power imbalance between men and women, between indigenous peoples and migrants.

In our opinion, there are **five major findings** that create conditions that allow and encourage violence against women in Papua.

1. **The state's security approach prioritizes violence to paralyze the opponent, without any serious sanctions for perpetrators of human rights violations, including the perpetrators of violence against women.** This security approach dominated the early period of Papua's history when it became part of Indonesia, and has continued until now. Search operations for OPM are used as an excuse to justify all means, both military and police operations, and target women who are thought to have a relationship with members of the OPM or support them. At the same time, raising the Morning Star flag is not seen as an expression of public unrest, but rather is dealt with violently that also has an impact on women. The Documentation Team found various forms of violence against women, such as rape, intimidation, threats, torture, shootings and even killings that occurred in the context of security operations. The security approach is also used in responding to conflicts that arise over contestation of natural resources. With a state policy that states that oil and mining industries are "strategic objects of the state," the state has sided with companies that extract the natural resources of Papua, marginalize the interests of the Papuan people, and use security forces or armed force to protect corporate interests. The presence of security forces in projects such as mining, transmigration, and oil palm pose a new threat for Papuan women, coupled with the emergence of illegal trade in natural resources, trade in liquor, and prostitution. The atmosphere of fear caused by the security approach kills women's activities, such as economic and social activities, and learning activities because children are afraid to attend school. Stigmatization as 'OPM' or 'separatist' justifies violence and discrimination against tribes, families, and individuals, regardless of whether adult or child, man or woman.

In particular, women become vulnerable to sexual violence when wives are used as bait to find the 'OPM' and when security forces are allowed to organize dance parties where young women, either voluntarily or by pressure, are present. The absence of sanctions against security forces that commit violence against women reinforces the cycle of impunity.

2. **Discrimination against women in Papuan tradition and culture result in permittiing violence against women.** The indigenous people of Papua have experienced tremendous changes in a relatively short time resulting in a shift of traditional values, including the pattern of relationships between men and women. Violence against women is not a concern or an important part in the life of the indigenous people themselves. There is no denying that the position of indigenous women in traditional institutions is still unequal, where women do not have the opportunity to engage fully in decision-making about the most basic issues related to customs, tribes, families, and individuals. When customs do not favor the victim, cases of violence against women increase. It is possible that Papuan women can find their own ways to correct the imbalance, but rapid changes in social life where forces outside the community itself dominate (the central government, enterprise, migration, trade, liquor, localization of prostitution), mean that women increasingly lose their space, and are increasingly vulnerable to imbalances in Papuan culture itself.

   Discrimination against women in the domestic sphere of Papuan culture continues in society, among others, in the division of household labor, in the nurture and education of children in the household that is a burden for women, in ownership and inheritance rights, for example, land and decision-making in the family. This was also found in tribes that dwell in isolated and remote areas/villages that have no access to the fulfillment of rights, such as formal and non-formal education, to information and technology, or to markets although women form the backbone of the economy. In terms of the impact on their health, women are particularly vulnerable because of cases of polygamy, and prearranged marriage where women marry men as arranged according to custom. When subjected to violence, custom does not protect or side with women, thus there are increasing cases of violence against women and children. Conversely, in the public domain educated women in big cities have broad access to decent work, although available employment opportunities are still limited.

3. **Natural resource conflict, political conflict, and power struggles from the local to national levels, foster a situation where both state and domestic violence against women is increasing.** Papua that is so rich in natural resources has become an area of struggle for natural resources, competition for political sovereignty, and the struggle of local, national, multinational, and international interests. Conflicts grow on top of conflicts, the boundaries of interests increasingly blurred. Demands of mining company employees regarding their rights are manipulated by others to provoke a situation that ultimately leads to tribal warfare. In the era of Papua's Special Autonomy, there is consumerism and abuse of power by those with access to power and Special Autonomy funds so that violence against women and children is increasing, including cases of sexual abuse, infidelity, and polygamy. Various forms of violence against women and children occur in regions where there is mining, oil palm plantations, exchange of aloe lumber, fish industries, and localization of prostituion and entertainment industries in the cities. On one hand, new industrial centers, such as fish and timber industries, are a source of economic development that attract workers from outside that, in turn, are a factor driving the spread of HIV/AIDS as seen in places such as Merauke, Timika, Merauke, Sorong, Biak, and Nabire. At the same time, new investors employ more outside workers without efforts to protect the rights of indigenous people of Papua. In this struggle, indigenous Papua women are increasingly marginalized, and even become victims of violence in tribal war that then emerges, become vulnerable to HIV/AIDS, and increasingly experience economic impoverishment, and social and political powerlessness.

4. **There is not serious response and political will from the government to resolve the conflict in**

Papua in general, or the problem of violence against women in particular. In this context of exceptional conflict and marginalization, the state has an obligation to protect those who are vulnerable, but instead ignores the issue of violence that is raging in Papua, and experienced in particular by Papua women. Up to now there has not been any serious handling of cases of state violence experienced by women, not one case has ever been investigated, no sanctions imposed on perpetrators, and no trials. For domestic violence, although there is the Domestic Violence Act at the national level, there is no clear policy implementation to protect women victims of violence in Papua. There are currently no state efforts to provide protection to victims of violence, either to protect victims in crisis situations or to protect their broader rights. Police are still reluctant to deal with cases of domestic violence. It cannot be denied that the two forms of violence against women, **state violence** and **domestic violence** are interrelated. Impunity and permitting domestic violence have an impact on state violence, and vice versa. In essence, the root of the problem is one, namely discrimination against women. Without efforts to change the culture and laws, both written and in practice, violence against women will continue. The protection and promotion of women's human rights in Papua needs to happen immediately through the implementation of national legislation, the creation of special provincial legislation, formation and support for safe houses for abused women, as well as the deployment of various mechanisms of the state, religious institutions, and culture at the local, national, and international levels to prevent and stop violence against women.

5. **Overlapping layers of trauma and powerlessness that are not addressed give rise to a cycle of victimization.** Women and girls have experienced mental suffering, fear, feelings of helplessness, lack of self-confidence, depression and prolonged stress during security operations, during inter-tribal violence, and in situations of domestic violence. As a result of multiple trauma, women experience psycho-social pressures that make it increasingly difficult for them in terms of economic empowerment, and access to education and information. It is also increasingly difficult for them to make decisions for themselves or protect themselves from repetitive social problems, such as a husband who likes to get drunk, the problem of polygamy and infidelity, and the spread of HIV/AIDS. When a woman must become a single parent, or a daughter loses her parents due to violence or the HIV/AIDS epidemic, it becomes easier for women to fall into a cycle of suffering that increasingly oppresses them.

In the name of humanity and human rights, violence against Papuan women in Papua should not be allowed to continue.

2. What Must be Done Immediately to Stop Violence Against Papuan Women?

Based on the voices of women victims of violence that have been heard and collected in this report, we make the following recommendations:

To demonstrate its political will, the **central government** mobilizes resources and takes action to:

- review security policies and implementation in Papua, including reducing the number of troops deployed, preventing violence against civil society and women, punishing and dismissing perpetrators of human rights violations, and removing the stigma of 'separatist,' 'traitor,' and 'subversive' from those who work for the fulfillment of human rights and women's rights in Papua.
- implement Law No. 21 of 2001 in accordance with the spirit of the articles of the law, and with political will, especially in performing the obligation to **reveal the truth** and acknowledge that the people of Papua in general, and women of Papua in particular have suffered state violence.
- conduct fair, peaceful, and democratic **dialogue** with the people of Papua as a process that has been and continues to be driven by some components of society, and ensure that at least 30% of the dialogue participants are women.
- establish a Human Rights Court and Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Papua according to the

mandate in articles 45 and 46 of Law No. 21 of 2001; and Law No. 26 of 2000 regarding a court for serious human rights violations, and ensure that **perpetrators of serious crimes are brought to trial**, including perpetrators of sexual crimes and other violence experienced by women in Papua.
- encourage the **protection of women's rights**, the right to health, the protection of natural resources, and protection of the economic and labor rights of indigenous Papuan women, as well as eliminate racial discrimination, discrimination against women, including women living with HIV/AIDS, according to Law No. 7 of 1984 on the ratification of CEDAW, that includes reporting on the development of the situation of Papuan women in periodic reports to CEDAW and CERD Committees.
- create a government regulation in the framework of restoration for victims of Violence and Human Rights violations for Papuan women victims of state violence.
- create a **recovery** program for victims, especially to give **recognition, reparations, and rehabilitation** to victims of Militry Operation Zones (DOM), eliminate the OPM stigma, and conduct various activities for the recovery and empowerment of victims.
- implement the Domestic Violence Law throughout Papua that includes the establishment and support of a **safe house** (women's crisis center) for victims of domestic violence, and ensure that the **police protect and take the side of** female victims.

To prove its good intentions, **the Indonesian military** acknowledges and prevents violence against women by:
- issuing sanctions against its members who are perpetrators of violence against women and those who violate women's human rights as well as implementing special measures to prevent and handle these cases.
- acknoweldge and restore/repair victims of violence, including rehabilitation for children born as the result of sexual violence.[102]
- include a special curriculum in military education related to gender-based human rights for members at all levels, and create policies that prohibit sexual exploitation and violence against women with strict legal sanctions.

To prove its good intentions, **the Indonesian police force** acknowledges and prevents violence against women by:
- issuing sanctions against its members who commit violence against women and those who violate women's human rights as well as implementing special measures to prevent and handle these cases.
- ensure the rule of law in handling reported cases of violence against women, including rape, domestic violence, and others on the basis of Domestic Violence Law No. 23 of 2004 and Law No. 23 of 2002 on Child Protection, and the Criminal Procedure Code, Law No. 7 of 1984 on the ratification of CEDAW, by creating mechanisms and special education about these laws.
- provide gender-based human rights education, as well as knowledge of local culture, to its members at all levels.

The National Commission on Human Rights (Komnas HAM) shall:
- follow up this documentation report by developing a human rights investigation and conducting an ad hoc investigation into human rights abuses in Papua.
- encourage the central government to establish a Truth and Reconciliation Commission in the Land of Papua.

[102] Reparation is an obligation of the state to restore victims of serious human rights violations. The forms of reparation, as stated in the UN General Guidelines, include: compensation, restitution, rehabilitation, and fulfillment of satisfaction of the victim.

The National Commission to Eliminate Violence Against Women (Komnas Perempuan) shall:

- support the development of a network of safe houses for women Papua.
- integrate the situation of Papuan women in human rights reports on violence and discrimination to international human rights mechanisms.
- facilitate and support advocacy to follow-up the recommendations of this documentation report related to the fulfillment of human rights of Papuan women at the district level.
- take a role to lead advocacy at the national and international levels for the rights of indigenous Papuan women, especially regarding the handling and settlement of cases that require the role of government at the national level.
- establish a Papua desk that must seriously give attention to handling problems of violence against Papuan women and violations of their human rights.

To show political commitment to implementation of the mandate of Law No. 21 of 2001 and protection of the basic rights of the people of Papua, the **provincial government of Papua and West Papua, as well as district/city governments throughout Papua** shall:

- ensure that women and men have equal opportunity in giving their opinions in the decision-making institutions as stipulated in the constitution and make decisions for the public/shared interests.
- demonstrate good will in the context of recognition, respect, law enforcement, and protection for women victims of violence and human rights violations by making regulations for the recovery of women victims of state violence and ensure that women victims of domestic violence are served according to existing laws.
- make special provincial regulations and other policies that protect the basic rights of indigenous Papuan women that include ensuring the rights of women in special provincial regulations related to the protection of natural resources; customary justice; access to economic welfare, economic independence and the market; labor; liquor restrictions; rights on women's health including reproductive rights without discrimination and coercion; along with the comprehensive handling of HIV/AIDS in accordance with Law No. 36 of 2009 on health.
- develop and implement special programs for women and children victims of state violence, public and domestic violence, to ensure recovery, shelter, continuation of education, employment opportunities for children of women victims, and access to other public services.
- allocate **special funds/budgets** that are managed transparently and responsibly to fulfill the needs and promote the protection of human rights indigenous Papuan women.

Papuan People's Assembly (MRP) shall show partiality to the victim by:

- urging the provincial government and provincial Parliament to pass legislation, including special provincial regulations, for the protections of Papuan women's basic rights and budget allocations in the interests of women victims.
- supervise the implementation of special provincial regulations protection of rights and implementation of programs to empower Papuan women.
- make a breakthrough to fight for the aspirations of victims before state institutions in Papua, in this case the provincial government, provincial Parliament, law enforcement agencies, and security institutions.

The Papuan Parliament (DPR) and parliaments at the district and city levels shall:

- ensure the guarantee of women's rights in the design of special provincial regulations and laws and immediately establish:
    - a provincial regulation for the protection of natural resources and women in the context of natural resource management and conflict.
    - a provincial regulation about Papuan women laborers
    - a provincial regulation on restriction of liquor

- a special provincial law to address HIV/AIDS among women, children and youth.
- based on inputs of the Papuan People's Assembly, immediately formulate and establish special provincial regulations for the protection of the rights of women victims.

Religious institutions shall:
- incorporate the issues and problems of violence against women and violations of women's human rights in church/religious education curriculum, sermons, chatecism materials, and other guidance materials.
- expand the church's routine and pastoral ministry (sacraments, baptism, confirmation, marriage, pastoral counseling, etc.) for social-spiritual recovery of women victims of state violence as well as children born of sexual violence.
- increase capacity to provide pastoral care for victims of domestic violence and their families.
- play a role in removing various stigmas, discrimination, and ostracism by society towards women victims and people living with HIV/AIDS.
- acknowledge and strengthen the presence and involvement of women in decision-making systems of the respective religious institutions.
- proactively cooperate with various parties, including NGOs and the government, in efforts/programs to address violence against women and the fulfillment of human rights of women victims of violence.

The Tribal Council and Papuan Tribal Leaders shall:
- give priority to the values of indigenous peoples over financial/corporate interests and ensure that traditional leaders function as protectors and guardians of indigenous customs.
- involve women in decision-making processes of traditional institutions for the realization of justice and peace for all.
- overcome stigma, discrimination, and ostracism that communities often legitimate with indigenous values and traditions, and provide protection for women and children victims of violence.
- reestablish and rebuild traditional houses as centers of education of indigenous values based on respect for women's rights, human rights, the environment, and gender equality.
- establish an indigenous judiciary and impose customary sanctions on perpetrators of violence against women, and proactively prevent and handle cases of violence against women.

Civil Society Organizations shall:
- actively participate in the process of policy formulation and programs for the protection of Papuan women's rights and oversee their implementation.
- participate in preventing and settling cases of violence against women and conduct ongoing monitoring of violence against women.
- encourage change in society's discriminatory behavior towards women victims of violence, people living with HIV/AIDS, and other vulnerable groups.
- develop special programs for the recovery and empowerment of women victims of violence.

Provincial/District/City Women's Empowerment Bureaus shall:
- support and work with women's groups to build and optimize safe houses for women and children victims of violence.
- collaborate with stakeholders (police, religious and traiditional institutions, NGOs) to care for victims.
- establish work programs and ensure budget allocations for the care of victims of violence and support civil society organizations that empower women and care for victims of violence.

Mass Media shall:
- provide educative and impartial reporting on women victims of violence and victims of human rights violations.

- provide a special space to voice the problems of women victims of violence and victims of human rights violations.

Private Companies/Investors/Owners of Capital shall:

- obey provincial regulations that apply to their operations.
- cease the exploitation of natural resources and of the Papuan people, especially women and children.
- impose strict sanctions on staff members or employees who commit violence against women and do not criminalize women victims of violence.
- adopt work principles in accordance with human rights values, especially in the use of state security forces to guard company assets and products.



Source: Komnas Perempuan, 2009.

APPENDIX

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TIKI' – PAPUAN WOMEN'S HUMAN RIGHTS NETWORK

TIKI' grew from the concern of individuals and women's groups about the situation of Papuan women's human rights. With assistance from the International Center for Transitional Justice, and facilitated by the Women's Working Group of the Papua People's Assembly (MRP) and the National Women's Commission, a team of Papua women documented the situation of Papuan women's human rights and published their findings in a report entitled: *Enough is Enough! Testimonies of Papuan Women Victims of Violence and Human Rights Violations 1963-2009*.

WITH this momentum, a network was formed on 9 October 2010 comprising organizations and individuals with the goals to:

- increase the understanding of the women's movement about the situation of violence against women in Papua and other violations of their rights;
- encourage and support the protection, restoration, and fulfillment of the rights of Papuan women.

BASED on the report and these goals, this network was named TIKI' Papuan Women's Human Rights Network.

VISION: Realization of the Advancement, Protection and Fulfillment of Papuan Women's Human Rights.

VALUES:

- hold high human rights' principles
- side with victims without discrimination
- gender equality and justice.

IN an urgent situation, where we shout, "Enough is Enough!" we can no longer wait for state recognition and policy change. We must immediately move to strengthen victims, support healing, and advocate for state and community recognition of victims' rights.

WEAVING A *NOKEN* (a traditional Papuan bag) is the way we describe the healing process for victims. It comprises five steps:

1. **Find a Friend**: the process of identifying women victims of violence in a community.
2. **Hold Hands**: another word for the healing process where victims have space to share their stories and take steps towards healing.
3. **Gather Stories**: a process of documenting testimonies/stories of women victims.
4. **Giving Voice**: documentation findings are shared with government, cultural, and religious leaders, and if possible, victims willing to speak are given space for a public hearing.
5. **Change My World**: a process of periodic support to strengthen victims (socially, economically, politically)

PROGRAM PRIORITIES:

1. Weaving a *Noken* has three main activities: local documentation of violations of women's human rights; restoration and fulfillment of the rights of women victims; and advocacy for policies with a perspective on women's human rights.
2. Network Capacity Building whose main activity is developing the resource capacity and empowerment of the network.

Consensus also has been reached regarding the network's priority issues: eco-social-cultural rights, reparations, management of natural resources, rights of women in regions vulnerable to violence (border, security operations, extractive industries), women and politics, and women human rights defenders. Urgent issues for joint advocacy include the issue of women's human rights in relation to government policies (related to institutional reform) and women's problems that have a large, systematic, and widespread impact.

WORKING TEAM

Network Members:

1. Humi Inane –Sound of Women (focus on domestic violence)
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4. Belantara Papua (environmentalist group)
5. Merauke Peace & Justice Secretariat (SKP)
6. Institute for Research and Empowerment of Papuan Women and Children (LP3A-P)

7. Solidarity of Caring Women (SPP; women's rights groups)
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10. Mnukwar Papua (an environmentalist group)
11. YADUPA (indigenous rights group)

and 17 individuals who care about the situation of Papuan women.

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