
BENEFICIARY ASSESSMENT OF PNPM/RESPEK

Rencana Strategis Pembangunan Kampung
(Village Development Strategic Plan)



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Background

Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat (PNPM) Mandiri Rural is the Government of Indonesia's flagship poverty reduction and community empowerment program implemented by the Ministry of Home Affairs together with Bappenas, Ministry of Finance, Oversight Committee of PNPM Mandiri and other government agencies. The program's development objectives are for villagers in PNPM Rural locations to benefit from improved local governance and socio-economic conditions. Using a community-driven development (CDD) approach, it empowers villages and communities to identify and implement village infrastructure sub-projects that are cost-effective, pro-poor and productivity-enhancing. The activities include construction of infrastructure, a micro credit and livelihoods scheme, and the delivery of training activities—all of which are supported by an extensive facilitation network. Implemented since 2007, PNPM Rural has reached over 66,000 villages in more than 4,500 rural sub-districts in Indonesia in 2012.

In Papua and West Papua, PNPM Rural is implemented together with RESPEK (*Rencana Strategis Pembangunan Kampung, or the Village Development Strategic Plan*), a CDD program at the provincial level. The two programs were implemented together in the two provinces in 2008 under one name, PNPM RESPEK. In 2010, the then Governor of West Papua decided to separate the implementation of RESPEK from PNPM Rural, following which funding for RESPEK was directly channelled to village heads who were also responsible for the implementation of the program.

This beneficiary assessment study, based on a study conducted in 2013 by an independent research institute in Indonesia called AKATIGA, is a unique attempt to capture and understand the perspectives of beneficiaries of the PNPM/RESPEK program in the challenging environment of Papua and West Papua. Previous studies into PNPM/RESPEK have looked at program implementation primarily in terms of the program's operational achievements. This study, however, aims to understand the beneficiaries' perspectives on how the program was run in their villages. Only by understanding the perspective of beneficiaries can we start to understand the challenges faced by the program within the social, political and local cultural contexts. As such, this study attempts to capture the diversity of opinions, experiences, and the varying degrees of knowledge of the program across different layers of the community, as well as the factors that influence these differences.

The findings of this study highlight some of the key implementation challenges of CDD in remote areas and proposes how these might be addressed for future implementation of CDD programs in Papua/West Papua, as well as in the context of the new Law on Villages (Law No. 6/2014), known as 'the Village Law'. The Village Law will see a significant increase in development funding allocated to villages, while mandating the inclusion of participatory, transparency and accountability principles in its implementation mechanism.

Objectives

The overarching objective of this beneficiary assessment was to capture and understand the perceptions of program beneficiaries of PNPM/RESPEK in Papua and West Papua provinces, and to establish to what degree the program had met beneficiaries' expectations and improved their daily lives. Another objective was to understand why some participants had been more involved in the program than others, and why community participation had been more inclusive and empowering in some villages than in others. Ultimately, the aim was to better understand the influence of local political dynamics on participants' involvement in the program and the degree to which this affected whether villagers benefited (or not) from the program—in the views of villagers themselves.

In line with these objectives, the study aimed to answer the following questions:

- What do the beneficiaries know/understand about PNPM/RESPEK? Do they feel that the program has been conducted in line with their expectations?
- What are the direct and indirect impacts of PNPM/RESPEK on the lives of the beneficiaries?
- Who participated in PNPM/RESPEK and who has not?
- What are the specific dynamics that influence the community's participation in PNPM/RESPEK activities?
- How have local political dynamics influenced people's perceptions of PNPM/RESPEK?

Locations and Methodology

Study Locations

In Papua, the study was conducted in three regencies or *kabupaten*.

- **Kabupaten Yahukimo** is located in the highlands and characterized by mountains and valleys;
- **Kabupaten Dogiyai** is a mountainous region strategically located as it connects the Nabire coast with the Paniai-Enarotali mountains via the Trans-Papua highway that crosses this *kabupaten*; and
- **Kabupaten Merauke** represents a coastal lowland area.

In West Papua, the study was conducted in two *kabupaten*, both of which happened to contain several large-scale mining and oil and gas investments.

- **Kabupaten Kaimana** is located on the southern coast of West Papua and its population is distributed along the coast and islands, marked by hills in several areas; and
- **Kabupaten Teluk Bintuni** is located on the bird's head and neck of Papua island, with diverse characteristics including marshes, coastal areas, cliffs, and jungle.

In each *kabupaten* in both provinces, the research team selected two sub-districts (*kecamatan*) as study locations. The first sub-district was chosen for its relatively easy accessibility, while the second had challenging links to the *kabupaten* capital. In each sub-district, the researchers then selected two villages. The selection of sub-districts and villages was decided by the researchers in consultation with *kabupaten*-level facilitators after considering the social and geographic conditions, as well as the political and cultural diversity.

Data collection

The study is essentially a mini-ethnographic study conducted in 20 villages across these five *kabupaten* in Papua and West Papua. The study used an ethnographic approach to allow researchers to capture considerable richness of information, especially in understanding the social, political and cultural complexities of the implementation of the PNPM/RESPEK program at the local level. The village locations were also deliberately selected to capture a diversity of community voices.

In each *kabupaten*, the research team comprised a coordinator and three assistants who conducted data collection in every village over a two-week period. Data were collected through observations, in-depth interviews, and group discussions. Each team contained one junior researcher from Papua or West Papua who helped to conduct field data collection and produce case studies from every village.

Data collection used the following techniques: (i) observations and transects;¹ (ii) interviews with actors and beneficiaries; (iii) group discussions; (iv) observation and analysis of built infrastructure; (v) case studies; and (vi) secondary data.

¹A technique used by social researchers, usually anthropologists, whereby they walk through a village and map out major infrastructure/public places, as well as other geographical markers (rivers, hills, etc.).

Main Findings

After five years of implementation, PNPM/RESPEK was still largely popular among local communities. Overall, local communities perceived PNPM/RESPEK favourably, seeing it as a development program that actually delivered what had been promised. The majority of communities from various study villages agreed that they had benefited from the program's sub-projects, especially from the infrastructure projects. Communities however were not entirely satisfied with how the program was implemented: they wanted the program to be more participatory and inclusive by involving the general community at every step of the program, especially during the planning stage. Communities also wanted to be invited to planning meetings and to have greater say on what priority sub-projects should be chosen for their villages. Moreover, they wished to have better information about the program, not only on general information such as program's name and names of the village implementing team members, but also more detailed information such as the amount of funds their village received and the program investments.

As reflected in the communities' perception above, the study found that PNPM/RESPEK indeed had implementation weaknesses that influenced the community's knowledge and level of participation in the program. For example, due to the wide geographic spread and remoteness of many sub-districts and villages in Papua and West Papua, the program facilitators have not been able to provide intensive facilitation and support to local communities, resulting in communities' lack of knowledge and limited participation in the program. On top of that, facilitators, who were evaluated mainly on the administrative performance of the program (e.g. timeliness of funds disbursement, timeliness of reporting, and repayment rate of revolving loan funds), had no incentive to take the extra time needed to socialize program's objectives and procedures to wider community (beyond elites and program implementers) and to reach out to non-elites to encourage them to attend program meetings. The facilitators even sometimes bypassed/shortcut some program procedures to ensure that they met program deadlines for disbursement and reporting.

Other factors influencing implementation included a rigid hierarchical social structure with entrenched elite domination, language barriers, and difficulty in getting women involved in program's activities.

Despite these weaknesses, PNPM/RESPEK was still seen as a useful program by the communities, who wanted the program to continue in their villages with the above mentioned improvement. In many study areas, PNPM/RESPEK often was the only development program present in these villages, particularly the more remote ones. Even when other development programs/initiatives took place such as corporate social responsibility/CSR projects in Teluk Bintuni, PNPM/RESPEK was instrumental in bringing small scale/basic infrastructure of decent quality to villages in Papua and West Papua². And compared with the implementation of the RESPEK only program in West Papua (which was managed directly by village heads), it is clear that PNPM/RESPEK performed much better in terms of community knowledge and participation as well as benefits to the community. This parallels the case of CSR projects that were similarly conducted using a community participatory approach, indicating that involving the community in local development is indeed a better option towards ensuring that development projects truly meet their needs.

Specific findings from the study are described below.

Knowledge

Most people in the research villages knew of the existence of the PNPM/RESPEK program. In Papua, most people recognized the program as the "PNPM program" or "RESPEK", and saw the two as identical. Only the village elite (village heads and heads of the TPKK) could clearly distinguish between PNPM and RESPEK: namely, that PNPM was a program provided by central government, while RESPEK was a program provided by the Papua provincial government. Meanwhile, in West Papua the community saw the two programs as separate following the separation in 2010, with PNPM Mandiri as a program provided by central government and RESPEK as a program funded by the West Papua provincial government. **Because of this, for the remaining of this report, when the report mentions "program", it refers to PNPM/RESPEK in Papua (as one program) and PNPM Rural in West Papua. RESPEK in West Papua will be discussed separately as relevant.**

²AKATIGA (2010) and AKATIGA (2015) both found that quality of infrastructure built by PNPM/RESPEK was relatively good, with around 50% - 55% infrastructure rated as of good to very good quality and 20 - 50% rated as moderate quality.

The program's popularity with communities was influenced by the duration of the program in their villages and the degree to which people were involved in the construction of the facilities and infrastructure. Most villages in Papua experienced four to five implementation program cycles of PNPM/RESPEK, while villages in West Papua experienced three to four program cycles (particularly for PNPM Mandiri) since 2009. The development of physical facilities/infrastructure in Papua and West Papua, particularly in 2008 and 2009, involved the communities in general; some villagers became temporary paid workers, while others supplied building materials. As a result, communities' knowledge of the program was relatively evenly spread and villagers generally recognized the program from the facilities built in their village. This situation changed post 2009 when community's direct involvement in infrastructure construction decreased as the increasing complexity of projects under constructions required more outside technical expertise.

Both in Papua and West Papua **detailed knowledge of the program stages tended to be limited to the elite (village heads, village secretaries and public figures) and the TPKK managers, with far less knowledge held by the community in general and women in particular.** Village elites were generally involved in the decision-making process and in all the other stages of the activities. In almost all villages, the elite knew when and where meetings would take place, the detailed plans for infrastructure development, the negative list (activities that were not allowed by PNPM), the stages of infrastructure development implementation, and the stages of fund disbursement. The elite was also aware of the facilities/infrastructure built during each stage of PNPM/RESPEK implementation, as well as the time needed for construction implementation. The elite further knew that in PNPM/RESPEK there were two distinct sources of funds, namely the Special Autonomy Fund (*Dana Otsus*) from the provincial budget (APBD) and funds from the national budget (APBN).

Among women in both Papua and West Papua, knowledge of the program was highly dependent on their position within the community and the level of their engagement in other village activities. Women who were active in their village Family Welfare Association (Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga, or PKK), the local community health post (Posyandu), or the local church or mosque, were generally more aware of the program proposal

deliberations, the role of the TPKK, and the amount of funds earmarked for women's activities. Some of these women also knew that they had the right to propose activities and obtain funding specifically targeted for women's activities. In the research villages in Papua, for example, members of women's groups were aware that 15 percent of total village funds should have been allocated for women's revolving loan funds (RLF), despite the fact that these funds were never actually released to the women by the TPKK managers.

Women who were not involved in activities in the village tended to have far less knowledge of the program than women who were involved. These women were generally aware of the activities that made use of program funds to develop infrastructure in their village and that these funds were managed by the TPKK, but they were unaware of the program stages and the source of the funds.

Factors Influencing Level of Knowledge

The differing level of knowledge of PNPM/RESPEK processes and program stages between the elite, women and communities in general **was primarily due to weak facilitation, both from sub-district facilitators and TPKK members.** In turn, the ability of sub-district facilitators to conduct effective facilitation was limited by several factors, including weak incentives and low capacity. **Facilitators were mainly tasked with attending to administrative procedures and requirements of the program, and their performance was largely judged by their competence in this administrative area.** Consequently, they often "bypassed" deliberation and/or community meetings in order to simplify processes and ensure that reports were completed satisfactorily and on time. This could be seen in the *kabupaten* studied, where the frequency and level of community participation in program meetings declined over time as facilitators strove to keep the program moving within the given time limit for each cycle.

In addition, **the emphasis on administrative procedures also influenced facilitators' training, which was largely focused on building this capacity.** Facilitators were rarely provided with training in facilitation skills, such as encouraging participation from the community (and especially from marginalized groups), moderating discussions/meetings to avoid domination by elites, and handling complaints/problems.

Other factors influencing facilitation were **logistical challenges and the language barrier**. Many villages in Papua and West Papua are difficult to reach due to their remoteness and the difficulties of the terrain, inflating the transport costs especially if it is necessary to charter flights or boats. As a result, facilitators preferred to simplify procedures and types of sub-project to enable them to visit villages only once a year. In addition to the logistical issues, most sub-district facilitators could not speak local dialects, reducing their ability to interact effectively with members of the community outside the village elites.

Language difficulties also influenced the communities' capacity to understand the program.

Explanations of the PNPM/RESPEK program were given in Bahasa Indonesia, even though most villagers had trouble understanding it. Bahasa Indonesia was mainly understood by the village elites and TPKK members. Those who were selected to be managers invariably came from the elite, as they were often the only people able to meet the qualifications, such as the ability to write and read in Bahasa Indonesia. It was apparent that in several villages the ability to speak Bahasa Indonesia was a source of power for the elite and other program actors.

Difficulties in understanding Bahasa Indonesia thus obliged most members of the community, even those present during meetings, to rely on information from the TPKK. As a result, information about the program, the activities to be undertaken in the village, and the process of activity implementation, generally came from the head of the TPKK. However, because **TPKK members also had a limited understanding of the program, they too were unable to entirely explain the processes, the stages and the objectives of the program to the community**. Thus, the process of generating proposals, eliciting ideas from the community, and encouraging community participation in the decision-making process, received less than full support from the TPKK.

Additionally, understanding of the program was obscured due to language confusion when sub-district facilitators and the TPKK referred to the program as 'kerja' (work) during program socialization, instead of using other terms or words already in existence to describe and capture the principles of CDD such as 'kumpul-kumpul' (gathering) for the discussion process or 'kerja sama' for communal work (gotong royong). Meanwhile, the word 'kerja' was already

in use by the community to refer to all physical infrastructure development programs that came from the Government. As a result, this influenced communities to think of the PNPM/RESPEK program more as an infrastructure project (that usually meant job opportunity) than a community empowerment program.

Another factor that affected communities' knowledge of the program was **the heterogeneity and clan power balance in the village**. In the majority of villages where the community was heterogeneous and dominated by one clan, information generally flowed to the dominant clan and not evenly distributed across the community. However, in the few relatively heterogeneous villages where relationships between clans were balanced, program managers generally came from groups other than the village head's own group and information was more evenly spread.

Similarly, information distribution was more equitable in villages with relatively homogeneous communities where power was distributed among several groups. This was particularly so cases where all the clans lived in *honai*-based³ hamlets located on their respective traditional lands. As each *honai*-based hamlet had authority over its area, there was a balance of power vis-à-vis other hamlets. In addition, information could be spread quickly among the *honai*-based hamlets because of the strong familial ties between occupants of the different hamlets.

Comparison between PNPM/RESPEK in Papua and RESPEK in West Papua

The different levels of knowledge of PNPM/RESPEK between villages in Papua and West Papua were also a consequence of the separation of PNPM from RESPEK in West Papua, as well as the existence of other programs in some villages. As previously explained, the separation of PNPM and RESPEK implementation **in West Papua** meant that communities at all levels were better able to distinguish between the types of investment and the program stages of each program. Villagers could name the PNPM investments in their village, as well as the meetings conducted during activity implementation to determine the activity types and the construction of facilities. Conversely, **while villagers knew of RESPEK's existence and the amount of funding it involved, few could point to any tangible investments in their village, or explain how RESPEK funds had been used**. Most villagers said that RESPEK was the concern of the village head. In addition, some villagers in

³A *honai* is a traditional housing complex where several households from the same family (*marga*) live together and form a strong social tie.

West Papua had experience of corporate social responsibility (CSR) programs and this meant that they not only had a higher level of understanding of the program, but also allowed them to make comparisons between PNPM, RESPEK and these other private sector-funded programs. ***In Papua, however, people were generally unaware of any other programs besides PNPM/RESPEK*** and so had little comparative knowledge.

Participation

In most study areas, ***participation of general community has been varied with meetings mostly attended by elites while community often participated as paid labor in construction of simple infrastructure projects.*** At program's deliberation stage, there were examples where communities could attend meetings and propose ideas, and some communities could also participate in decision-making. However, the presence of community members in discussions and activity meetings was often outweighed by members of the elite. Meetings to discuss PNPM/RESPEK activities were generally attended by members of the village elites, such as members of the Village Consultative Body (*Badan Permasyarakatan Desa*, or BPD), village officials, TPKK members, and women from the elite (usually PKK and *Posyandu* cadres). Meanwhile, villagers from the wider community found it far harder to attend PNPM/RESPEK deliberations and activity meetings. Although some villagers were present in these meetings, decision-making was controlled by the village elite and community participation in the planning process was largely symbolic.

Elite domination also influenced community participation during the activity proposal stage. The elite, especially village heads from the dominant clan who exerted control in the village based on the clan's customary land rights, tended to decide the activities in the village. In order to cultivate land, for example, other community members had to ask for permission from the elite to first clear the land. Regarding PNPM/RESPEK, many physical investments from the program were built on such customary land and elite domination was further entrenched as a result.

The difficulties villagers experienced in attending deliberation and activity meetings was partly a consequence of people's livelihood activities and partly the meeting invitation mechanism. Physical presence at meetings was often impossible for members of communities whose livelihoods came from hunting and fishing. The invitation mechanism also influenced the level of attendance

in village discussions. Most villagers in Papua and West Papua assumed that attending meetings in the village (including to discuss PNPM/RESPEK activities) required an invitation. People who received an invitation directly from the program actors generally attended the meeting and followed the discussion, while those who did not receive invitations did not attend. However, those villagers normally invited were generally those already active in village organizations or involved in village activities. A direct invitation mechanism was observed in most research villages, but those villagers receiving invitations were invariably members of the elite.

One alternative but effective invitation mechanism to encourage the attendance of the community was by open invitation. Open invitations spread the information more equitably because the entire community had the same opportunity to receive invitations and therefore access information about the program. The TPKK in Bukapa and Ekemanida villages in Kabupaten Dogiyai invited the community by going around the villages using loudspeakers to announce the event. The venue for deliberations/meetings was the village road or an intersection where people commonly gathered. With such an open invitation mechanism, the level of attendance achieved was higher than in villages using direct invitations.

The existence of CSR programs in Kabupaten Teluk Bintuni and Kabupaten Kaimana also influenced communities' participation in PNPM. These alternative programs also required communities to participate, often by providing labor and collecting materials for infrastructure projects. Given the limited time and human resources available in each village, those involved in these CSR programs often could not, or chose to not to, participate in PNPM.

Women's Empowerment

Generally, women's participation was relatively low in PNPM/RESPEK activities and usually amounted to little more than their passive presence at community meetings, or as providers of snacks at the meetings. Although present, women tended to remain silent and simply agree with whatever proposals were made by the men. Of the 20 research villages, in only seven villages did women suggest activities at village-level consultations, and in every subsequent decision-making vote the women's suggestions lost out to the men's suggestions. ***Those women who were able to suggest activities were invariably those who had long been active in the village, for instance in PKK or church activities.***

Similar to PNPM implementation in regions outside Papua and West Papua, women received special attention through revolving loan funds (RLF) and women-specific proposals. However, **meetings specifically aimed at eliciting women's ideas were almost entirely absent.** Some women, especially those close to the elite and program actor circles, were invited to community meetings, both individually and to represent their husbands if the latter were unable to attend. However, as with the community in general, the presence of these women was largely symbolic.

Limitations on women's participation in PNPM/RESPEK activities were also determined by the relationship between men and women, the lack of any dedicated space for women, the program implementation bias, and the lack of facilitation specifically for women. Where gender roles were more fluid, as apparent from the division of labor, women appear to have had a higher level of participation. Thus the level of participation for women was somewhat higher in West Papua, where both genders work to pound sago and women as well as men participate in hunting and gathering activities albeit closer to home such as gathering shellfish and small fish near shore. By contrast, the level of participation was lower in Papua where customary gender roles were more rigidly observed, as reflected by the clear division of labor whereby physically demanding activities such as hunting and clearing land for cultivation was strictly the province of men, while women were assigned to tend the house, provide food, till the land and gardens, harvest, sell produce, and care for children.

Regardless of gender roles, however, opportunities for women to make suggestions and take decisions were rarely made available by activity implementers at the sub-district and *kabupaten* levels in either province.⁴ In Papua and West Papua, almost all research villages failed to provide opportunities for women to develop their own plans, or to provide a dedicated space for women.

Exceptions were found in villages that had special facilitations for women. Women-specific facilitation was provided by NGOs to build the confidence of women to enable them to participate in the public space. This facilitation encouraged women to actively participate in the program, supporting the argument that providing special facilitation to marginalized groups during the development process, including women, can be successful without creating an additional exclusive group in the village (AKATIGA, 2010).

Examples of the strengthening of women's participation were found in Kweel and Urumb villages, where women's participation was higher than in other villages following facilitation. TPKK managers in these two villages allocated the 15 percent from PNPM/RESPEK funds specifically for women. This was the consequence of the facilitation made available to the women by Oxfam, which encouraged them to negotiate with the sub-district facilitators and the TPKK for access to the funds allocated to women. The high level of participation of women in Kweel and Urumb was evident in their strong presence at village meetings and their courage in actively conveying their opinions and activity proposals.

Facilitation

Research findings in all locations reveal that one major factor underlying various weaknesses in program implementation was the issue of facilitation. **Various challenges in facilitation, in terms of capacity, ability and logistics, strongly influenced the levels of knowledge and participation of members of village communities. In the context of Papua and West Papua, geographic challenges, language barriers and strong cultural (adat) structures exacerbated facilitation issues even further.** Remoteness of many areas in the two provinces made it very difficult for facilitators to be present in villages for significant periods to provide proper facilitation. The language barrier also prevented adequate levels of communication and gave excessive political power to elites that were already familiar with, and used to using, Bahasa Indonesia. Furthermore, the village *adat* structure dictated control of the resources coming into villages. With these issues in mind, the degree to which facilitators could understand, engage with, and mediate between, the various power groups and the community at large, was crucial to the success of the program. However, this was an area in which no support was provided by the program and which the facilitators had little training in or capacity for.

The research findings across the 20 villages indicate that there were **four main factors underlying the poor quality of facilitation in PNPM/RESPEK, namely: (i) poor capacity/quality of facilitators, especially sub-district facilitators; (ii) an incentive system that does not encourage strong facilitation; (iii) severe challenges due to geographic difficulties; and (iv) cultural challenges (including language barriers) that tend to reinforce elite domination.** The poor capacity of facilitators

⁴This lack of opportunity, according to sub-district and *kabupaten* facilitators, was because during the early stage of PNPM/RESPEK program the women had failed to manage the 15 percent of funds allocated to the village's revolving loan fund (RLF).

is reflected by the limited knowledge of the program's main objective among communities, as well as the facilitators' limited ability to engage with communities and serve as interlocutor "power-brokers" between communities and their elites. Sub-district facilitators, who are the main focal points in the program to engage with villagers, were largely ill-equipped to explain the program's main objective in community empowerment and instead only explained the program's procedures and funding. They were often incapable of helping communities to put forward their priority needs. Frequently, sub-district facilitators were found siding with elites in prioritizing proposals or predetermining activities that were supposed to come from the community.

This situation was largely the result of the facilitators' incentive structure: their performance was judged and evaluated based on their capacity to fulfil the program's administrative requirements, namely, ensuring that the program stages, fund disbursements and reporting requirements were delivered in a timely manner. This imposed significant pressure on the facilitators to try to complete all the administrative requirements by the end of the project cycle. In addition, facilitators' training was mainly focused on understanding of the program's procedures and requirements, instead of on facilitating and encouraging communities' involvement in the program. Lastly, given the geographic challenges in Papua and West Papua which are further discussed in the next paragraph, the requirement for sub-district facilitators to attend monthly coordination meetings at the district level to report on project progress, away from their duty stations, significantly reducing the time that was available to visit villages and engage with the community.

The geographical challenges made it difficult for sub-district facilitators to cover all the villages under their responsibility due to a combination of lack of transport, difficult terrain, large distances involved, and the small number of facilitators compared with the number of villages under their responsibility. Some villages did not have direct access to sub-district towns and had to travel via district cities or from other sub-districts/districts. In some cases, due to the remoteness of the sub-district or to security concerns (such as in Dogiyai and Yahukimo), instead of staying near/at their duty stations, sub-district facilitators were pooled in several easy-to-access sub-districts or the district capital.

These challenges faced by sub-district facilitators had a knock-on effect on the performance of the TPCK at the village level. ***The TPCK played the most prominent role in the implementation of physical development activities in villages. However, members of the TPCK were heavily reliant on the assistance they received from the sub-district facilitators, having little if any access to information on the program from elsewhere.*** As a result of the infrequent facilitators' visits and the lack of in-depth information provided to the TKPP members, the TPCK's capacity to effectively facilitate the implementation process was severely impaired and its ability to ensure that the program's intended purpose was achieved was limited. Compounding these weaknesses, little additional information was made available to facilitators and TPCK members. Such information could have helped to explain facilitation methods, how to deal with frequently occurring problems, and provided information about cultural conditions in the research villages.

Additionally, since sub-district facilitators often came from different sub-districts/regions than their duty stations, they did not speak the local dialects and had to rely on Bahasa Indonesia to communicate with villagers. This often limited their ability to engage with communities and gave excessive power to the elites, who tended to be confident in using Bahasa Indonesia.

The existence of often very strong and hierarchical cultural (adat) structures in villages in Papua and West Papua, compounded with the language barriers, made facilitation more challenging. As seen from the study's findings, the strong hierarchical culture and socio-cultural/political mix of each village had a major bearing on the ways in which the elite interacted with other segments of the village community. In some cases, the mix led to elite capture and suspicions of the misappropriation of funds among marginalized groups. This created tensions that could undermine cooperation and trust in the village or, worse, even lead to outbreaks of violence between opposing groups. Even where this did not take place, the hierarchical structure of society meant that facilitators had to work harder to bring in marginalized and non-elite groups who were not customarily part of the elite discussion process.

Despite being poorly equipped for the role, **facilitators did have the potential to play a crucial role as power-brokers between competing groups in the villages, balancing the political forces at play and helping to ensure that less powerful groups were not squeezed out by elite capture of program activities.** For example, in villages with a single dominant clan, facilitators had little option but to try to work with that clan, which often occupied the primary position of power in the village, namely the village head. A good facilitator would ideally be able to “broker” the relationship between the village head (and his circle) and the community in order to help community members to voice their needs. Alternatively, a good facilitator would utilize the village elites’ desire to show that their village was better than others as an opening to introduce development projects that could benefit the community at large. However, facilitators with limited knowledge and skills on interfacing with local power holders would often bow to the will of the elites and failed to ensure that communities’ voices were heard, even in villages with more than one dominant clan where more opportunities to the dominant power structure existed.

Given the lack of training and infrequent visits that facilitators were able to make to the villages, the development of such an in-depth understanding of the power structures and potential entry points to influence existing power structures was extremely challenging, if not impossible. Opportunities for facilitators to play a more important role in balancing the various power groups in the *adat* village structures were therefore lost, to the detriment of the weakest and more marginalized segments of the village community.

Recommendations

Improve the quality of facilitators through training and incentives

In general, better training is needed to improve facilitators’ skills and understanding. Facilitators must be equipped with a clear understanding of the primary objective of CDD programs in terms of empowerment, as well as the principles of participation, transparency and accountability that are stipulated under Village Law implementation. The training must also cover facilitators’ role in supporting communities to voice and formulate their development needs, and to act as a bridge and balancing power-broker in the interaction and communication between elites and non-elites. This capability is a critical component that needs

to be developed towards achieving the effective empowerment of the entire community. Ideally, the training should go beyond the classroom to test and practice skills in the field, supported by continuous mentoring to ensure improvement over time.

Moreover, the training should also equip facilitators with an understanding of the socio-political situation and socio-cultural structure in various areas of Papua and West Papua prior to deployment. In most cases, facilitators were provided no background information on customary *adat* power structures, and had to develop their own understanding of these structures in the field, if they were so able. This meant that facilitators were uninformed and lacked understanding about the particular power structures in their villages, including factors such as the structure and dominance of the various tribes and clans, the composition and size of marginalized groups, and the degree of heterogeneity or homogeneity of the dominant clan or clans in each village. This lack of understanding hampered the effectiveness of facilitators’ work.

In addition, the issue of incentives needs to be tackled if facilitators are to be expected to focus their work on facilitating and empowering communities. Current pressure to fulfil the administrative requirements of the program have created incentives for facilitators to favour finishing project activities and reporting on time, often at the price of ignoring community involvement. This administrative focus ultimately undermined community trust and expectations in the program. Thus, facilitators’ tasks and performance must be linked to the facilitation skills mentioned above, with the ultimate goal of empowering communities to achieve their priority development needs.

Ensure participation of marginalized groups through targeted consultations

Given the social structure in Papua and West Papua tends to perpetuate elite domination, CDD programs as well as Village Law implementation will need to carve out more targeted consultation space with marginalized groups to ensure that their aspiration and needs are captured in village planning. Such kind of consultations should ideally be facilitated by independent facilitators who can encourage marginalized groups to participate and speak up in meetings and can intercede on their behalf if needed. In the context of Papua and West Papua, this role will likely need to be supported by existing community/civil society groups as detailed in the following section.

Collaborate with existing groups in communities to support facilitation

A critical issue affecting facilitation in Papua and West Papua is the inadequate number of facilitators, especially in remote sub-districts. According to PNPM project data, 30 to 40 percent of sub-district facilitator positions are left vacant annually in Papua and West Papua. Although program implementers have taken some initiatives to overcome this—including lowering qualification requirements from a bachelor's degree to a diploma and special recruitment of technical facilitators through the Barefoot Engineer program—given the difficult working situation in the two provinces, the chronic shortage of independently hired facilitators is likely to continue.

Given such challenges, it might be more realistic for the program to collaborate with existing groups that are already working with communities in the villages, such as NGOs or religious groups, especially in remote/hard-to-reach areas. Findings in this study support this option, as seen for example in Urumb Village in Kabupaten Merauke, where church-sponsored NGO and Oxfam's work on women empowerment programs helped improve women's capacity to develop group proposals in PNPM/RESPEK and to manage RLFs. There is also an indication from previous studies on PNPM/RESPEK that church activists, including women and young people, can be empowered to play a role as power brokers to counterbalance the dominance of village elites (AKATIGA, 2010). Government from central, provincial and district levels will need to develop an arrangement that enables this effort, particularly in the context of the implementation of the Village Law.

Use public spaces and channels to communicate with the community at large

Providing information through formal meetings was not an effective way to transfer program information and knowledge to the community at large. Often, only elites or those close to the TPKK/village heads were invited to the meetings, leaving behind non-elites, women and other marginalized segments of the community. This limited community participation in the program and consolidated elite capture. Where informal venues

such as the local market and *honai* were used to spread information and to gather community ideas for working on infrastructure projects, better information distribution was apparent.

In Bukapa Village, Dogiyai Kabupaten, people from various backgrounds in the village naturally gathered in the market to gather and exchange information. The TPKK and sub-district facilitator therefore utilized this venue to spread information about what had been built in other villages/sub-districts, to come up with initial ideas for village proposals, and to negotiate the proposals with the community prior to formal project meetings. As a result, community knowledge of the program was relatively better than that found in other research villages in the same sub-district. In Anjelma Village (Kabupaten Yahukimo), information about the program was spread through the *honai* so that knowledge of the program was relatively well dispersed throughout the clan, although this knowledge was still limited to male members of the clan.

In conclusion, future program socialization will benefit from utilizing such informal/public spaces or channels to reach out to as many community members as possible.

Address the language barrier more effectively

Understanding of the program in the target communities could be improved through effective visual communication aids, participation of local civil society or community organizations to help translate and explain in local dialects, and more precise terminology. Visual communications such as videos, pictures, and simple diagram scan help facilitators to explain program objectives, activities, and procedures more clearly communication, while involving local civil society or community organizations to help translate and explain the procedures can also be very helpful in ensuring smooth communication. Facilitators also need to pay attention to local context when using Bahasa Indonesia, to avoid using words that could lead to confusion or misunderstandings about the program. For example, using the words "*kumpul-kumpul*" instead of "*kerja*" to explain PNPM project.

Create space for women and their needs

It is clear from the study's findings across almost all of the research villages that women's participation in the PNPM/RESPEK program remained weak despite the efforts made to encourage their involvement. In light of the context of gender relations in Papua/West Papua, in which women are widely dominated and marginalized by men, special attention is needed to create space for women's participation in CDD programs and also to ensure that allocated funds specifically for women's activities do indeed reach their targets. The findings show that despite these allocations of 15 percent in PNPM, it was rare for these funds to be fully controlled by women's groups, or even to be used to address the specific needs of women in the community, although this was partly due to an erroneous assumption that the 15 percent of funds earmarked for women could only be used for women's revolving loan funds—usage for which was often vetoed by sub-district facilitators, on the grounds that the risk of default/non-repayment was too high and could lead to disqualification of the village for the following year's block grant.

One outstanding exception to the general rule was found in Urumb village in Kabupaten Merauke. As elsewhere, in Urumb most of those attending and dominating PNPM meetings were men. However, thanks to the facilitation of women's groups in the village by NGOs, in particular Oxfam GB operating through the Papuan Women's Empowerment Project (PAWE), some women's groups were able

to improve their capacity for collective action, creating solid and complete proposals and becoming empowered to participate in the PNPM/RESPEK program. As a result, members of the groups were invited to village meetings where they were able to voice their opinions and take part in the decision-making process. Their participation led to one of the women's groups receiving the full allocation of IDR 15,000,000 to start small enterprises through a revolving loan fund.

Building on this experience, it seems reasonable to conclude that if efforts to promote women's participation are to be successful, it will be necessary to strengthen the capacity of women to organize themselves and develop solid and complete proposals for economic and health/education-based activities. In addition, program implementers need to provide dedicated space for women, such as special meetings for women and specific fund allocations for women's groups.

Whenever possible, women facilitators should be deployed to work with women's groups, given the unbalanced relationship between men and women in most villages in Papua/West Papua. When this is not realistic (for example, due to security concerns or the remoteness of working locations), the program should be encouraged to work with existing NGOs/church organizations, or with women cadres (PKK, *Posyandu*, etc.) to help create and enforce space for women to participate in community development.

INTRODUCTION

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INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

PNPM/RESPEK is a community-driven development (CDD) program that is a collaboration between two programs, namely RESPEK (*Rencana Strategis Pembangunan Kampung*, or the Village Development Strategic Plan) at the provincial level, and PNPM Mandiri Rural at the national level. The two programs were implemented in collaboration in the provinces of Papua and West Papua in 2008.

The two previous studies that have been conducted into PNPM/RESPEK tend to see program implementation from the program's operational achievement. This study, on the other hand, aims to capture the beneficiaries' perspectives on how the program was run in their villages. This perspective is important in understanding the challenges faced by the program within the social, political and local cultural contexts. This study attempts to capture the diversity of opinions, experiences, and degrees of knowledge of the program across different layers of the community, as well as the factors that influence these differences.

1.2 Research Questions

This research aims to answer the following questions:

- What do the beneficiaries know/understand about PNPM/RESPEK? Do they feel that the program has been conducted in line with their expectations?
- What are the direct and indirect impacts of PNPM/RESPEK on the lives of the beneficiaries?
- Who has participated in PNPM/RESPEK and who has not?
- What are the specific dynamics that influence the community's participation in PNPM/RESPEK activities?
- How have local political dynamics influenced people's perceptions of PNPM/RESPEK?

1.3 Community-Driven Development and PNPM

The World Bank has adopted a community-driven development (CDD) approach since the 1980s. This approach represents a shift from the prior emphasis on large-scale investment projects for agricultural and industrial infrastructure in the 1970s. The shift in approach was informed by the realization that large-scale investments were "top-down" by nature and, as a result, undermined and prejudiced the interests of the poor (Mansuri and Rao, 2013). Through the CDD approach, the World Bank emphasizes the importance of communities having control over decision-making and investment (management of funds) processes. In a CDD project, communities are encouraged to come up with project ideas, partake in a competition to obtain block grant assistance to fund their proposed projects, and be responsible for the implementation and maintenance of the investments (Dongier et al., 2003). Communities are expected to work together in partnership with other organizations that are responsive to the demand for, and the supply of, services, including local governments, the private sector, NGOs, and the central government. Using this model, CDD has evolved into a means of (i) meeting infrastructure needs, (ii) providing social services, (iii) providing a form of social security for the poorest members of the community, and (iv) contributing to community empowerment and the strengthening of their social capital (Mansuri and Rao, 2013).

1.3.1 Discourse Regarding the CDD Approach

A number of studies have shown that CDD implementation is determined by relationships between people at the community level, particularly relations between the elite and other groups, as well as the level of trust between groups in the community (Mansuri and Rao, 2004 and Rao and Ibanez, 2003). In fragmented communities with clearly defined social hierarchies, participation can be difficult to achieve. This is due to the high

levels of mistrust between groups, the potential for conflict between individuals and communities, and the rigid hierarchies that regulate relationships between groups (Rao and Ibanez, 2003 and Abraham and Platteu, 2001). In fragmented communities with elite domination, CDD programs often further entrench the disparity in relationships between the elite and other groups. Investment-decision mechanisms are often dominated or co-opted by the elite, widening the gap between the elite and the non-elite (Conning and Kevane, 2002 and Mansuri and Rao, 2004). Nevertheless, there are also indications that in communities where the elite is well-disposed towards assisting other groups (including the non-elite) in the community, program targets can be achieved (Dasgupta and Beard, 2007) and greater trust among the various groups can develop (Rao and Ibanez, 2003).

Another supporting factor that is necessary for effective participation is accountability to both the government and the communities themselves. Accountability to the government and communities should be concurrent. Another crucial success factor is that program facilitators provide adequate support to members of the community such that program activities can proceed within the commonly agreed framework (Mansuri and Rao, 2013).

1.3.2 PNPM/RESPEK as a CDD Program

The PNPM Project Appraisal Document (PAD) specifies three goals for the PNPM/RESPEK program. First, PNPM/RESPEK is expected to create affordable access to infrastructure and public services in rural areas according to community needs. Second, through this program, communities are expected to participate and use a democratic forum to plan, implement and oversee the development of their village area according to their priorities. Third, this development, directly or indirectly, is expected to create economic benefits for members of the community in line with their wishes.

These three goals are achieved through a provision of grants of a set amount and with certain mechanisms for village development and group revolving loan funds (RLF). In accordance with the CDD concept, facilitation support should be provided in the participation process and the democratic forum in the form of training, and the appointment of, and supporting facilities for, local facilitators. The program's success should

be measured by, among others, the number of proposed infrastructure facilities that are built, the number of people who participate in PNPM meetings, the economic benefits of the program to the community, and a survey of community's perceptions of the extent to which the built facilities reflect their needs, as well as analysis of the number of people who enjoy the benefits, including women.

RESPEK was a flagship policy of the former governor, Barnabas Suebu (2006-2011), which was launched in 2007 under a Gubernatorial Regulation (*Pergub*). Suebu tried to elevate the legal status of RESPEK with a Regional Bylaw (*Perda*). However, this was never approved by the Papua People's Representative Council (DPRP). Hence, although RESPEK was still running at the time of this study, its legal status is still only based on a Gubernatorial Regulation, which means that it could be terminated at any time by a subsequent governor.

RESPEK aims to encourage local development in villages through community participation. Although not the first program to use special autonomy funds (*Otsus*), RESPEK is the first program at the provincial level to be implemented by the provincial government across the entire region. Jayapura, for example, already had a village and *kabupaten* development program in 2003. RESPEK channeled IDR 100 million to each village government to be disbursed directly through the village heads and to be managed together with communities in the village development process. These funds can be used for projects related to nutrition, education, health, physical infrastructure and livelihoods; and can be used for projects that benefit individuals (through private goods such as buildings/renovating private houses). Meanwhile, the central government also conducted local development through PNPM Mandiri Rural. In Papua, PNPM Mandiri was a further development of the PPK/PPD (Kecamatan Development Program, or *Program Pembangunan Kecamatan/Distrik*)⁵ that was introduced to Papua in 1998 and ran until 2006 (Phases I, II, and III). In 2007, PPD changed its name to become PNPM-PPD. Unlike RESPEK, PNPM funds cannot be used for activities that benefit only individuals such as housing.

In 2008, one year after its launch, RESPEK officially started its collaboration with PNPM Mandiri, to become the PNPM/RESPEK program, implementing village development (using an

⁵In Papua and West Papua, sub-district is called "distrik" while in everywhere else in Indonesia it is called "kecamatan".

approach similar to RESPEK) using a community-driven approach (similar to the PNPM Mandiri approach). By 2010, the PNPM/RESPEK program was running in 3,145 villages, 358 sub-districts, and 28 *kabupaten* across Papua and West Papua. The merger of PNPM Mandiri with RESPEK was supported by the Directorate General of Community and Village Empowerment (DG PMD) of the Ministry of Home Affairs (MoHA), with a participation model based on the one used in PNPM Mandiri Rural. After the merging of PNPM and RESPEK, both public and private goods could be funded by the program.

1.3.3 PNPM/RESPEK Implementers

The following section explains the PNPM program actors. The main actors of PNPM are the communities themselves, who should be the decision-makers in the village. Actors at sub-district, *kabupaten* and other levels should function more as facilitators, guides and mentors to achieve the goals, principles, policies, procedures and mechanisms of the program according to the Technical Operational Guidelines (*Petunjuk Teknis Operasional*, or PTO).

As already mentioned, the central element of PNPM/RESPEK is the community-driven approach. This approach places most emphasis on community participation as a means to achieve development goals effectively, according to people's needs and using the local knowledge of the community. Community participation is also considered crucial in building social capital, because CDD emphasizes that efforts to build social capacity and networks of individuals can, at any time, be utilized to promote welfare. Thus, the facilitation aspect, social analysis (community mapping), and building community groups'/communities' capacities for association, are all important aspects of the CDD approach. Community investment proposals are determined in a village-level deliberation process, and the program management is provided by a team called the Village Program Implementation Team (*Tim Pelaksana Kegiatan Kampung*, or the TPKK).

At the village level, control over the PNPM/RESPEK process is formally exercised by the TPKK together with appointed representatives of the village government, traditional and religious figures comprising three or more people known as the *Tim Tiga Tungku* (3T). The TPKK is the backbone of program implementation in the field, comprising a head, together with a secretary and a treasurer. RESPEK funds, previously managed by the village head, are now managed by the TPKK with a participatory planning mechanism that should involve the village community.

In conducting its duties, the TPKK is supported and guided by a sub-district facilitator (*Pendamping Distrik*, or PD) and an activity operational manager (*Penanggung Jawab Operasional Kegiatan*, or PJOK), and assisted by a village facilitator (*Pendamping Kampung*, PK). The TPKK receives its operational funds from funds allocated outside the village block grants that are provided at the sub-district level. The village facilitator is an elected community member. He/she is tasked with facilitating or guiding the community to participate in, or implement, the program phases at the village and community-group levels during the socialization, planning, and implementation stages, as well as the maintenance stage. Every village elects two village facilitators, a man and a woman.

At the sub-district (*kecamatan*) level, the program actors include the PJOK, the Sub-District Activity Implementation Team (*Tim Pelaksana Kegiatan Distrik*, or TPKD), and the sub-district facilitator. The PJOK is responsible for organizing activity operations and administration, as well as program reporting. The TPKD is similar to the TPKK in that it functions as the program's financial management and implementation unit, but at the sub-district level instead of the village level. The sub-district facilitator guides the community in participating in, and implementing, the program and is tasked in particular with providing facilitation to the village facilitator and the TPKK. There are two sub-district facilitator categories with different skill sets: one has a civil engineering background or education, and the other has a non-civil engineering background to facilitate communities in activities other than infrastructure and building facilities.

At the *kabupaten/kota* level, PNPM actors comprise the *kabupaten/kota* PNPM/RESPEK coordination team and *kabupaten/kota* facilitators. The *kabupaten/kota* PNPM/RESPEK coordination team is established by the *kabupaten/kota* head/mayor (*bupati/walikota*) to provide program coordination support between agencies, services and administration processes at the *kabupaten/kota* level. *Kabupaten/kota* facilitators are professionals who provide facilitation and intensive guidance, as well as technical and management support, to program actors in sub-districts and villages. *Kabupaten/kota* facilitators usually act as resource persons to discuss institutional issues and challenges faced by PNPM/RESPEK. They are usually capable of seeing problems in greater depth, as well as identifying the roots of the problem from a macro perspective.

At the provincial level, PNPM/RESPEK actors comprise the provincial management coordinator (Provincial MC) and the provincial facilitator. Provincial MC are professionals who provide technical and managerial support to all program actors, while the provincial facilitator provides facilitation and intensive guidance to program actors at the *kabupaten/kota* level.

1.3.4 Challenges of PNPM/RESPEK Implementation

PNPM procedures provide a model that is normatively clear and already showing signs of success in achieving program goals. In terms of efficiency, for instance, by using only about 60 percent of the funds used by the provincial or the *kabupaten* government, PNPM/RESPEK can build infrastructure projects of equivalent or better quality. In terms of quality, around 60 percent of the built infrastructure is adequate (Sari, Rahman, and Manaf, 2011). However, challenges that undermine the program and community participation still persist. Since the onset of the program, NGOs and journalists have highlighted issues such as the lack of sound financial management, corruption, and the marginalization of women, as well as concerns over potential conflict between villagers (*Suara Perempuan Papua, 2008*). More acutely, PNPM/RESPEK has been viewed as having failed to achieve its goal of empowering communities, and instead been criticized for causing social disintegration in Papua and West Papua, as well as contributing to a culture of welfare dependency (GRM International, 2009).

In terms of community participation, AKATIGA (2010) underlined the weaknesses of PNPM implementation due to poor facilitation and the domination of elite groups. Although this occurs not only in Papua/West Papua, the uniqueness of the Papuan situation and conditions prevents the application of uniform measures to address the challenges. Papua/West Papua has 250 ethnic groups who live in a variety of geographic conditions, i.e., lowlands, coastal areas, mountainous and hilly areas, and valleys (GRM International, 2009). This geography determines the characteristics of Papuan ethnic groups, population distribution, contact with non-Papuans, the nature of relationships, the mutual help system (*gotong royong*), and the degree of agricultural access both to markets and to inputs such as seed and fertilizer (Mansoben and Walker, 1990).

Geographic conditions also affect accessibility. There are still many remote villages accessible only by foot over several days. This clearly limits access to education and health institutions and increases the cost of materials. For example, a sack of cement that can be purchased for IDR 56,000 to IDR 60,000 in Jayapura can be IDR 1,200,000 in Puncak Jaya (ICG, 2011). It is little wonder that Papua and West Papua remain the poorest provinces in Indonesia, with 37 percent of their populations living below the poverty line—although this is also ironic considering that the two provinces are rich in natural resources. The demographic and cultural characteristics of *Tanah Papua* are further complicated by the migrant population from outside Papua that is estimated to have grown from 41 percent in 2005 to 53 percent from the current total population of Tanah Papua (GRM International, 2009). In most cities the non-Papuan population is now in the majority.

The participation of women's groups is also a special concern. Despite some positive examples, women's participation is generally undermined by poor facilitation such that women remain marginalized. This situation is also a consequence of a culture that places women in a very weak position in relation to men. For instance, in many Papuan communities a married woman moves to her husband's village or house. As an approval of the marriage, the man's family gives a dowry to the woman's family. However, this dowry is not returned if the woman later wishes to divorce and, as a result, women cannot easily escape from a marriage despite mistreatment by the husband. A husband is also not required to provide for his wife, such as in the Marind community where a man's main responsibility is to his siblings and their families, and not to his wife (GRM International, 2009).

Social development is also a challenge because women generally have more limited access to education and health than men. There are also indications of gender-based violence, including sexual harassment, rape, and social isolation, as well as barriers in accessing medical services (GRM International, 2009). Although various initiatives, such as the Papua Women Empowerment Program managed by Oxfam since 2009, have contributed to strengthening the role of women, these obstacles persist and continue to undermine women's participation in the development of their villages.

1.4 Socio-Economic and Topographic Contexts of Papua and West Papua

1.4.1 Socio-Economic Strata of Communities

Many studies have indicated how widening political, social, and economic gaps between the elite and the rest of the community have had an important effect on participation. One of the classic examples of papers on rural development⁶ provides an illustration of the political and socio-economic power of certain groups and communities at large, as well as the impacts on the economic accumulation during the New Order period of development. Large landowners in Java, for instance, aside from controlling agricultural activities, also monopolized highly profitable non-agricultural activities, such as the transportation business and the supply of agricultural production equipment. Meanwhile, small farmers, despite having access to non-agricultural activities, could not be the main actors in such activities, limiting them to options such as opening food stalls, producing palm sugar, or working in odd jobs in other sectors such as domestic helpers. This widened the economic disparity between certain groups and the public at large.⁷

In the context of Papuan society, social stratification is strongly informed by access to, and control of, local environmental resources. The control or access to resources in Papua is dissimilar to the modern notion of individual control over land, such as property rights. Resources in Papuan society include land, members of the community and, in the context of this research, can be in terms of money, programs, and benefits from the programs that enter villages. Access, in this regard, is defined as the ability to obtain benefits from something, such as materials, people, institutions, and symbols (Ribbot and Peluso, 2003). By focusing access on the aspect of "capacity to obtain something", a wider study regarding society stratification and social relations is able to capture how a certain social strata controls and regulates resources. This control is seen from the ability to limit or activate the benefits from the said resource.

Access to resources is reflected in the power over the various mechanisms, processes, and social relations in communities that determine how a person or a community can benefit from the resources. Power, in this regard, can be in the form of social identity, political position, or economic capacity. This explains why some people or institutions can benefit from resources, irrespective of whether or not they have the right to do so. Conversely, it also explains why certain individuals

or institutions cannot benefit, or only benefit to a very small degree, from resources despite having the right to receive such resources. However, these relationships dictating access to resources are dynamic and dependent on the position of the individual or the group, and social relations with other groups.

Society in Papua comprises tribes that control a certain territory. Tribes in Papua are social units that consist of numerous clans. Every clan consists of one or several families and is led by a clan chief. The clan has communal rights over certain land that are recognized/approved by local customs. A clan chief has the power to regulate the natural resources and members of his clan. At the lowest level, namely at the village inhabited by several clans (either from the same or different tribe), the leader of the clan who owns land and members close to him comprise the village elite. It is this village elite that controls the resources in their village. Previous studies of PNPM/RESPEK show that most village governments in the study areas in Papua have a village chief who also has the strongest clan, in combination with several members of this strongest clan (Sari, Rahman and Manaf, 2011). This clan power is possible because the elite of the clan controls the resources available to the village.

The village elite, the owners of communal rights from the strongest clan, also controls other resources, such as the development programs that enter the village. This is possible because this elite also often has a strong network with the government outside the village. This allows the elite to access program information and play a role as a decision-maker over program implementation. This situation gives the elite the leverage to divert public resources for its own, or its group's, interests.

The strengthening or weakening of the power of the elite clan over land in Papua is determined by various aspects that further determine the map of potential participation in Papua. Previous literature indicates⁸ that there are several patterns of societal structure and relations:

- a. In communities that are not yet stratified and receive small-scale development, no clan is too dominant. This is because the community is subsistent and mutually dependent.
- b. In communities that are clearly stratified (where there is control of communal rights) and receiving significant development, programs tend to entrench the position of the elite from the dominant clan.

⁶White and Wiradi, 1989.

⁷White and Wiradi, 1989.

⁸AKATIGA 2010; Sari, Rahman and Manaf, 2011.

-
- c. In localities where government bureaucracy is influential, the educated community is strengthened. Members of the educated community may be from powerful clans, but they may equally be from competing clans.

Outside the village elite, the community usually comprises other less-powerful clans in the village, as well as marginal groups. Access to resources (mainly land) of these other groups is determined by the dominant clan leader. Marginal groups are generally migrants to the village who do not have access to resources (land) in the village. Migrants may also be people with marriage bonds. Similar to other community groups, marginal groups can access resources with the approval of the dominant clan leader.

1.4.2 Topography and Accessibility Contexts

Tanah Papua has a diverse topography. Sari, Rahman, and Manaf (2011), for example, distinguish the provinces of Papua and West Papua into three topographical categories, namely the north, central, and the south: the north is characterized by a flat to hilly topography, with water sources from rain and surface water; the central region is mountainous where road infrastructure is difficult to build and water sources are from rivers and mountains; and the south is flat, marshy, and with scarce water sources.

This topography determines the type of infrastructure that can be built. For example, road infrastructure (the most common PNPM Mandiri Rural project proposed) is not a priority in most of Papua and West Papua due to the challenging topography. Water infrastructure projects tend to rely on making use of surface water. Health and education facilities are also limited due to difficulties of bringing in building materials for the construction of permanent buildings.

Accessibility is another determinant factor for program implementation, and it is measured by the cost and time to reach a village or a region, besides the physical distance. Some sub-districts may be close in terms of distance from the *kabupaten* town. However, access can be difficult due to treacherous conditions and a lack of adequate infrastructure, making it expensive and time-consuming to reach. Some villages can only be accessed by small aircraft, by boat via rivers, or with an all-terrain vehicle that can take several days.

1.5 Methodology

1.5.1 Data Collection

This study is essentially a mini-ethnographic study conducted in several selected locations, namely in 20 villages across five *kabupaten* in Papua and West Papua. Employing an ethnographic approach allowed the study to capture the richness of information, especially in understanding the social, political and cultural complexities of the implementation of PNPM/RESPEK at the local level. The selection of different locations was made to capture the diversity of community voices from different village contexts.

In each *kabupaten*, the research team consisted of one coordinator and three team members who conducted data collection in every village over a two-week period. Data were collected through observations, in-depth interviews, and group discussion techniques. Data were also collected at the *kabupaten* level.

In each research team, one member was a junior researcher from Papua or West Papua. The five junior researchers were recruited in the effort to develop the capacity of local researchers. As part of the team, the junior researchers helped to conduct field data collection and were expected to produce case studies from every village.

The data collection for this study was conducted using the following techniques:

- *Observations and transects.* Data collected using this technique were the village maps complete with the types of infrastructure built (including PNPM/RESPEK and others), social divisions, including traditional, religious, and women's groups, as well as these groups' access to public facilities, types of infrastructure, and village assets.
- *Interviews with actors and beneficiaries.* This technique was used to capture stories and explanations from the actors and beneficiaries about how well the program was going and the benefits felt. Interviews were conducted particularly with village heads, traditional leaders, church groups, women, and program actors, as well as community representatives from villages. Interviews were also conducted at the *kabupaten* level involving the TPKD.
- *Group discussions.* These discussions were group interviews with villagers. The goal was to capture general opinions regarding participation levels and the impacts of the program. The discussions were held with several groups, including women's groups, marginal groups, activists, traditional figures, church leaders, and the Village Consultative Body (*Badan Musyawarah Kampung, or Bamuskam*).

- *Observation and analysis of built infrastructure.* This analysis was conducted to capture how the infrastructure was built, and who made the most use of it, as well as the maintenance aspects (to indicate a sense of ownership) and whether there was a capacity to maintain the infrastructure. This analysis was then compared with interview results.
- *Case studies* to capture particularly interesting phenomena from the villages were prepared by the junior researchers.
- *Secondary data*, including a study of the literature regarding Papua/West Papua, and reports related to development programs in Papua/West Papua. Data sources also included previous PNPM/RESPEK studies.

1.5.2 Study Locations

In Papua, the study was conducted in three *kabupaten*, namely Kabupaten Yahukimo, Kabupaten Merauke, and Kabupaten Dogiyai. As shown in Figure 1.1, Kabupaten Yahukimo is located in the highlands and characterized by mountains and valleys; Kabupaten Dogiyai is a mountainous region strategically located as it connects the Nabire coast with the Paniai-Enarotali mountains via the Trans-Papua highway that crosses the *kabupaten*; and Kabupaten Merauke represents a coastal lowland area.

In West Papua, the study was conducted in two *kabupaten*, namely Kabupaten Kaimana and Kabupaten Teluk Bintuni. As Figure 1.2 illustrates, Kabupaten Kaimana is located on the southern coast of West Papua and its population is distributed along the coast and islands, marked by hills in several areas; and Kabupaten Teluk Bintuni is located on the bird's head and neck of Papua island, with diverse characteristics, including marshes, coastal areas, cliffs, and jungle. In both *kabupaten* there are several large-scale mining and oil and gas investments.

In each *kabupaten* the research team selected two sub-districts (*kecamatan*) as study locations. The first sub-district represented those with good accessibility, while the second represented those with more difficult accessibility. In each sub-district, the researchers then selected two villages. The selection of sub-districts and villages was determined by the researchers in consultation with *kabupaten*-level facilitators by considering the social and geographic conditions, as well as the political and cultural diversity. Table 1.1 provides an illustration of the conditions of the villages and sub-districts selected as research locations.

Figure 1.1
Map of Study Area in Papua Province

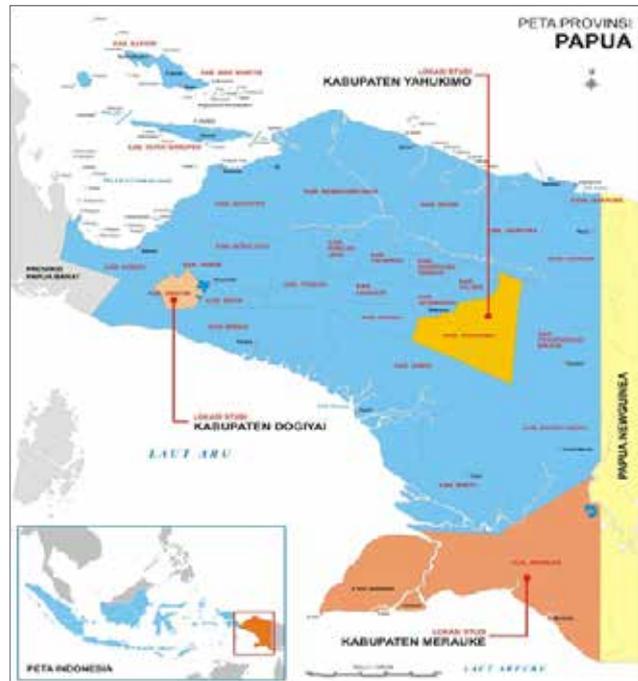


Figure 1.2
Map of Study Area in West Papua Province

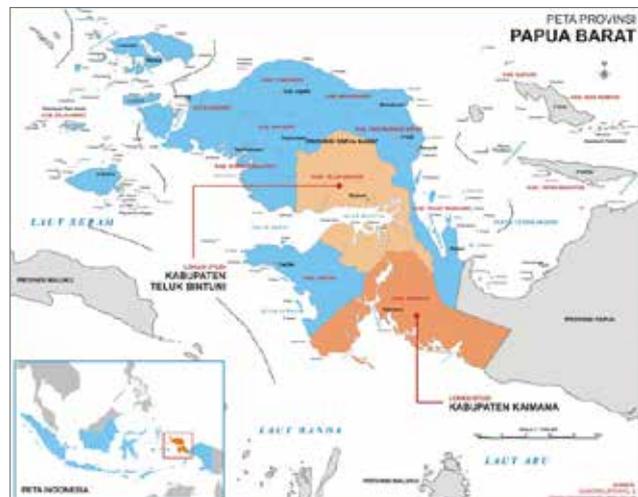


Table 1.1 Overview of Research Locations

Kabupaten	Sub-district	Village	Brief characteristics
Yahukimo (Papua)	Dekai	Tomon 1	Good accessibility. A newly formed village with residents from neighbouring villages. Heterogeneous. Participated in PNPM/RESPEK since 2009.
		Massi	Difficult accessibility, homogeneous, livelihood relying on hunting. Participated in PNPM/RESPEK since 2008
	Kurima	Anjelma	Accessibility to nearest town good, population relatively homogeneous, main livelihood land cultivation. Participated in PNPM/RESPEK since 2008.
		Pusuaga	Good accessibility, heterogeneous clan-wise, hosts a TNI camp, main livelihood land cultivation. Participated in PNPM since 2010.
Merauke (Papua)	Elikobel	Bupul	Difficult accessibility. Homogeneous, hosts a transmigrant community. Livelihood, hunting and gathering, some farming. Participated in PNPM since 2007
		Kweel	Limited accessibility. Homogeneous population. Experience with PNPM since 2007
	Semangga	Matara	Easy accessibility. Heterogeneous, with a mixed transmigrant community and other ethnicities. Participated in PNPM since 2007.
		Urumb	Accessibility quite good. Heterogeneous population, comprising indigenous Papuan and transmigrant community. Main livelihood, fishing and farming. Participated in PNPM since 2007. Received funds for women's groups, negotiation was helped by international NGO Oxfam.
Dogiyai (Papua)	Kamu	Ekemanida	Easy accessibility. Heterogeneous population, with indigenous Papuan and non-Papuan. Main livelihoods include cultivation, cattle farming, and forest products. Participated in PNPM since 2008.
		Bukapa	Difficult accessibility. Ethnically homogeneous with three clans in the village. Main livelihood is land cultivation. Participated in PNPM/RESPEK since 2008
	Kamu Utara	Idakebo	Easy accessibility to nearest town. Heterogeneous population, mix between indigenous Papuan and other ethnicities (Toraja, Java). Main livelihood gardening, selling sand, making noken. Participated in PNPM/RESPEK since 2009. There is also women's RLF group (SPP), although has not gone well.
		Mogou	Difficult accessibility, homogenous population. Main livelihood from mixed subsistence farming. Participated in PNPM/RESPEK since 2007.
Teluk Bintuni (West Papua)	Manimeri	Atibo	Easy accessibility. Heterogeneous population, diverse ethnicities present. Main livelihood, hunting and gardening. Some trade activity by non-Papuans.
			Participated in PNPM since the Kecamatan Development Program (PPK) in 2003. Participated in RESPEK since 2007.
		Pasamai	Easy accessibility, heterogeneous population. Main livelihood hunting, fishing, and gardening.
			Participated in PNPM and RESPEK since 2007.
	Tomu	Ekam	Difficult accessibility (hanya through the bay and river), relatively heterogeneous population (because close to oil and gas industry). Livelihood varies, from sago gathering to civil servant and oil and gas industry worker.
			Participated in PNPM since 2007.
Taroi	Taroi	Difficult accessibility (can only be reached through the bay and river). Population relatively heterogeneous (some comers from Buton). Livelihood ranges from gardening to civil servant. Non-Papuans are engaged in trade.	
		PNPM arrived in 2010, while RESPEK three years before that.	

Kabupaten	Sub-district	Village	Brief characteristics
Kaimana (West Papua)	Arguni Bawah	Tanusan	Difficult accessibility, population heterogeneous with comers from Makassar or Buton. Main livelihood, fishermen and farmers (nutmeg). Access to education and health relatively cheap (in the same village). Participated in PNPM since 2008. There is investment for women's group in the form of productino training.
		Egerwara	Difficult accessibility. Homogeneous population. Livelihood, farming (short-term crops) and gardening. Participated in PNPM since 2008, RESPEK since 2007. In 2009-2011 was subject to sanctions and did not receive funds from PNPM.
	Kaimana	Lumira	Difficult accessibility. Homogeneous population, but several clans present. Main livelihood is farming. Participated in PNPM since 2008.
		Coa	Easy accessibility. Population is ethnically heterogeneous. Access to health and education facilities easy. Livelihoods vary. Participated in PNPM since 2008.

1.5.3 Research Challenges

Similar to other ethnographic studies conducted in multiple locations, the potential weakness of this study lies in the depth of the data that could be produced. An ethnographic study requires the researcher to be able to build relationships and a good rapport with the villagers. This challenge was further complicated by the language barrier, as not all villagers could communicate in Bahasa Indonesia. This challenge was addressed by involving the junior researchers from Papua/West Papua and hiring local facilitators.

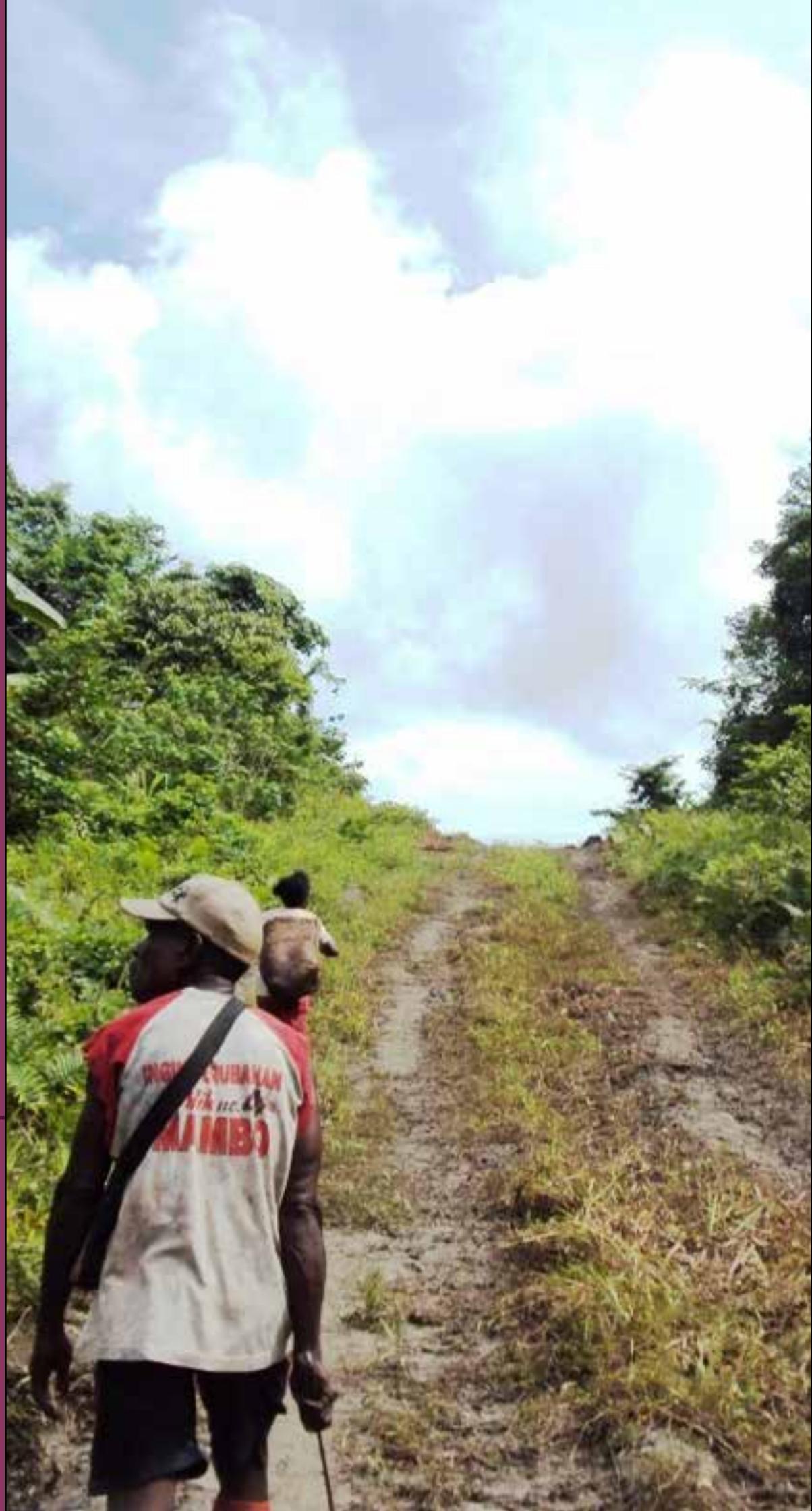
The challenge of field data collection was also related to health and security factors. Despite the medical precautions taken, some team members nonetheless contracted malaria during data collection. In addition, some security issues were experienced in Kabupaten Dogiyai, which was affected by OPM (Free Papua Organization) activity. Research in the fourth village could not be continued after the local facilitator involved in the study passed away at the research base camp. Data collection was terminated on the advice of the sub-district facilitator.

1.6 Report Structure

This report aims to reveal the voices and the experiences of the villagers involved in the implementation of the PNPM/RESPEK program. As such, this report is inductive in nature, whereby conclusions and generalizations, if any, are explained after the experiences of communities had been explored and presented. Chapter 1 explains the background of the study along with the overarching context of PNPM/RESPEK implementation in Papua and West Papua, including literature regarding the CDD concept in various locations. The voices and experiences of the villagers are elaborated in Chapter 2 and 3. Specifically, the voices and experiences of the communities in Kabupaten Yahukimo, Kabupaten Dogiyai, and Kabupaten Merauke (Papua) are presented in Chapter 2, while the voices and experiences of the communities in Kabupaten Teluk Bintuni and Kabupaten Kaimana (West Papua) are presented in Chapter 3. The synthesis of findings from the five *kabupaten* across the two provinces and the picture regarding the differences and similarities are elaborated in Chapter 4. Finally, Chapter 5 provides some conclusions and proposes several recommendations.

2

VOICES AND EXPERIENCES OF COMMUNITIES REGARDING PNPM/RESPEK IN PAPUA PROVINCE



VOICES AND EXPERIENCES OF COMMUNITIES REGARDING PNPM/RESPEK IN PAPUA PROVINCE

This chapter presents the voices and experiences of communities in the province of Papua regarding the PNPM/RESPEK program. As explained in Chapter 1, the RESPEK program joined PNPM Mandiri in 2008 and the two programs have remained combined until today.

2.1 Kabupaten Yahukimo

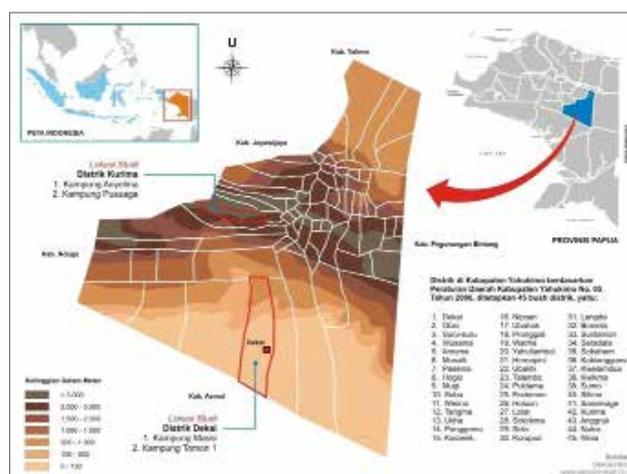
Kabupaten Yahukimo was administratively split from Kabupaten Jayawijaya with the passage of Law No. 26/2002. The territory of Kabupaten Yahukimo comprises 51 sub-districts, 516 villages and two *kelurahan* with a total area of about 17,152 km². According to the 2010 census, the population of Kabupaten Yahukimo was at that time 164,512.

The topography of Kabupaten Yahukimo is typical of the Papuan highlands, comprising mountains and valleys that are difficult to traverse. As a result, some areas in Kabupaten Yahukimo can only be accessed by air or on foot. Most of the villages are situated on hills or in the more mountainous areas that cannot be accessed by road from the *kabupaten* town.⁹ Many programs have been conducted in Kabupaten Yahukimo, including PNPM/RESPEK since 2008, and all the villages in Kabupaten Yahukimo have experienced between three and five program cycles of PNPM/RESPEK implementation.

The topography of Kabupaten Yahukimo complicates project implementation, particularly because the *kabupaten* and sub-district facilitators were based in Wamena, the capital town of Kabupaten Jayawijaya, and the sub-district town of Dekai. As a result, facilitators made modifications to the program, for instance by coordinating the timing of the activities so that community meetings could take place in close succession. In addition, facilitators arranged for funds to be disbursed at the same time as community meetings. However, one of the consequences of this was that possibilities for community proposals and participation were more limited.

The study was conducted in two mountain villages, Anjelma and Pusuaga (both in Kurima sub-district), and in two valley villages, Tomon 1 and Massi (both in Dekai sub-district), as shown in Figure 2.1. The more inaccessible Anjelma and Pusuaga villages cannot be reached by road from Yahukimo, the *kabupaten* town, but are more accessible from Wamena, the *kabupaten* town of Kabupaten Jayawijaya, and hence this was where the Yahukimo sub-district facilitators were based. However, travel from the *kabupaten* town of Yahukimo to Wamena can only be made by air. Meanwhile, Tomon 1 and Massi villages are situated in the valley region closer to the *kabupaten* town and can be reached by road.

Figure 2.1
Map of Kabupaten Yahukimo¹⁰



⁹Due to the isolated and remote location, many areas in Kabupaten Yahukimo have problems with availability of basic infrastructure and access to education, clean water, health, and electricity. According to National Team for Acceleration of Poverty Alleviation (Tim Nasional Percepatan Penanggulangan Kemiskinan, or TNP2K), Kabupaten Yahukimo is considered a high priority area for poverty reduction due to low levels of school participation (primary and secondary), high infant mortality, high malnutrition, and low access to clean water, sanitation, and electricity.

¹⁰Due to difficulties in obtaining a recent/updated map of Kabupaten Yahukimo this report makes use of a map from 2006 that only shows 45 sub-districts in Kabupaten Yahukimo.

The livelihoods of the communities in the four villages are mainly based on dry land cultivation. Some of the population in Massi, Anjelma and Pusuaga villages rely on hunting, gathering and gardening, with the main produce of the communities being tubers and vegetables. Unless consumed by the villagers themselves, this produce is either sold in the village or in neighbouring markets. In Tomon 1, people work mainly as employees and tuber farmers, although some run vegetable kiosks or sell their produce to markets.

Most people in Anjelma and Pusuaga villages are from one ethnic group, the Hubla. Residential groupings around a *honai* tie the relationships between the people in the two villages. A *honai* is not just a house where the nuclear family lives, but a unique residence that reflects the relationships of its occupants. A *honai* does not stand alone, but is usually linked to other *honai* from the same family group. There are at least three types of *honai*, namely the men's *honai*, the women's *honai*, and the kitchen *honai*. The men's *honai* is the sleeping quarters of the head of the family and the adult sons, and is larger than the women's *honai*. The men discuss many issues in their *honai*. The number of women's *honai* usually reflects the number of wives of the tribal chief. The resultant family and familial hierarchy in a *honai* settlement forms the core of the relational structure between family groups and the relationship between men and women in the village.

The dominant clans in the four research locations form a chiefdom, which claims the traditional rights over the village area where the communities live and cultivate. The dominant clan is the regulator of land use in the village. Thus, development projects, the government, or any external party wishing to utilize land have to agree on access through the dominant clan. The right to determine land use and network with outside parties is the basis for clan domination in the village.

The dominant clans in Anjelma village are the Lantipo and Watipo clans, while in Pusuaga village it is the Hasepo clan. In Massi village the residents come from one tribe, the Momuna, comprising nine clans, with the Omu clan, as owner of the traditional lands, being the dominant one.

Tomon 1 village was created as an administrative village in 2006 by the Kabupaten Yahukimo government in order to resettle the Yali, the Hupla and the Kimyal tribes, all of which previously lived in the hills. Here, the bupati of Kabupaten Yahukimo selected a Yali tribesman from the Ninia

sub-district—a close associate and of the same tribe as the bupati—as the head of Tomon 1 village. As a result, the Yali tribe held an important position in the village administration and became the dominant clan. This created a conflict between the Yali and the Hupla tribes, because the Hupla owned the traditional lands (*tanah ulayat*) and were therefore denied the status of the dominant tribe and were subsequently denied the right to use the traditional land. They were also viewed as inferior to the other tribes.

The types of activities funded using PNPM/RESPEK block grants have shifted over the course of the five years of implementation, as follows:

- **Period 1 (2008-09):** Much of PNPM/RESPEK implementation was in the form of physical labor-intensive activities, such as road building and road/drainage improvements. During this period, community members were encouraged by sub-district facilitators and the TPKK to attend meetings, make proposals, and become involved in the construction of physical facilities.
- **Period 2 (2009):** The type of activity at the village level tended to vary. Aside from activities similar to those in period 1, there were additional training activities for women's groups in Tomon 1 village, such as in making table clothes and drapery, and making cookies and fish dishes. This training was funded by the 15 percent of PNPM/RESPEK funds allocated for women's activities.
- **Period 3 (post-2010):** The sub-district facilitator issued a policy regarding the processing of village activity proposals to the TPKK. Infrastructure built in this period required specific construction skills, resulting in less involvement of villagers as workers. While previously there had been significant road construction and people were able to participate in the work, in this period the activities included, among others, building a community hall, a *Pustu* (auxiliary community health center), and a village office, all of which required specific construction skills.

2.1.1 Knowledge and Experience of Communities regarding PNPM/RESPEK in Kabupaten Yahukimo

The level of knowledge of communities regarding the PNPM/RESPEK program in the four research village locations was measured by determining the villagers' knowledge of the program name, the amount and the source of the funds, the project actors, the stages and processes of implementation, the program investments, and

the program objectives. Of these six items, the program name was the most frequently known, followed by the amount of the funds, the project actors and the types of investment. The knowledge of the processes, the stages of implementation, and the program objectives, were not so well known among communities, but were usually well understood by the elites such as village chiefs, the members of the TPKK, village officials, and community or customary figures.

Most communities recognized PNPM/RESPEK as a Papua provincial government program known as RESPEK. This knowledge was gleaned from program socialization during the governor's visits to the region, or from local television programs that were broadcast from 2007 onwards.

The communities also recognized PNPM/RESPEK as a development program that provided facilities to villages, such as *Pustu*, roads, rainwater collectors, sanitation facilities, and electricity networks. In Massi village, people knew that the PNPM/RESPEK program's funds were used to provide rainwater collectors. In Pusuaga village, people recognized that "healthy homes" and the community center were PNPM/RESPEK outcomes. In addition, communities also knew that the funds came from both the central government and the *kabupaten* government, although they did not always realize that PNPM was funded from the national budget (APBN), while RESPEK was funded by the provincial budget (APBD). However, communities were generally unaware of the precise amount of funds available to each village through the program.

Communities in general recognized the PNPM/RESPEK actors, such as the TPKK members, and the village facilitators, because the TPKK was found in every village and its members were usually those who had been most active in prior village programs. Information about detail funding for each investment however was not known by general community in almost every research location.

Tomon 1 village was an exception in Kabupaten Yahukimo in terms of the community's knowledge of the program. Most of the community here, including those who had never been involved in PNPM/RESPEK activities, as well as those who lived far away from the village center, had heard about PNPM/RESPEK but understood it to be a facility-building program from the *bupati* (district head) and managed by the village head. Villagers could not explain any details of the program because

they had only heard of the PNPM/RESPEK name from the village head. They did not understand how the program was implemented and were unaware of the PNPM/RESPEK actors, such as the TPKK, because they assumed that all the projects were managed by the village head. They knew which facilities had been built using PNPM/RESPEK funding, such as communal bathing, washing and toilet facilities (known locally as *mandi, cuci, kakus*, or MCK) and wells, but had no knowledge of the sources or the management of the funds from PNPM/RESPEK or other programs. Most people thought that rainwater collectors were an assistance program from the *bupati* of Kabupaten Yahukimo given to the village head, and they were unaware that the facilities were the result of community proposals. According to villagers, the *bupati* provided funds to all villages and it was the village head who purchased the rainwater collectors for people in Tomon 1. Only a few people close to the village head were aware that the rainwater collectors came from the PNPM/RESPEK program, but they could not distinguish between RESPEK, PNPM and other programs.

Migrants who were not from the dominant clan in the village and who did not receive benefits from the investments also knew of PNPM/RESPEK as a program that provided facilities and buildings for villagers. However, they had never been involved in PNPM/RESPEK activities and had never attended community meetings or been consulted about program proposals by the village head, the hamlet head, or the TPKK head. Despite this, they were still aware of the development activities in their villages, for example the construction of the *Pustu*, rainwater collectors, wells, and community halls, etc.

With regard to the village elites, detailed knowledge of the program was evident. For example, in Massi and Pusuaga villages, the village heads had full knowledge of the PNPM/RESPEK program and knew that RESPEK disbursed IDR 100 million (plus PNPM funds) that was used for building physical and non-physical facilities. The village heads were aware of all the PNPM/RESPEK activities in their village, and knew that funds for RESPEK were from the Papua provincial government budget (APBD) and that the PNPM funds were from the national budget (APBN).

Aside from the village heads, the TPKK heads, secretaries, and treasurers also had detailed knowledge of PNPM/RESPEK, and understood the program's mechanisms. They knew, for instance, about the need to hold a proposal

planning forum and that funds were disbursed in two stages, facilitated by the sub-district facilitator. In addition, the TPCK head was aware of the types of development activities, including road construction, electricity generation, tin roof procurement, rainwater collectors, school uniform provision, road and wooden bridge repairs, grass mulchers, and electricity poles and cables, as well as community halls.

A prominent social group in all four villages is the church. However, the knowledge of church activists in the four research locations was limited to the program name, the proposal setting mechanism at the village level, and information regarding activities implemented in the village. The church activists thought that PNPM/RESPEK was a central government program intended to benefit village communities by providing public toilets, wells and rainwater collectors. A church activist in Massi village said that one of the requirements of PNPM/RESPEK was to hold a proposal deliberation meeting, although he was unaware of the meeting's outcome as he had not attended the meeting. A church activist in Anjelma village had a similar response when asked about PNPM/RESPEK, saying that the TPCK had much more information and that the church only dealt with religious affairs.

The women who were active in PNPM/RESPEK usually were those who were previously active in other village activities, such as being a cadre in the local Family Welfare Association (*Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga*, or PKK) or the local integrated health post (*Posyandu*). The active

women in all villages generally knew about the proposal meeting, the TPCK, and the amount of funds dedicated for women's activities. They also knew that women had the right to propose projects, in addition to receiving the dedicated funds for women's activities. As an example, members of the women's group in Pusuaga village knew that they were entitled to 15 percent of PNPM/RESPEK funds that were earmarked specifically for women's activities. In order to access these funds, the women established a women's group with a structure comprising a head, a secretary and a treasurer. However, the women never received the funds because these were allocated by the TPCK for infrastructure building activities instead. As a result, members of the women's group dared to inquire about their share of the PNPM/RESPEK funds during village deliberations and asked the TPCK to produce an Expenditure Budget Draft (RAB) for the physical/non-physical activities performed. However, the TPCK failed to make the budget document available and the women still had not received the funds to which they were entitled at the time of this study (2013).

Women who were not active in organizations such as PKK or the *Posyandu* had less knowledge of the program. While they knew of the PNPM/RESPEK program from talking to other people in village markets, they had no knowledge of the amount of the funds available to the village.

The overall levels of knowledge are summarized in the table below:

Table 2.1 Knowledge of Communities in Kabupaten Yahukimo

Knowledge	Tomon 1				Massi				Anjelma				Pusuaga			
	E	K	PA	PK	E	K	PA	PK	E	K	PA	PK	E	K	PA	PK
Program name	√	√	√		√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Funds	√		√		√	√	√		√	√	√		√	√	√	
Source of funds	√				√	√			√	√	√		√	√		
Process and stages	√		√		√	√	√		√	√			√			
Activity managers	√				√	√			√	√	√		√	√		
Program investment	√				√	√			√	√			√		√	
Rules	√				√				√				√			
Purpose																

*Remarks: E= Elite, K= General Population, PA= Active Women, PK= Women in General

Source: Processed from field data, 2013

From Table 2.1, it is evident that most of the program knowledge was concentrated among village elites, such as the village government and the TPCK managers. These elites knew the program name, the amount of the funds and their source, the stages and processes of the program, the program managers, and the investments, as well as the rules and the purpose of the program.

There were variations in knowledge between the different communities, with people in Massi village knowing more than people in other villages, while the community in Tomon 1 village knew least, at little more than the name of the program. The knowledge of women in the four villages varied, although all of them knew the program name and the amount of the funds. Women who knew most were those who were already active in other village activities, such as PKK.

2.1.2 Community Participation in PNPM/RESPEK in Kabupaten Yahukimo

Community participation in the four research village locations in the PNPM/RESPEK program varied, although this was mostly limited to attending meetings and participating in the construction of facilities as unskilled labourer. The PNPM/RESPEK activity stages included the planning stage to determine the village activities and the physical construction phase. In the planning stage, community members, both men and women, were limited to merely attending the planning deliberation meeting, at which some conveyed their ideas. In the planning stage, village heads and TPCK officials usually made most of the decisions, including decisions on materials procurement and determining the manpower needed.

During the first period, when the investment was usually for roads and drainage, community involvement, especially of the men, was high in conveying proposals during the deliberation stage. In the second period, women also started to become involved in the proposal meetings as participants. The active women in villages, such as the wives of village heads and TPCK members, women who had close clan relations with village heads and the TPCK, and women who were active in PKK, were invited by the village facilitator and the TPCK to attend the proposal meeting. These women often contributed ideas. However, by the third period, infrastructure construction was determined by the TPCK, and the proposed buildings required specialized construction skills.

As a result, people who had previously been able to work as daily unskilled labourers could no longer be involved, for example in the construction of the community hall in Massi village.

An exception was once again observed in Tomon 1 village, where the planning and implementation of facilities did not involve the community, and full knowledge was only possessed by the village head. Aside from being the head of the village government, the village head also doubled as the project manager, so he knew the amount of the funds, the stages and processes of program implementation, the rules of implementation, and the source of funds. The village head therefore dominated the planning and implementation of infrastructure and villagers came to view the program as being managed by the village head and his family, together with the village treasurer, the secretary, and the TPCK, who were also his relatives. This meant that, for example, during yard clearing the village head did not invite the community to participate, but instead called only his family and clan members, who came from the main *kabupaten* town, not from the village.

Migrants and people who lived furthest from the village center were also not involved in the planning process, or in other activities in the PNPM/RESPEK implementation process. One community member who lived far from the house of the village head said that, *"We people don't know how much money there is. I never took part in gatherings with the rich people."*

Meanwhile, among the women, those who were not active in the village were still usually involved as workers, for instance, to clean roads, or provide food during the construction activity or the proposal setting meeting. Women who were active in the village, for instance in PKK, also took part in activities specifically for women, such as training to make table cloths, cake baking and cooking. However, women in Tomon 1 village said that every time there was an activity in the village, they were never informed. One woman also said that if there was an activity in the village, the village head always brought his own people in from outside to do the work and she never had the chance to participate.

Based on the above, community participation in Kabupaten Yahukimo can be summarized as follows:

Table 2.2 Community Participation in PNPM/RESPEK in Kabupaten Yahukimo

Participation (planning)	Tomon 1				Massi				Anjelma				Pusuaga			
	E	K	PA	PK	E	K	PA	PK	E	K	PA	PK	E	K	PA	PK
Present	√				√	√	√		√	√	√		√	√	√	
Propose	√				√				√	√	√		√			
Decide	√				√				√		√**		√			
Process and stages	√		√		√	√	√		√	√			√			

*Remarks: E= Elite, K= General, PA= Active Women, PK= Women in General

** Since 2010 was not involved

Source: Processed from field data, 2013

Table 2.2 also shows that elite groups in all four villages participated in attending, proposing, and deciding during the deliberation meetings. However, members of the community and active women in Pusuaga and Massi, while present during meetings, were not able to propose ideas or decide on proposals. In Anjelma village, the community and women contributed ideas. Women, especially those who were active, also participated up to the decision-making process, although only during the first cycle of the program, but after 2010 the community and women were no longer involved. Only in Tomon 1 did the community and women not participate at all: the entire process, from planning through to implementation, was closely guarded and controlled by the village head.

2.1.3 Impact of PNPM/RESPEK on the Lives of Communities in Kabupaten Yahukimo

One similarity across all groups was the communities' perceptions of the program benefits. All groups felt that the program had positive benefits that could be enjoyed by the community, as was evident in Tomon 1, Anjelma, and Pusuaga villages. For example, thanks to the rainwater collectors constructed in Tomon 1, clean water demand could be satisfied and the cost/labor to obtain water declined. Whereas previously people had to take water from rivers by motorbike or car, the rainwater collectors meant that water could be stored and immediately used when required. The benefits of the rainwater collectors were felt especially by women, because women were usually those responsible for procuring water on a daily basis for household needs. Maintenance of the facilities also improved, because people were motivated to repair damaged rainwater collectors individually.

Meanwhile, the *Pustu* investment in Anjelma village facilitated community access to health services, made treatment more affordable, and promoted the community's understanding of healthy living habits. This was possible because after the *Pustu* was built, the head of the *Puskesmas* who had close ties to the *kabupaten* government, succeeded in lobbying for an allocation from the Kabupaten Yahukimo budget (APBD) to fund the *Pustu* operations, such as buying stocks of medicine and health equipment, and providing incentives for village health cadres. One villager in Anjelma expressed her gratitude for the *Pustu*, as before it was built she had been forced to walk to the sub-district capital, or sometimes all the way to Wamena, to seek medical treatment.

In addition, the micro-hydro generator in Anjelma village and the solar cell panels in Pusuaga village provided the community with the opportunity to do more activities after dark. For the women, for example, electric lighting added more productive time for weaving in their *noken*. More generally, electricity helped the community to increase its knowledge by enabling people to watch television. Electricity also allowed villagers to be more productive, giving them more time to go to church, and reducing the cost of buying candles. It also cut the cost of recharging cellular phones, as previously people had to pay those who had electricity for each phone re-charged.

Despite these benefits, some investments failed to prove sustainable and fell into disuse or disrepair. For example, a generator set and water pumps in Massi village were neglected and fell into disrepair. The generator set was used to provide lighting to homes, but was later neglected

because villagers thought the person in charge of maintenance was the head of the TPKK. After construction was complete no effort was made to establish a management team to take care of the maintenance. Consequently, distrust of the TPKK head grew, as he was increasingly viewed as lacking in transparency when entrusted to manage the purchase of fuel. As a consequence of the generator not working, other investments such as the water pump could also not be used, leading in turn to the water storage facilities not being used.

Such neglect of new facilities reflected an inability of both the community and program managers to plan effectively, provide technical skills, facilitate management and, most fundamentally, to organize contributions to pay for the operation and maintenance of the facilities.

In another example, in 2011, the community hall in Anjelma village remained incomplete due to a miscalculation in determining the budget for construction materials made by the TPKK head and his team. In this case, the TPKK also lost the trust of the community by deciding to use construction workers from outside the village to build the community hall. Then, in 2012, the TPKD proposed the construction of an alternative multi-purpose meeting room without holding a community meeting to discuss the plan with the community. This multi-purpose hall was built onto the private home of one of the TKPD members. In this case, failure in infrastructure investment was caused by incompetence of TPKK members and the non-transparent decision-making process that allowed the members of the elite to squander the benefits for their own use.

Another benefit mentioned by villagers was access to temporary work opportunities that allowed them to earn a wage. Labor-intensive road construction and road widening provided temporary work opportunities for people in Anjelma, Massi and Pusuaga villages in 2008 and 2009. Women also participated in road construction as sand gatherers and were paid between IDR 150,000 and IDR 200,000 per activity. However, after 2010, access to such temporary work dwindled due to a shift towards the building of facilities that required specialized construction skills.

In Tomon 1 village, PNPM/RESPEK failed to provide access to temporary work for the community, as the construction of facilities was mostly performed by the extended family of the village head. In Tomon 1, the village head benefited disproportionately because the project to develop cultivated land was focused on his own land. In addition, he deployed workers who were his relatives, including some from outside the village, to build infrastructure. As one community member in Tomon 1 said, *"It was the village head who built everything. He brought in people to do the work, and we did not get to help much. He built it all himself... And one day we saw the water tank was finished."*

PNPM/RESPEK also seems to affect the social capital of village communities. PNPM/RESPEK was seen to have strengthened cooperation in Anjelma village, but undermined cooperation in Pusuaga village. In Anjelma, the community was used to working together in communal activities, such as maintaining a dam, and fixing water channels, the church, community buildings, and cleaning the *honai*. Cooperation occurred more often in implementing PNPM/RESPEK activities and trust between clans and different socio-economic groups that had existed before increased further following the PNPM/RESPEK activities. However, this cooperation faltered slightly after the experience of the community hall construction that failed to involve community deliberation.

In Pusaga village, on the other hand, before the program people used to cooperate in certain activities, such as *honai* construction and clearing land for cultivation. During the PNPM/RESPEK program, the TPKK failed to involve people in planning and implementation, which undermined trust between the various groups in the community. Community members said that they were never involved in consultations and no longer had access to any of the benefits from temporary work after 2010 because the proposed buildings required specialized construction skills. The head of the TPKK stated that he felt he had done his best to invite members of the community, but he felt that people no longer seemed interested in being involved once there was no longer any paid work.

Another impact was the increased capacity of the TPKK in managing projects such as work/project distribution, wage distribution, and activity documentation (e.g. activity report preparation). TPKK capacity increased in three villages, Anjelma, Pusuaga, and Massi, while in Tomon 1 there was no information regarding TPKK capacity improvements because all activities were managed by the village head.

PNPM/RESPEK also resulted in the strengthening and expansion of the TPKK network, which was more evident in Anjelma and Pusuaga villages than in the others. The TPKK in Anjelma and Pusuaga often held meetings together with other villages within one cluster. The regular meetings were the initiative of the sub-district facilitator and held during the activity planning and reporting phase. This helped TPKK officials to learn about and share program implementation experiences in villages. Non-regular meetings were held as needed, and sometimes attended by the sub-district facilitator. Aside from the TPKK network, other networks were also developed with the government at the sub-district level, particularly with sub-district project managers (*Penanggung Jawab Operasional Kegiatan*, or PJOK).

Other types of investment, such as the 15 percent of PNPM/RESPEK funds allocated for women's activities, allowed women to earn additional income. In Massi village, the women who participated said that they had been able to earn additional income, which they used to purchase more thread for making table cloths. A PKK cadre in Massi village said that she had made more PKK friends at the *kecamatan* and *kabupaten* level to whom she could sell her table cloths.

From the above examples, it can be seen that although there were a variety of levels of knowledge and participation among the communities, PNPM/RESPEK was still considered beneficial by all the communities. The program had various impacts, such as the built infrastructure, access to temporary work opportunities, and expanded networks for activity managers, as well as changes in the level of cooperation between community members.

2.1.4 Factors that Influence the Experience and Participation of Communities in Kabupaten Yahukimo

One of the main factors that contributed to the diverse participation in, and experiences of, the program was the ability or the willingness of the program's actors to involve the community in the program's various processes and stages. When program actors, especially the TPKK, were able and willing to get the community involved in consultation meetings and in proposing activities, the level of participation was high. This was seen in Anjelma and Massi villages, especially in the earlier periods of the program. However, more often than not program actors themselves became members of the elite and eventually contributed to the domination and control of program processes. This was particularly seen after 2010, when efforts to encourage bottom-up ideas decreased with the shift of program activity types toward the more technically difficult activities. Subsequently, proposals were all agreed at the cluster level (cluster of nearby villages) facilitated by the sub-district facilitator. After the decisions were made at this meeting, the TPKK members organized village meetings in their respective villages that were little more than solicitations of approval from participants to carry out the projects that had already been agreed.

Another critical factor influencing participation was social network/cultural ties. The stronger the ties among various groups in the community, the better the quality of participation and general experience of the program. In Anjelma village for example, the more even distribution of knowledge in the community seemed to be fostered by strong *honai* group ties. The men usually discussed issues in their *honai*, including programs in the village, and so they had more knowledge of PNPM/RESPEK.

Tomon 1 village, on the other hand, was one case where relations between ethnic groups failed to develop. Unlike other more homogeneous villages where residents came from one tribe, Tomon 1 village was inhabited by members of three tribes: the Hupla, the Yali and the Kimial. This village was created as part of a settlement building program for mountain tribes by the local social services.

Although the three tribes officially resided in Tomon 1, each tribe was bound to its original village location and, as a result, there was little interaction between the three tribes in Tomon 1 itself. In addition, this lack of interaction was solidified by the *bupati's* intervention in selecting the dominant clan as mentioned above and by the stereotypes that prevailed between the tribes, which undermined socialization and efforts to foster cooperation and common activities.

Regarding women's experience of the program, gender bias was one of the main factors influencing participation. Women's participation was heavily influenced by the views of men, who generally saw the public space as being a male domain. This was true in all four research villages, where the men still held strong views that only men should attend village meetings because the women's domain was seen as domestic: taking care of the home, child rearing, tilling the land, and looking after animals. When women were actually involved in public activities, such as meeting and deliberations, this was usually only to help provide food and snacks.

Nonetheless, there were still ways to reach out to women in order to socialize program and organize meetings. It was assumed that communicate between tribes would be problematic due to language differences, complicating invitations or the announcement of news, and that this would be especially problematic for women, who were prohibited from visiting the homes of people from different tribes. However, it was found that this norm did not seem to apply in meetings of PKK cadres or meetings held in public locations where women normally gathered to discuss family issues. Such existing venues where women habitually meet and discuss with each other should be capitalized upon by programs such as PNPM/RESPEK in order to boost women's participation in the program.

2.1.5 People's Expectations for PNPM/RESPEK in Kabupaten Yahukimo

Expectations of PNPM/RESPEK differed from group to group in each village. For example, program actors generally wanted simpler procedures and better training to help them implement the program. TPKK officials hoped that fund disbursements would be made in one tranche to expedite the building of facilities. As an illustration, in the past the first tranche of payments was only sufficient to pay for building materials, but not enough to pay for the labor. Work had to be suspended until the second tranche was disbursed. With a one-time payment, construction could proceed immediately as the initial payment would be enough to pay for the workers to start work. The TPKD in Anjelma village wanted to have more training to improve their knowledge, such as visits to PNPM/RESPEK in other areas, for example to Jakarta. According to these respondents, the training that they had received did not provide sufficient information on PNPM/RESPEK programs in other locations.

While communities usually hoped that in the future they would be better informed about PNPM/RESPEK and more involved in the program, village elites had the opposite expectations: they wanted less involvement of the communities, usually on the pretext that this would expedite the program's implementation. In Tomon 1, for instance, the village head was unhappy with the PNPM/RESPEK mechanism, as in his view it involved too many people, and the oversight from sub-district and village facilitators overwhelmed him. He felt that the stages were too complicated, such as the village meetings for exploring ideas. He went on to suggest that the funds should all be managed by the village head (i.e., himself), and that there was no need for the TPKK, while the role of the

sub-district facilitator should be limited. The village head also thought that it was difficult to ask people to work together because they did not want to be involved in the activities. However, farmers and women in Tomon 1 who received no benefits from the program had the opposite view: they thought that the village head was mean and dishonourable, and that he deliberately failed to inform villagers about the program. One of them said that, *“from above, people give them a large budget. But we don’t understand, along the way, where all the money goes.”*

Regarding women’s groups, there was hope that there would be more women-specific activities and more women program actors. One woman in Pusuaga village felt that women’s groups should have a dedicated TPKK, so that the funds for women could be used more effectively.

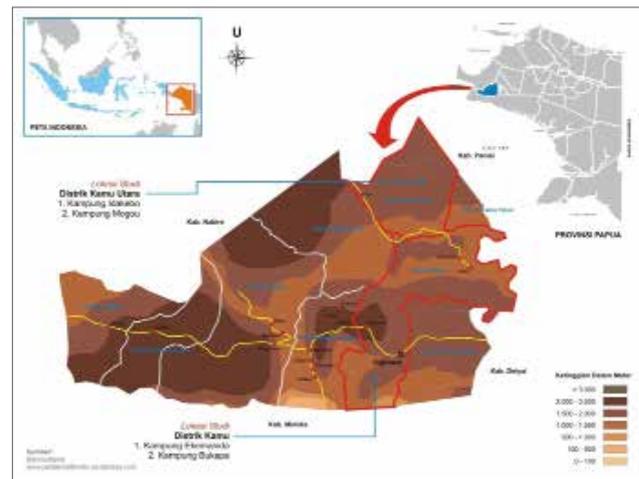
Despite these differences, most villagers agreed that the PNPM/RESPEK program should be continued, and that the funds should be increased so that more people might enjoy the benefits. One man in Anjelma village felt that the funds were too limited and that as a result the community’s needs had not been fulfilled. He claimed it would have been better to have more activities that were in the public interest, such as the provision of drinking water and road building. One woman TPKK treasurer in Anjelma said that the program should support the community’s need for more *“healthy homes”* as the materials used to build the *honai* were difficult to buy and the special grass used for thatching grew too far away.

2.2 Kabupaten Dogiyai

Kabupaten Dogiyai is located in the central mountains of the province of Papua and connects the Nabire coast with the Paniai-Enarotali mountains. Kabupaten Dogiyai is situated strategically for the trade and transportation traffic between the coastal *kabupaten* and the central mountains of Papua. As such, it is becoming a new center of activity and is rapidly developing due to the Trans-Papua highway that crosses the *kabupaten* and the fact that it is surrounded by previously isolated mountainous areas.

Kabupaten Dogiyai was established under Law No. 8/2008 and has an area of ± 4,237.4km², around 85 percent of which is mountainous or hilly, with the remaining 15 percent comprising valleys and swamps (BPS, 2011). In 2010, Kabupaten Dogiyai had a population of 83,324 people (42,018 male and 41,306 female) spread across 79 villages¹¹.

Figure 2.2
Map of Kabupaten Dogiyai



¹¹Source: Ministry of Home Affairs website (<http://www.kemendagri.go.id/pages/profil-daerah/kabupaten/id/91/name/papua/detail/9126/dogiyai>, accessed on May 1, 2014).

This study collected data from four villages in two sub-districts in Kabupaten Dogiyai. The four villages are Ekemanida and Bukapa in Kamu sub-district, and Idakebo and Mogou in North Kamu sub-district. These villages were selected based on their accessibility from the main *kabupaten* town and their levels of interaction with migrants.

Similar to Kabupaten Yahukimo, Kabupaten Dogiyai has also experienced a shift in infrastructure options over the course of the PNPM/RESPEK program. Projects that initially took place in the four villages mainly involved building construction and the hardening of roads, especially in marshy areas, as well as the construction of small ditches along roads for drainage in the rainy season. Later in the program, there was a shift in the type of projects towards facilities such as communal bathing, washing and toilet facilities (known locally as *mandi*, *cuci*, *kakus*, or MCK), *Posyandu*, and “healthy homes”, which required more specialized construction skills.

One of the two villages selected in each sub-district was a village with easy accessibility. These two villages are Ekemanida (Kamu sub-district) and Idakebo (North Kamu sub-district). Ekemanida village is located only one kilometer from the sub-district capital (Kigimani), close to Moanemani market and the airport, while Idakebo village can be reached by public transportation from Moanemani market, taking around 20 minutes by motorbike or a little longer using public transportation. Access to public facilities is also relatively easy. Ekemanida village receives clean water and communal MCK facility assistance from the Kabupaten Public Works Department, while in Idakebo village clean water is provided by a piped water network, as well as rainwater collectors. Other facilities include a *Pustu*, an elementary school and a church.

The two villages with more difficult accessibility are Bukapa village in Kamu sub-district and Mogou village in North Kamu sub-district. Bukapa village can be accessed on foot in about two hours from Moanemani market. Despite access difficulties, the Bukapa community has easier access to basic facilities and infrastructure in the area. Clean water can be obtained from two sources—piped water and rainwater—although inhabitants still use their gardens for sanitation needs, while water from ditches is used for washing and ablution. Bukapa village has a *Pustu*, an elementary school and a Protestant church. People also use church facilities to meet their basic needs. In Mogou village, access to clean water is dependent on rainwater collection. The nearest elementary school in Mogou is located about 30 minutes away on foot, while no health facilities are available in the village.

Most people in Kabupaten Dogiyai rely on fixed cultivation, with garden produce being grown both for daily household needs and also for sale. Villagers earn additional income from livestock and gathering edible products from the forest. Commonly gathered forest products include roots, wood, rattan, bark, and orchid fibers for house-building material and handicraft that is sold in the markets. People who live in the hills and mountains also practice shifting cultivation. People who live in the lowlands, such as in Kamu Valley, use their gardens for crops such as sweet potato and taro as staple foods; vegetables such as cabbage, chayote, leek; and fruits, such as ‘red fruit’ (*Pandanus Connoideus*), bananas and oranges. Every village has pasture for animals owned by clan members, and almost everyone has livestock. Livestock ownership, in particular pigs, indicates social status. Pigs are commonly used for important ceremonies, especially weddings and stone-burning festivals to celebrate Christmas. Some people also work as construction workers, motorbike-taxi drivers and employees, either in the government or in private establishments.

Kabupaten Dogiyai has a diverse mix of ethnic groups, although the Mee tribe is the indigenous majority tribe comprising of 78 clans. Other ethnic groups include Javanese, Buginese and Butonese. The most commonly used languages are the Mee local language and Bahasa Indonesia, with Mee being used in daily life, and Bahasa Indonesia being used for inter-ethnic communication. Villages with easy accessibility have mixed populations of indigenous Mee and migrants of other ethnicities. In the accessible villages of Ekemanida and Idakebo, the majority indigenous Papuans from various clans have mixed with Batak, Javanese, and Florinese migrants. In the more remote villages the populations are entirely from the Mee tribe.

The socio-economic structure in Kabupaten Dogiyai is generally determined by the dominant clan with the source of power being access to land. The land-owning clan is the dominant clan in Ekemanida, Bukapa, and Idakebo villages, while in Mogou village the dominant clan is the Keiya, who live in four out of seven hamlets in the village. Mogou village has a dispersed population defined by settlement clusters that are far apart. The four hamlets inhabited by the Keiya clan are located relatively close to each other, while the more remote hamlets are inhabited by minority clans.

Based on the social strata in Kabupaten Dogiyai, the dominant clan is usually the majority and the clan that controls a village's land. The clan's members become village heads and village officials, while some village staff or program actor positions are selected from other clans. In an effort to avert conflict and promote cooperation, all clans are drawn upon to fill various positions in the village government, although control still remains with the dominant clan. Other ethnic groups, such as Batak, Javanese and Florinese, do not figure at all in clan relations, but play an important role in the market economy. Minority clans, the elderly, orphans, and widows, all of whom depend on their extended families, are the most marginalized groups in Kabupaten Dogiyai.

In Bukapa village the dominant clan is the Yai, who dominate positions in the village government, although this does not preclude others from also attaining government positions. In Ekemanida village, the dominant clan is the Gane, who determine the entry of migrants, the sale of land, and the programs undertaken in the village. Despite this, the village head at the time of the study in Ekemanida was from the Goo clan. This situation occurred as a result of a position switch between the village head from the Gane clan and the previous village secretary who was from the Goo clan. The switch occurred due to a government regulation that required the village secretary to have a minimum high school education in order to be appointed as a government official. As a result, the former village head who had a high school education became the village secretary, replacing the incumbent who lacked the necessary qualifications. In order to still honour the former village secretary from the Goo clan, the former village head suggested that the *kabupaten* government appoint the previous secretary from the Goo clan as the village head.

In terms of development and community empowerment, Kabupaten Dogiyai is a region with the longest history of church activity, and during the study church leaders were able to attest to a history of empowerment programs since the 1970s. Kabupaten Dogiyai received the P5 Program (P5 comprised education, agriculture, cultivation, animal husbandry, and fisheries) in 1970-1995, which was also conducted elsewhere in Papua. Although the P5 Program ended in 1995, some of the activities initiated by the program were still ongoing at the time of the study. One of the benefits of the program was that it taught people how to make proposals to obtain funding from the government, something that has since stood them in good stead.

Since Kabupaten Dogiyai's establishment as an autonomous region in 2008, the government of the *kabupaten* has disbursed development funds to villages through the Village Funds Allocation (*Alokasi Dana Kampung*, or ADK) to support

villages in performing their responsibilities. For village and women's empowerment, the Village Community Empowerment Office (*Kantor Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Kampung*, or KPMK) provides guidance to village officials through village administrative management. Women, particularly those involved in PKK, were given short courses in sewing and cooking, skills that could be used to help them meet their own needs. Villages in Kabupaten Dogiyai also received infrastructure development programs from the *kabupaten*, such as swamp road hardening in Bukapa village, as well as water channel construction by the Kabupaten Public Works Dinas in Ekemanida village.

The implementation of the PNPM/RESPEK program in Kabupaten Dogiyai has been ongoing since 2008. PNPM/RESPEK started its activities in Kabupaten Dogiyai at the same time as the *kabupaten* was first established in 2008.¹² Over the course of this period, most villages implemented four program cycles, with labor-intensive programs predominating in the first year. Program investments in villages included roads and drainage, lighting facilities powered by diesel generators, "healthy homes", and MCK facilities.

PNPM/RESPEK program implementation in Kabupaten Dogiyai received support from the *kabupaten* government, which committed 20 percent cost-sharing from its APBD from the total budget for PNPM in Kabupaten Dogiyai. Aside from the cost-sharing funds, Kabupaten Dogiyai's government has also supported PNPM activities through the provision of Joint-Affairs Regional Funds (*Dana Daerah Urusan Bersama*, or DDUB) since 2011. DDUB is allocated to sub-districts considered to have received less funding than other sub-districts, such as Kamu sub-district. The diesel generator facility in Bukapa village, for instance, aside from PNPM funds, was also funded by DDUB because PNPM funds were insufficient.

Despite support from the *kabupaten* government, PNPM/RESPEK implementation in Kabupaten Dogiyai had continued to face significant challenges, one of which was the political polarization during the *bupati* election in 2012

between the Gane and the Goo clan that led to serious social unrest. The seeds of the conflict were already evident in 2008 when Dogiyai was established but only broke out into open conflict during the bupati election. The conflict damaged public facilities, such as the market, the mosque, the church, and some government offices. Other challenges include the lack of qualified sub-district facilitators and difficult access, especially in reaching remote areas such as Sukikai sub-district, which can take three to four days to reach on foot.

2.2.1 Community Knowledge and Experience regarding PNPM/RESPEK in Kabupaten Dogiyai

Generally, community knowledge of the PNPM/RESPEK program was limited to the program's name, which people knew as 'RESPEK', the name of TPCK head in their village, the program investments, and some knowledge of the program stages, mainly the implementation stage. In Ekemanida village, for example, the beneficiaries of "healthy house" project did not understand the process, the program stages, or the purpose of the program, including the source of the funds. They only knew the TKPP members. In Bukapa village, however, the community were better informed about the PNPM/RESPEK program, having attended the community meeting to decide proposal priorities. People who participated in the meeting also knew about the PNPM/RESPEK's source of funds and the size of the allocations.

Community members, especially those close to the TPCK and the village government, learned about the program through their involvement in the physical construction process, from program investments and from being program beneficiaries (including receiving wages for the construction work). One resident of Idakebo village, for instance, who was a close relative of the TPCK head, learned about the program from the TPCK head and the secretary. She knew the program by the name 'RESPEK', and knew the source of the budget and the investments made in Idakebo village. However, community members who did not receive any assistance, or those who did not participate in the socialization events, had only limited knowledge of the program. They usually learned of the program by observing construction activities in their village.

¹²Before 2008, when the Dogiyai area was still part of Kabupaten Nabire, some locations already had experience of PNPM activities. For example, Mogou village in North Kamu sub-district has participated in PNPM since 2007.

Unlike their communities, all village heads in the four research locations had full knowledge of PNPM/RESPEK, including the name of the program, the program officers, and the source of the funds. Other village figures, however, such as religious leaders and hamlet chiefs, did not know the working methods or the program mechanisms. An exception was observed in Bukapa village, where the school principal knew the amount of funds received by the village, because he had attended the village meeting at which the TPKK invited villagers for program socialization. TPKK members had full knowledge of PNPM/RESPEK: they knew the program name and could distinguish between PNPM and RESPEK, they knew that PNPM was for public facilities and that RESPEK could be used for personal facilities, such as houses, and that the PNPM funds source was APBN while the RESPEK funds source was the Special Autonomy Fund (*Dana Otsus*) from the provincial government. They also knew the stages and progress of activity implementation in the village, as well as the various program investments in the village.

The knowledge of women in the four villages reflected that in the community in general. The majority of women knew about the program investments in their village from the activity outcomes. For example, the sister of the Onou hamlet head in Bukapa village said that she knew about the program from its outcomes, such as the diesel generator and the dirt road. Despite this, she did not know the name of the program or the budget amount. The women who were active in the village generally had more knowledge than other women. For example, one woman who was active in PKK and the *Posyandu* of Ekemanida village knew the program name, the activity managers in

the village, and the program investments, as well as the source of the funds. However, she did not know the program's principles.

Women who were not active in the village but were nonetheless beneficiaries were able to tell which programs they had benefited from. For example, women who received tin roof for "healthy house" project in Bukapa village knew that the assistance came from PNPM/RESPEK. In Idakebo on the other hand, women who were not beneficiaries only knew that the assistance came from the government, but could not explain the sources further.

A summary of the above is see in the Table 2.3 below:

From Table 2.3 it is evident that the elite, i.e., village heads, heads of the Village Consultative Body, TPKK, had the most knowledge of PNPM/RESPEK compared with other groups. Community members in general in Bukapa village had a similar level of knowledge as the elite, especially those who were visited by the head of the TPKK to invite them to attend village meetings. As for the women, only in Ekemanida and Bukapa villages did women know of the source of funds because they had previously been active in the village and were invited by the head of the TPKK to attend village meetings.

2.2.2 Community Participation in PNPM/RESPEK in Kabupaten Dogiyai

Community members were usually involved only during the dissemination process and physical construction activities. In Ekemanida village, community involvement in planning and development implementation occurred in the initial period of the PNPM/RESPEK program when

Table 2.3 Knowledge of Communities in Kabupaten Dogiyai regarding PNPM/RESPEK

Knowledge	Ekemanida				Bukapa				Idakebo				Mogou			
	E	K	PA	PK	E	K	PA	PK	E	K	PA	PK	E	K	PA	PK
Program name	√	√	√		√	√	√		√	√	√		√	√		
Funds	√				√	√	√		√				√	√		
Source of funds	√		√		√	√			√		√		√			
Process and stages	√				√	√			√				√			
Activity managers	√	√	√		√	√	√		√	√	√		√	√		
Program investments	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	√		
Rules	√		√		√	√			√	√			√			
Purpose																

*Remarks: E=Elite, K=Community in General, PA=Active Women, PK=Women in General

Source: Processed from field data, 2013

it first entered the village in 2008 - 2009. Later, in 2010 - 2013, activity proposals were decided by the community for four-year periods, in this case tin roof assistance, and as a result priority setting meetings were no longer necessary.

Community participation in the activities during 2008 - 2009 was high because the activities provided wages. Every village applied a division of labor according to groups by setting the working hours so that all community members had the same opportunity to work and earn a wage. There was unintended consequence though: the Ekemandia village secretary stated that villagers no longer wanted to work voluntarily. The *gotong royong* principle that used to prevail in the past was eroded because people understood that government programs had budgeted to provide wages.

However, in subsequent periods after 2010, community cooperation reemerged with the development of "healthy houses", although this was limited to working with close neighbours or relatives inhouse building. This project was planned to be implemented in four year period to ensure all households in the village can be covered in turns. Those who had received materials such as a tin roof asked relatives and close neighbours to assist them as labours, because beneficiaries only received IDR 700,000 to cover the labor costs, a sum that was insufficient for the work required. These relatives/neighbours were then repaid with labor when it was their turn to receive materials to build their houses.

In all research village locations, village heads and officials were involved in planning and implementation of activities, along with the TPCK activity managers. The village heads and secretaries, and heads of the Village Consultative Body, and traditional and religious figures, as well as heads of the TPCK, made proposals and decisions on the implementation of PNPM/RESPEK activities. This occurred because the TPCK only invited these people to attend the formal meeting, despite other community members' willingness to attend if invited.

In Ekemanida village, the community did not know how activities and beneficiaries were decided because the process was controlled by the village head. In Bukapa village, on the other hand, at the very least, the head of the TPCK had tried to involve community in the planning process through informal consultation with community members prior to program planning meeting, either one-on-one in people's house or publicly in the market. The planning process started when the head of the TPCK met with the sub-district facilitator in the market to find information about what type of proposals have been proposed in other villages/sub-districts. The sub-district facilitator then suggested a number of initial proposals to be discussed with the village head, the village secretary, and the head of the Village Consultative Body. After determining the priority proposals, the head of the TPCK met with the community informally to secure their approval. After there was agreement, a proposal setting meeting was held as a forum to socialize the agreed proposals. Community members were present during the meeting but only to endorse the proposals that had already been agreed with the TPCK.

As in Yahukimo village, women who were already active in village activities/groups were more able to participate in the planning process and activity implementation, and were able to contribute ideas during the village meetings, or informally when, for example, meeting TPCK officers in the street. In Bukapa village though, according to the head of the TPCK, women in general already had the courage to contribute ideas although these were not necessarily approved by the forum. In 2011, the women proposed training in duck farming, but the forum decided to build an electricity installation instead. One woman told of how the women in the village had asked for a program to provide assistance in animal husbandry in order to improve the economic livelihood of their families. However, electricity provision had already been proposed by the men at the hamlet level. She added that once the electricity generator started operation, it would mean that contributions would be levied on the community to buy the fuel. This would be a burden for the women, because it was mainly the women who worked and earned money in the village.

In Ekemanida village, women who were already active in the village proposed ideas in village forums. The wife of the village secretary proposed to build a *Posyandu* and this was approved by the community members present at the meeting. Aside from the fact that she had been active in this village previously, her proposal was approved because it aligned with the interests of the village head and officials to complement the village community hall that was built in 2013. However, other than this example, there was no participation by other women in the community because the TPKK did not invite them to participate.

The above presentation is summarized in the following table:

In Table 2.4 it is evident that the elite, i.e., the village heads, the heads of the Village Consultative Body, and activity managers/TPKK, were present during village meetings and conveyed proposals. While most villagers in the research locations attended meetings, they did not convey any ideas and did not take part in the decision-making. As for the women who were active in the village, they participated in village meetings, and conveyed their suggestions, as well as making decisions.

2.2.3 Impact of PNPM/RESPEK on Communities in Kabupaten Dogiyai

Communities in all four villages viewed PNPM/RESPEK as being beneficial and responding to their needs. Community's proposals, although often directed by the program implementers, could be realized through the program. The communities felt the benefits of the program, especially from infrastructure related to the promotion of health and improvements in their quality of life. Both men and women were satisfied with the assistance, such as electric lighting, "healthy houses" project, drainage, and communal MCK facilities.

Another benefit of the program came in the form of wages that both men and women could earn for working on the construction phase. For example, in Bukapa village the community earned wages for building roads and drainage. In Ekemanida village almost every body worked for one week on road building and drainage, earning between IDR 300,000 and IDR 350,000 each.

Despite the generally positive response in Kabupaten Dogiyai, one community in a remote hamlet in Mogou village refused PNPM/RESPEK assistance because villagers felt it did not fit with their needs. The hamlet, also known as the Pidogio customary village, refused tin roof assistance because villagers did not want to change the shape of their houses. The villagers even ruled that anyone adding a tin roof would be expelled from the hamlet.

Aside from the impacts in terms of physical development, PNPM/RESPEK to some degree also influenced the social capital of villagers. PNPM/RESPEK encouraged people to work together, especially in the process of building "healthy houses", providing their labor, especially to those with family or neighbourly ties. This cooperation was necessary because of the high cost of construction workers and building materials. Building a house required around two cubic meters of wood at IDR 7,000,000, and a further IDR 20,000,000 for labor, while the program only provided IDR 7,000,000 for labor. Cooperation was seen in all villages where there was road and bridge construction as well as "healthy houses".

Regarding the positive outcomes for the TPKK activity managers, they learned how to document the process and the stages of implementation. Reporting involved keeping financial expenditure records in the form of receipts and financial

Table 2.4 Participation of Kabupaten Dogiyai in PNPM/RESPEK

Participation	Ekemanida				Bukapa				Idakebo				Mogou			
	E	K	PA	PK	E	K	PA	PK	E	K	PA	PK	E	K	PA	PK
Present	√	√	√		√	√	√		√	√	√		√	√		
Proposed	√		√		√				√		√		√			
Decided	√		√		√				√		√		√			
Process and stages	√		√		√	√	√		√	√			√			

*Remarks: E=Elite, K=Community in General, PA=Active Women, PK=Women in General

Source: Processed from field data, 2013

bookkeeping. In Bukapa village, the head of the TPCK kept records and financial documentation of PNPM/RESPEK activities for the sub-district facilitator. According to the head of Idakebo village, he was assisted by the head of the TPCK to record program activities because he was unable to read or write himself.

Some community members received no direct benefits from the investments. For instance, those who lived in the most remote areas far from the village center often did not benefit and were not involved in the program. In Mogou village, where the settlements are spread out across three hamlets (Pigomapa, Tipatadi, and Mogoupuga) in remote areas, villagers could not access any program benefits because all PNPM investments were concentrated in the main village.

2.2.4 Factors that Affect the Experience and Participation of Communities

Increasingly, community had come to realize just how important program socialization and facilitation by the sub-district facilitator were. When these were weak, it meant that decision-making essentially became just a confirmation of options that had already been decided by the village elite. In Idakebo village on the other hand, the village facilitator only went as far as gathering people to listen to suggestions and providing information about the work that the villagers would do. The purpose, the amount of the funds, and the program mechanism were not explained to the community. This was due to lack of village TPCK members' understanding about the program because sub-district facilitator did not visit the village often enough to explain program's details to the TPCK and community. To make matter worse, when the sub-district facilitator did come, he faced difficulties in explaining the program to the TPCK due to the language barrier. Meetings between facilitator and TPCK were often conducted informally where the information conveyed was partial, such as when TPCK ran into facilitator in market or during TPCK visits to sub-district facilitator. Effective facilitation by sub-district facilitators was only observed in Ekemanida and Bukapa villages, where both lived relatively close to villages and both were able to speak the local language.

Explanations of the budget to communities were often conveyed informally: discussions between villagers and the head and the treasurer of the TPCK took place during informal community gatherings. The exception was in Bukapa village where the activity manager in the village explained budget management clearly to the community. The community in Bukapa responded and were informed of the amount of the funds, although they may not have fully appreciated the technicalities of budget management.

In addition to facilitators, TPCK also played an important role in influencing the voices and experiences of people in Kabupaten Dogiyai. Poor understanding by TPCK members of the principles of democratic participation limited villagers' ability to participate in running the program. The TPCK's unwillingness to encourage wider participation could have been aggravated by lack of control from sub-district facilitators to consistently follow the stages need to avoid elite domination.

Weak participation by villagers was also the result of sub-district facilitators directing proposals. Prior to holding village meetings, sub-district facilitators often narrowed down the options to only a few proposals, such as communal MCK facilities, water tanks, and tin roofing. Although this was likely influenced by the need to standardize infrastructure building due to difficulties to find capable technical facilitators and engineers in Papua and West Papua (see AKATIGA 2012), as a result, deliberations were limited to only those options, setting a precedent in following years. Even then, these limited options were often proposed by the TPCK and village figures, such as the village head, who wanted to make sure that their village also have similar infrastructure as other villages so that they won't be seen as left-behind compare to others. As a result, many proposals were often built against the majority's wishes although they still benefited from some of the investments.

As mentioned above, the language barrier also had an effect on communities' knowledge of the program, as many people could not fully understand Bahasa Indonesia. Sub-district facilitators used Bahasa Indonesia to socialize program activities, while communities could often only speak and understand their local language, and there were often no interpreters to help with information exchange.

2.2.5 Hopes of Communities for PNPM/RESPEK in Kabupaten Dogiyai

Communities hoped that the PNPM/RESPEK program would be continued. People in Bukapa village, for instance, hoped that the tin roof assistance would continue until all villagers had received tin roofs. Others also hoped that the assistance given would fit community needs more closely in the future, such as the community in Ekemanida and Bukapa, which wanted a lighting facility. This was strongly favoured by the elderly in Ekemanida and Bukapa villages, who felt that the tin roof assistance was unnecessary. The elderly who received tin roofs often gave the materials to their children or relatives who wished to renovate their houses with tin roofing.

Consistent with community wishes, village heads and secretaries in all research locations hoped the program would continue albeit often for different reasons. The TPKK secretary in Bukapa village hoped that funds would be increased because they were considered insufficient to meet the needs of the village. He thought that the APBN and APBD programs (PNPM/RESPEK) were better than other programs, as proposals could be selected and managed directly by the people. The TPKK head and the secretary in Bukapa also hoped that their training could be shortened to save time.

The head of the TPKK in Idakebo village felt that the program could encourage hamlet heads to make agreements in distributing the program funds that entered the village. The competition between hamlets in Idakebo for program funds triggered an altercation between hamlets, but later there was agreement on taking turns and sharing, reducing the potential for conflict.

Village elites and community also often have different views about projects supported by the program. Village heads and secretaries, and TPKK heads in all villages for example, agreed that PNPM/RESPEK had been popular, especially the tin roof assistance. The acting village head of Bukapa thought villagers were content to have houses that were more modern. However, some villagers thought that tin roofs benefitted the government officials and activity managers more than the villagers, because the building materials assistance was enjoyed mostly by village heads, village secretaries, and the TPKK heads.

Women in all four villages said that program benefits could be felt by the community, such as wages for work, house building (tin roof) assistance, access to clean water and the *Posyandu*. Despite this, women saw no programs that addressed women's concerns directly. The head of PKK in Bukapa, for instance, hoped that the program could pay more attention to women by providing activities that addressed their specific needs. She felt that while the tin roof assistance and the provision of a diesel generator were beneficial for women, loans to women's groups would have been more useful in raising the standard of living of families. This was consistent with other women in Bukapa who hoped to have activities specifically addressing women's needs, such as micro-finance loans and training in animal husbandry. This occurred after they became aware of the savings and loans program for women of ADPK (Village Community Empowerment Funds Allocation). In Ekemanida and Bukapa villages, women hoped that the program would provide facilities for women rather than just men at the meetings. For example, during PNPM/RESPEK deliberation meetings the TPKK provided cigarettes for the men, while nothing was provided for the women.

2.3 Kabupaten Merauke

Kabupaten Merauke is located in the southern region of the province of Papua. This *kabupaten* was first established in 1969 and but has seen several administrative splits since then.¹³ The area of Kabupaten Merauke is 119,749 km, or around 14.22 percent of the total area of Papua province. Topographically, Kabupaten Merauke is located in lowlands at elevations of up to 60m above sea level, comprising plains, marshes and undulating topography. The relatively flat region in the south and the center host numerous settlements and support mainly horticultural economic activities. The elevation and soil conditions in Kabupaten Merauke make it difficult for people to access clean water. It is for this reason that activity managers often suggest building communal bathing, washing and toilet (MCK) facilities and clean water facilities in the PNPM/RESPEK program.

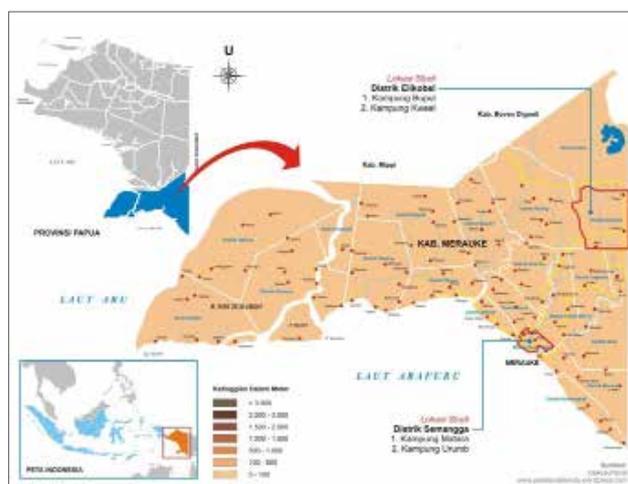
In 2012, based on Civil Registry data, Kabupaten Merauke had a population of 246,852. The Marind is the indigenous ethnic group of Kabupaten Merauke and this group is divided into four large tribes, the Marind Yei, the Marind Deg, the Marind Pante, and the Marind Kanum. Besides indigenous tribes, there are also non-Papuan ethnic groups, such as Javanese, Buginese, Butonese, Chinese, Timorese, and Sundanese. Some of them, particularly the Javanese, Sundanese and Timorese, came to Kabupaten Merauke with the transmigration program. The commonly used language is Bahasa Indonesia, while the indigenous inhabitants within their tribes use their own indigenous languages.

Figure 2.3 shows the research sub-districts and the village locations. Information gathering for this research was conducted in Urumb and Matara villages in Semangga sub-district, and Kweel and Bupul villages in Elikobel sub-district. The reasons for selecting these locations included the relatively easy accessibility from the capital town of Merauke. Bapul and Kweel villages in Elikobel sub-district, although relatively far from Merauke town (\pm 180-200 km), can be reached in about five hours by car. The other two villages, Matara and Urumb, are in Semangga sub-district, which is close to Merauke town, at about 30 km, with a travel time of around one hour.

Being the most remote of the four research locations, Bupul and Kweel villages rely largely on subsistence agriculture and are not yet linked with the nearest market. The main livelihood in both villages is hunting and horticulture, with people often spending days, and in some instances even weeks, inside the forest. In contrast, the majority of villagers in Matara and Urumb are farmers (rice and horticulture), and fishermen (marine and marsh), as well as owners of livestock (mainly cows and horses). Given the proximity of the two villages to the main town the products are sold in local markets. These livelihoods were mainly learned from migrants among the ex-transmigrant community¹⁴ from Java.

In Kabupaten Merauke, some villages are already integrated with ex-transmigrant migrants, while others are still isolated and only interact with outsiders through traders who come to the area. Bupul and Kweel villages are indigenous Papuan villages; in Bupul there are seven clans, while in Kweel there are three clans, all of whom come from the same tribe, the Yei. Matara and Urumb are mixed villages; most of the people in the two villages are third and fourth generation descended from mixed marriages between indigenous Papuans and the migrant population.

Figure 2.3
Administrative Map of Kabupaten Merauke



¹³The establishment of Kabupaten Merauke was based on Law No. 12/1969 on the Formation of Autonomous West Irian Province and Autonomous Districts in West Irian Province. In 2002, based on Law No. 26/2002, Kabupaten Merauke was divided into four sub-districts, namely Merauke (the main district), Boven Digoel, Mappi and Asmat. Since 2002, Kabupaten Merauke has consisted of 20 sub-districts, 160 villages and 8 urban wards (kelurahan).

¹⁴Former-migrants are second or third generations of migrants who have moved away from their original migration locations.

At the time of the research, PNPM/RESPEK activities in Kabupaten Merauke had been ongoing for five years since 2008¹⁵. In this period, villagers' experience of completed program cycles varied. Bupul village had only completed three program cycles, Kweel village four cycles, while Matara and Urumb villages had each completed five cycles. This difference was because Bupul and Kweel had been subject to sanctions for not completing activities in accordance with program regulations. Over the duration of PNPM/RESPEK implementation in the four villages, program investments were either in the form of infrastructure, such as concrete roads, wells, rainwater collectors, drainage, and sanitation, or non-infrastructure such as Women's Savings and Loans (SPP, which is a revolving loan fund), *Posyandu* activities, additional nutrition for children, training in animal husbandry, and educational assistance for children.

As elsewhere, the types of infrastructure built with PNPM/RESPEK funds have seen shifts over the five year of implementation, as follows:

- 2007: In this year, PNPM/RESPEK only took the form of socialization activities for future plans. People who attended these meetings included customary figures (customary community institutions), customary leaders, activity managers, village heads, and the villagers themselves, including women. People were informed about how to propose an activity for implementation.
- 2008: In this year, people started to submit activity proposals for their villages. However, community proposals were invariably for individual economic activities that did not conform to the program rules. Thus, the process of setting village activities was then directed and determined by the kabupaten/ sub-district facilitators, who usually proposed infrastructure projects such as road strengthening, drainage, well building, and communal MCK facilities and electricity.
- 2009 - 2012: Most of the activities were continuations of programs from the previous years. New proposals included building and strengthening of roads, installation of water tanks, nutritional provisions for toddlers, women's revolving loan funds, and fishing and farming equipment. However, not all these proposals were accepted and often it was the longer-running activities that were selected.

2.3.1 Community Knowledge and Experience of PNPM/RESPEK in Kabupaten Merauke

Communities in all four villages generally only knew the program name and not how the program worked. They knew that a program called "RESPEK" provided assistance for building infrastructure, such as communal MCK facilities and water tanks. The community in Bupul village, for instance, knew that the name of the program was "RESPEK" and understood that the program was for building public facilities in their village funded by the government. Development activities that people recognized as being from the program included the provision of sanitation systems and water tanks, nutritional assistance for under fives and school children, and women's enterprise groups. Villagers did not know the source of the funds for PNPM/RESPEK and assumed the government was providing the financial support, without being able to distinguish between the national budget (APBN) or the sub-national budget (APBD) as the source of funds.

In addition, communities in the four villages generally recognized the TPKK personnel in their village from the proposal meetings at the beginning of the program. People in Kweel village knew about the TPKK from the village meeting at which TPKK personnel had explained the implementation process of PNPM/RESPEK activities. At such meetings, the TPKK also explained which projects could be funded and the possibility of participating in the implementation work. For road construction and sanitation projects, the TPKK opened a registration book for people who were interested in working on the implementation phase.

Villagers who lived further away from the village center and could not attend village meetings organized by the TPKK only knew about the program from their observations of the physical facilities built in their villages. They knew that PNPM/RESPEK was a village facility building program funded by the government, but were unable to distinguish from which level of government the funds originated, whether *kabupaten*, provincial or from the central government. They were also unaware of how the PNPM/RESPEK program operated within the community. People who lived furthest from their village center simply knew that PNPM/RESPEK was a program that was managed by a small number of people in the village.

¹⁵Prior to the start of PNPM/RESPEK in 2008, these four villages participated in PNPM Rural activities in 2007.

In contrast, the village head, the secretary, the treasurer, and TPKK members all had good knowledge of the program. They knew the program name and could distinguish between the source of funds, and the amount of money going to each project. They could also distinguish that the PNPM's source of funds originated from APBN, and those of RESPEK from APBD. The TPKK treasurer in Matara, for instance, knew the PNPM/RESPEK source of funds and the amount for the village, i.e., IDR 100,000,000 in 2007, rising to IDR 144,000,000 in 2012 for RESPEK, while from PNPM the villages each received IDR 120,000,000 for the first time in 2012.

There were also marked variations in the levels of knowledge among activity managers. In Bupul village, the knowledge of the TPKK secretary and the treasurer was rather limited: they were unaware of the source of the funds, and the treasurer could not explain whether PNPM/RESPEK was funded by APBN or APBD. Likewise, the village secretary in Kweel village did not know the source of funds for PNPM/RESPEK activities or other assistance that entered his village. Despite this, the Kweel village secretary knew the amount of funds received by the village, while the head of the TPKK in the village thought that RESPEK funds were only to be used for constructing village buildings and not for empowerment. However, he was aware that the source of PNPM/RESPEK funds was the APBN, and that the course of RESPEK funds was from the Papua provincial government, and that accountability of both was separate.

The women in the four research village locations knew that 15 percent of PNPM/RESPEK funds (i.e., IDR 15,000,000) was supposed to be allocated for women's activities, such as cooking and sewing courses. They received this information from their husbands who attended the meetings, as few women attended the meetings. In Kweel village, the budget for women's activities was used by the TPKK to buy sewing machines. Subsequently, the TPKK gave just IDR 5,000,000 to the women for their activities. The women in Kweel village knew how much of the funds they should have received and raised the issue with the TPKK. However, the TPKK did not offer a clear explanation of why it had taken the initiative to purchase the sewing machines itself.

This incident occurred due to an accountability issue related to RLFs for women's activities: money that should have revolved in the fund had instead stagnated and there was no accountability for the use of the funds. As a result, the sub-district facilitator decided to use the funds to purchase sewing machines through the TPKK. However, as this contradicted the principle of determining activity choices, the TPKK failed to provide an explanation to the women, as explained above.

People's knowledge of the PNPM/RESPEK program in Kabupaten Merauke can be summarized as follows:

Table 2.5 Knowledge of Kabupaten Merauke Communities of PNPM/RESPEK

Knowledge	Bupul				Kweel				Matara				Urumb			
	E	K	PA	PK	E	K	PA	PK	E	K	PA	PK	E	K	PA	PK
Program name	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Funds	√		√		√		√		√	√	√		√	√	√	
Source of funds	√				√				√				√			
Prices and stages	√				√				√				√			
Activity managers	√	√	√		√	√	√		√	√	√		√	√	√	
Program investments	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Rules	√				√				√		√		√			
Purpose																

*Remarks: E=Elite, K=Community in General, PA=Active Women, PK=Women in General

Source: Processed from field data, 2013

Table 2.5 shows how the elite in all four villages, namely the village heads, the TPKK officers, and village officials, had more knowledge of the program than other groups, although they were unaware of the purpose of the program. Communities, meanwhile, had varying levels of program knowledge. For example, people in Bupul and Kweel villages knew the program name, the activity managers, and the amount of the funds available to their village, but people in Matara and Urumb villages had a better understanding of how the funds were disbursed. Regarding the women, only women in Matara village had an understanding of the program rules, while the women in the three other villages only knew the program name, the amount of the funds, the activity managers, and the various investments in the irrespective villages.

2.3.2 Community Participation in PNPM/RESPEK in Kabupaten Merauke

Program activity managers in all four villages stated that they had held community meetings with the villagers. The meetings were organized using a representation system whereby heads of neighbourhood units (RT) represented the villagers in their respective areas. However, this contradicted statements from villagers, who claimed that TPKK activity managers had never invited them to meetings and that many of them were unaware of the program as a result. In Bupul and Matara villages community involvement in the planning process occurred in the early phases of the program, but after 2010 all community involvement ceased.

Village facilitators in Urumb village and youth in Bupul village had similar opinions concerning the program's socialization. When PNPM/RESPEK had first arrived in these villages, community meetings were held at which the activity managers explained the program stages, from forming the TPKK to activity proposal deliberations (participatory planning), funds disbursement, program activity implementation, and program reporting. The Urumb village facilitator confirmed this. He also said that this model of participation disappear after that. Situation worsen in 2012 after election of new TPKK administrators which coincide with the time he had been elected as the village

facilitator. All TPKK officers, except the head, had been replaced through community consultations. However, the new TPKK officers, including himself, were never involved in activity implementation, as all activities were still managed by the previous officers. Likewise, the head of the women's group in Urumb village felt that the TPKK had never adequately explained to the community the size of the funds, the disbursement schedule, or the fund utilization. She added that the community had never been invited to talk about fund management, and people could only watch building materials being delivered to the village for the PNPM/RESPEK program.

The loss of participation in planning meetings was also the result of a decision to limit activity proposals to facilities that were realized in yearly rotations, such as communal MCK facilities, wells, and rainwater collectors. These facilities no longer required community consultations. In the early years, before infrastructure options were decided by the sub-district facilitator, the community came up with numerous ideas. For instance, in Matara village a retention wall was proposed in 2009, but the proposal was never realized, as it was considered too expensive by the sub-district facilitator. Meanwhile, the proposal for clean water installations was later switched to the provision of communal MCK facilities and wells by the TPKK manager and the sub-district facilitator. A similar loss of participation was observed in other research locations.

In Bupul village, community participation in the planning process was initially strong, but diminished over time. When PNPM/RESPEK arrived in 2007-2008, community consultations occurred frequently, from the election of TPKK administrators to the submission of program proposals. However, by the time of this research, such meetings were only attended by the TPKK head, the treasurer, the secretary and the facilitators to determine the programs. The facilitator came up with program plans without any consultation with the communities they served. Even the Cost Budget Estimate (RAB) was prepared by the technical sub-district facilitator, so that the TPKK could execute the planned and adjusted RAB in line with work volume, i.e., materials, man-days of work, and the

number of workers. One member of the village youth organization involved in the construction of rainwater collectors felt that PNPM/RESPEK socialization in Bupul village had been poor because so few people attended the meetings. It was generally the case that villagers were unaware of the meetings because no announcements had been made by the TPKK. This youth from Bupul noted that even the head of the Village Consultative Body had not received information on the PNPM/RESPEK meeting.

The case of Matara village was similar, with the sub-district facilitators bringing investment proposals along with the RAB and not involving the community in any decision-making. This situation was explained by a head of a neighbourhood unit (RT) and the treasurer of the TPKK in Matara: proposals were socialized by the sub-district facilitator to the community during the planning consultation implementation. The sub-district facilitator then brought the RAB and the finished construction plans so that the ideas would appear to have come from the community and could be approved by the sub-district facilitator without question. Community ideas that were rejected included buying nets to catch fish and shrimp, scholarships for children, and the construction of an early childhood education center. The TPKK treasurer said that the proposals had been provided by the sub-district facilitator and that the community had to implement the construction of communal MCK facilities and wells. The head of the RT also noted that the TPKK officers and the sub-district facilitator had held a meeting at the village hall but that he had not been invited.

The construction of communal MCK facilities and wells in Matara and Bupul villages also went against the wishes the village heads, who had been told that, according to the PJOK of the *kabupaten* and the sub-district, funds were insufficient to pay for other activities. The village heads had wanted the PNPM/RESPEK funds to be used to buy a second-hand pick-up truck that could be used by the community to transport their produce to market, improving Matara's economy. The vehicle could also be used to improve access to health services, making it easier to transport the sick to a *Puskesmas* or to hospital. However, this

suggestion was rejected by the sub-district PJOK on the grounds that the purchase of a vehicle was a "dead" investment and would not provide community empowerment. Consequently, a decision was made to build sanitation facilities and wells instead.

Villagers who lived far away from their village center in the four research locations were rarely involved in program activities, especially decision-making meetings. Such villagers said that they had never been invited to attend meetings, which they felt were only open to an exclusive circle, such as the TPKK managers.

In Urumb village, Semangga sub-district, women felt that PNPM/RESPEK activities were well suited to their needs. Here, the decision-makers were women who were active in the *Posyandu*, either as midwives and nurses, in women's enterprise groups, or as church activists. They were able to create a balance of power vis-à-vis the village head and the TPKK officers, which resulted in the needs of women being taken seriously by the wider community. PNPM paved the way for the youth group and women cadres to enter into the decision-making process at the village level. The presence of women encouraged TPKK officers and the village head to follow their suggestions. As a result, the 15 percent funding allocated for women's activities was used as intended.

The majority of meeting participants in Urumb village were men. However, thanks to facilitation by NGOs, some women were able to take part in PNPM/RESPEK processes. Women in Urumb village received support from Yasanto (Yayasan Santo Antonius), a local NGO, and Oxfam GB Papua. Through the PAWE (Papua Women Empowerment) program, these NGOs aimed to empower Papuan women by encouraging their participation in CDD programs. In Urumb village, the NGOs worked with women to strengthen their capacity to improve their livelihoods. In 2010, they formed two women groups, the Waninggap Kai and the Noh Tabuk, after which they were invited to PNPM/RESPEK village meetings and were able to voice their opinions and take part in decision-making.¹⁶ Having established these groups, the women then made proposals to the head of the

¹⁶See also "What Media Says about PNPM Mandiri" - June 2012, PNPM Mandiri Monthly Media Monitoring

Table 2.6 Community Participation in PNPM/RESPEK in Kabupaten Merauke

Participation	Bupul				Kweel				Matara				Urumb			
	E	K	PA	PK	E	K	PA	PK	E	K	PA	PK	E	K	PA	PK
Attended	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Proposed	√				√				√		√		√		√	
Decided	√								√				√			

*Remarks: E= Elite K= Community in General, PA= Active Women, PK= Women in General

Source: Processed from field data, 2013

TPKK for PNPM/RESPEK funding, with facilitation from Oxfam. This proved successful: one of the women's groups received micro-financing through the women's savings and loan fund (SPP) to start small enterprises, such as snack-making, rice farming, poultry, etc. In 2013, IDR 15,000,000 was distributed evenly among 15 women as a revolving loan fund (RLF).

In contrast, women in Bupul village did not speak in forums because they were afraid of violence from their men, both at home and in public. In 2008, the women in Urumb village participated in PNPM/RESPEK as workers in the physical infrastructure building project in place of their husbands. They were paid IDR 25,000 to IDR 50,000/day depending on the hours worked to build drainage systems and communal MCK facilities. Women in Kweel village also received some financing to raise chickens, disbursed through women's groups. Other activities included school-uniform sewing. However, in 2010 - 2012, both Kweel and Urumb villages no longer saw any programs that were specifically for the women. This was despite the fact the women were active in PKK, attended village meetings and proposed funding for a *Posyandu* in the village.

The above illustration can be summarized in the following table:

Village heads, TPKK officers, and village officials, i.e., the village elites, all attended program socialization meetings, suggested proposals and made decisions. However, sub-district facilitators also played a significant role in proposing and deciding activities, such as in Kweel village. Community participation, meanwhile, was limited to attending meetings, but without the possibility of contributing ideas or making decisions. The

picture was similar across all four villages. Women's participation in Bupul and Kweel villages was similar to the rest of the community, namely that they could only attending meetings, but not contribute. Only in Matara and Urumb villages, where the women were already active in village activities, were they able to make proposals, although even then they were not allowed to take part in the decision-making.

2.3.3 Impact of PNPM/RESPEK to Communities in Kabupaten Merauke

Much infrastructure built with PNPM/RESPEK funds was put to good use by communities. For example, the rainwater collectors were used to provide drinking water, and water for washing and cooking. Rainwater collectors were also useful during the rainy season as the excess water from heavy rain could be collected instead of flooding the roads. However, some investments were not put to such good use, for instance communal MCK facilities and wells in Bupul and Matara villages. These facilities were built in two locations: at the homes of the activity managers (TPKK) and village officials (head of RT); and in locations that were close to settlements but at some distance from people's homes. These locations determined their impact. Communal MCK facilities that were built within the grounds of private houses had minimal impact because community members thought that they belonged to the owner of the house, while those built in public areas were used frequently.

Another impact identified in Kabupaten Merauke was that of 'social envy' in communities, for instance in Matara and Urumb villages. People were dissatisfied over the distribution of program benefits because they were dominated by one group. In Matara village, this envy was triggered by the domination of the elite, i.e., the head of the TPKK and the head of the RT, benefiting most

from the program. The proposal to build communal MCK facilities and wells came from the head of the RT and was based on complaints that there were no facilities. This was then conveyed to the head of the TPKK during the village meeting. But the head of the RT told the TPKK officers to prioritize him first because, as a village official who served the public, it was only appropriate that he received assistance first. He reasoned that if guests came from outside the village, it would be embarrassing if the MCK facilities were in poor condition. The TPKK officers then prioritized the houses of the head of the RT and the TPKK officers, saying that MCK facilities would be distributed to the rest of the community later.

A similar situation was observed in Bupul village. The wells were only used by members of the elite and not by the wider community, while the communal MCK facilities were built between two houses owned by the elite, and those who lived further away felt uncomfortable making use of them. In one case, the MCK facilities were built next to the kitchen of the house owner and required villagers to pass through the kitchen of the house owner in order to access the facilities.

By way of contrast, in one of the remote hamlets relatively far from Bupul village center an MCK facility was constructed some way from private homes but still close to residential areas. This communal MCK facility remained in good condition and was frequently used by people in the area. One resident of the hamlet said that community members were satisfied with the outcome. Given that the location was easily accessible, villagers were also happy to maintain the MCK facility individually. Meanwhile, the construction of PNPM/RESPEK rainwater collectors nearby also made it easier for people to collect water.

In Urumb village, the provision of wells and communal MCK facilities failed to benefit the community. One MCK facility was located in an uninhabited house, while another MCK facility was constructed on private premises that were fenced off. As a result, the community could not access the facilities and instead were forced to use the church's MCK facilities across the street. The control of program investments by the head of the

TPKK in Urumb village also led to envy. Villagers suspected that the TPKK head favoured his own family and relatives for MCK facility construction, while community members who needed the most basic MCK facilities were not prioritized. In determining those who benefited, only the TPKK members and people close to them were involved.

The situation was different in Kweel village, which had 34 MCK points. The traditional leaders of Kweel understood that the construction of MCK facilities in people's houses would help them to wash, whereas before villagers were obliged to go to the nearest river or forest, polluting the environment.

One of the most direct impacts of the PNPM/RESPEK program noted by church activists in Bupul village came in the form of the wages earned from the program, which brought unintended social change to the community: people thought that all building work should then be paid in the form of wages and this had an adverse impact on participation in voluntary collective work (*gotong-royong*).

With regard to the impact on women, the construction of rainwater collectors was beneficial because women were primarily responsible for providing clean water for their households. The use of rainwater collectors also meant the women no longer had to collect water from distant water sources and carry it home.

Women in Urumb and Kweel villages also benefited from micro-financing through the PNPM/RESPEK program. In Urumb village, the women's position was strengthened by Oxfam, which arrived in 2012 and established three women's groups to provide training on gender, financial management, and savings and loans. Activities also included salted fish production and the making of woven plates to be sold in kiosks near the village church. In 2013, one of the women's group was able to access the 15 percent funds allocated for women's activities from PNPM/RESPEK. Given that one of requirements needed to access PNPM/RESPEK funds was to have a women's group to manage the funds, having already established a women's group made this easier for the women in Urumb.

In terms of gender relations, the PNPM/RESPEK program failed to register any significant progress in any of the four research locations. This was evident from the far higher number of proposals that were approved from men than from women. In the men's view, women were generally expected to take care of their households and serve their husbands rather than participate in village activities. In Bupul village, women were invited to attend the village meeting and although they did participate they had trouble expressing their views. In subsequent FGDs the women explained that they had not dared to speak in the PNPM/RESPEK meetings because they would have been scolded and cursed by the men. Women who had dared to express their views would have been seen as attention-seekers. The women also expressed the fear that if they had spoken up they would have risked subsequent physical abuse from their husbands.

2.3.4 Factors that Influence Community Experience and Participation in Kabupaten Merauke

It seems that TPKK officers rarely held community meetings and did not consult all groups in their communities. As a result, knowledge of PNPM/RESPEK was concentrated among the village elite, such as village heads and the TPKK. The wider community, women, and marginal groups only knew the program name and the types of physical facilities that were constructed. PNPM/RESPEK activity meetings in the four villages only took place at the beginning of the program in 2008. From 2009 onwards, meetings no longer involved the community and were only attended by program officers and village officials.

In some cases, the sub-district facilitator determined the activity proposals for the village in an attempt to fulfil the program's requirements. Community proposals that were conveyed during the village meetings were often for activities aimed at personal economic improvement and did not conform to the program rules. These proposals were later replaced by suggestions from the TPKK officers and the sub-district facilitator, and these invariably focused on infrastructure such as communal MCK facilities and wells due to the difficulties in obtaining clean water in Kabupaten Merauke (see the background at the start of this section).

Village meetings as a form of program socialization were rarely held and the implementation of some activities was controlled by the head of the TPKK. For example, in Kweel village the head of the TPKK personally bought sewing machines for the women's activities at the request of the sub-district facilitator to simplify financial accountability and reporting. The sub-district facilitator was concerned that if activity implementation were left to the women's group there was a risk that the supporting proof of purchase would not be attached, complicating accountability and reporting. The program requirements for proper reporting was used as a reason for the sub-district facilitator and the TPKK to take over most of the program activities, especially procurement, resulting in lower community participation.

With regard to women's participation, it was evident that violence and domination by men was the norm. This was most evident in the case of women in Bupul village, where the women were reluctant to speak up because they felt physically threatened. This led to a general reluctance by women to participate in village activities.

2.3.5 Community Hopes for PNPM/RESPEK in Kabupaten Merauke

Communities generally welcomed PNPM/RESPEK because it provided villagers with infrastructure and other facilities. However, communities sometimes stated that the type of infrastructure did not always meet their needs. In Matara village, for instance, some people thought that the communal MCK facilities built from 2009 until 2012 did not meet their needs and that a sea retention wall, a vehicle to transport their produce to market, and an early childhood education center, would have been more suitable. The sea retention wall was urgently needed to prevent seawater from encroaching onto their farmland and lowering rice yields.

The head of the RT in Bupul village thought that the sub-district facilitator should live in the village and have an opportunity to get to know the villagers. This would also have allowed the facilitator to become more actively involved in the work and better able to control the performance of the TPKK officers. Church activists worried that the wages paid for work in PNPM/RESPEK activities had undermined people's feelings of empowerment. One church facilitator in Bupul village felt that because wages were paid for PNPM/RESPEK work this had led people to develop an attitude of "no money, no participation", and community empowerment had suffered as a result.

Villagers who lived furthest from the village center expressed a desire to reform the TPKK administration structure so that officers could be

elected by the community according to merit. These villagers felt the TPKK officers had embezzled money, such as the TPKK head in Matara village who had been tasked with the purchase of materials in Merauke town and had returned home drunk. As a result, people were suspicious that the TPKK had simply used the PNPM/RESPEK money to buy alcohol. Following this incident those villagers who lived furthest away from the village were no longer informed about the use of funds.

Villagers also felt that village meetings were only attended by people who were already active in village activities and rarely involved those who lived further away, or who were not close to the TPKK or their relatives. Hence, people living furthest from the village center wanted proposals to come from the community through meetings in the village hall where all the community could attend, not just those close to the village head, the TPKK and their officers.

Women expressed the hope that in future program funds could be used for more economic livelihood activities, such as financing kiosks, farming and cultivation, helping them to meet their daily needs so that they would not have to leave the village. In Urumb village, women felt that economic empowerment would have been of more benefit than the building fences and communal MCK facilities which already existed before the program came.

3

VOICES AND EXPERIENCES OF COMMUNITIES REGARDING PNPM/RESPEK IN WEST PAPUA PROVINCE



VOICES AND EXPERIENCES OF COMMUNITIES REGARDING PNPM/RESPEK IN WEST PAPUA PROVINCE

The experience and development of PNPM/RESPEK program in West Papua province differed markedly from those in Papua province, as PNPM/RESPEK only ran for one fiscal year in West Papua. In 2008, similar to Papua, RESPEK was merged with PNPM. However, in 2009, Governor Abraham Octavianus Atururi (2003-2005 and 2006-2016) decided to split PNPM and RESPEK once again, and thus since 2010 the two programs have continued separately. PNPM Mandiri is implemented directly by the *kabupaten* government, while RESPEK is implemented directly by the provincial government.

In terms of program design, RESPEK in West Papua uses a community-based approach (CDD). Community participation is the main pillar in program implementation, whereby communities plan, decide, implement, and oversee the implementation in the village. RESPEK program implementation was organized by a working group (POKJA) at both the sub-district and village levels. At the sub-district level, POKJA members comprised sub-district employees led by the sub-district head. At the village level, the POKJA was headed by community leaders and the heads of the RT/RW, plus at least one construction expert and several community members. The village head was effectively in charge of RESPEK at the village level.

In practice, however, the implementation of RESPEK in West Papua villages did not go according to plan, as the CDD principles were not followed. Given that RESPEK at the village level was controlled by village heads, one of the consequences of this was that the program generally failed to involve the communities.

The provincial government's policy of separating PNPM from RESPEK led to a reduction in the budget for PNPM by the parliament. The IDR 2 million assistance to support sub-district level consultations by the POKJA was no longer provided by the government and only an operational allowance for travel to the sub-districts was provided.

Meanwhile, the provincial government continued to provide development funds for villages from its regional budget (APBD). The provincial government's Special Autonomy Fund (*Dana Otsus*) used to fund RESPEK amounted to IDR 100,000,000/year for villages that had been administratively validated by the *kabupaten* government. Aside from *Dana Otsus*, there was also an empowerment program that disbursed IDR 75,000,000/year for "definitive" villages and IDR 50,000,000/year for newly established villages. The provincial government also had an Integrated Village Development Program called "Village Pioneers", which adopted the PNPM approach.

This chapter elaborates the community voices and experiences regarding PNPM Mandiri and RESPEK in two *kabupaten* of West Papua province, namely Kabupaten Kaimana and Kabupaten Teluk Bintuni.

3.1 Kabupaten Kaimana

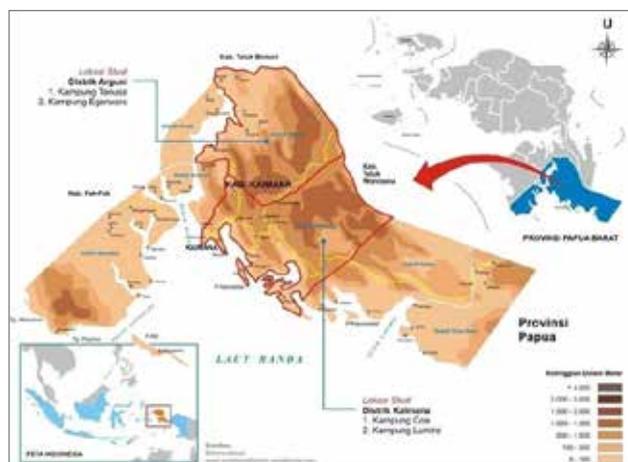
Kabupaten Kaimana was established in 2002 based on Law No. 26/2002 and officially became an autonomous *kabupaten* in 2013. Kabupaten Kaimana covers an area of 18,500 km² and comprises seven sub-districts, 84 villages and two *kelurahan*.¹⁷ Based on the 2010 population census, Kaimana's population was 46,243 people.¹⁸

The indigenous tribes of Kabupaten Kaimana are the Irarutu, the Mairasi, the Kambarau and the Koiwai, most of whom reside along the coasts and on the islands. The Irarutu from Teluk Arguni sub-district are spread to the south of Kelurahan Kaimana Kota. The Mairasi from the eastern parts of Kabupaten Kaimana reside along the northern coast of East Kaimana sub-district. The Kambarau, from Teluk Kambarau and Teluk Arguni sub-districts, reside along the south coast and northern parts of Kaimana Kota sub-district. The Koiwai from the western part of Buruway sub-district and the northern part of Kaimana sub-district mostly live on the islands.

Figure 3.1 shows the research locations in Kabupaten Kaimana. The study was conducted in four villages, namely Coa and Lumira (Kaimana sub-district) and Tanusan and Egerwara (Arguni Bawah sub-district). Kabupaten Kaimana is generally a coastal *kabupaten* with some of its territory marked by hills. The coastal region is relatively easy to reach, represented by Coa and Lumira villages. Coa village can be reached from Kaimana town by motorcycle or public transportation in 15-30 minutes, while Lumira village is somewhat more difficult to access, reached from Kaimana town by boat in one to two hours. The two other villages are in Arguni Bawah sub-district and represent more remote villages. Tanusan village, the capital of Arguni Bawah sub-district, can only be reached in two to three hours from Kaimana town by sea, while Egerwara village is even more remote, and can be reached from Tanusan by foot in one to two hours. There is no public transportation to the village.

The main livelihoods of people in Kabupaten Kaimana are fishing, sago cultivation in the marshlands and nutmeg plantations in drier areas. All the produce from Lumira, Tanusan, and Egerwara villages is collected by small-scale traders. These traders in turn channel the produce to larger traders from outside the villages, who collect the produce from village piers. Aside from

Figure 3.1
Kabupaten Kaimana Map



fishing and farming, some people also work as merchants, employees and civil servants. In Coa village, about 26 percent of the population were civil servants and eight percent merchants, the highest levels observed.¹⁹ In Egerwara village most people cultivate nutmeg. This was the only village that had no civil servants in the population.

Most research villages already had health facilities, usually a *Pustu*. However, in Lumira village the *Pustu* was not functioning at the time of this study because no staff were available, aside from an elderly traditional birth attendant. If villagers needed medicine, they had to visit a male nurse in the neighbouring village. A relatively good health service was found in Coa village, which was more easily accessible than in the three other villages. The *Pustu* in Coa village had been operating for three years and villagers could also access health services from the regional hospital near Coa. Tanusa village had a *Puskesmas* with a general practitioner, but the facility could not perform operations. In Egerwara village, there was neither a health center nor any health personnel. Villagers from Egerwara had to visit the neighbouring village (Warmenu) to access health services, including midwives.

With the exception of Lumira village, each village had educational facilities from early childhood learning centers, to primary and secondary schools, all of which had been built in recent years. In contrast, Lumira village only had a primary school, but the teachers were often absent. While the schools in Tanusan village were all free, children who lived in remote settlements still experienced difficulty in travelling to school.

¹⁷Kaimana shares borders with Kabupaten Teluk Bintuni and Kabupaten Teluk Wondama to the north, Kabupaten Fakfak to the west, and Kabupaten Nabire and Mimika to the east, while to the south is the Arafura Sea (Law No. 26/ 2002).

¹⁸Of these, 24,670 are male and 21,573 female.

¹⁹Based on data provided by Coa village secretary in 2013.

The four research villages had different characteristics in terms of social relationships. Coa, Egerwara and Tanusan villages were marked by tensions between community groups due to competition over power and resources. In Coa village, this tension was especially strong between the migrant community (from various ethnic groups, such as Javanese, Makassarese, Butonese), migrants from Arguni sub-district and the indigenous clans. The migrants in Coa village lived as a group in one location, namely RT 1, while the indigenous villagers lived in RT 2. The dominant clan in Coa village is the Sirfeffa, which holds communal rights over the land. The other clans, such as the Busirah, have the right to live and work in Coa. Tensions in this village stemmed from the uneven distribution of program benefits (including those from PNPM Mandiri). The migrant clan in RT 1 felt that the dominant clan in RT 2 had better access to program benefits such as road building and communal bathing, washing and toilet facilities (known locally as *mandi*, *cuci*, *kakus*, or MCK). This tension culminated in the village head from the Sirfeffa clan being defeated by migrants from Arguni Bawah in the village head election in 2013.

Tanusan village has two dominant clans, the Tefruam and the Ruwe. The Tefruam is the holder of the communal rights over the land, while the Ruwe is the majority clan. The two compete for power over government programs that are managed by the village government (such as RESPEK and *Alokasi Dana Kampung*, or ADK). At the time of the study, the village government was controlled by the Ruwe clan, while programs related to land use were controlled by the Tefruam clan as the owner of the land rights.

In Egerwara village, the tension was between two large families within the dominant Furima clan. One of the families controlled the village government, i.e., the village head, while the other family controlled the TPKK through the head of the TPKK. The Furima clan is the largest clan and had founded the village, the chiefdom that controls the customary lands that now comprise Egerwara village. However, while both men were from the same clan, the village head and the TPKK head had poor relations and worked independently without coordination or mutual support.

Such tensions were not observed in Lumira village, where social relationships were dominated by one clan, the Orou, which was also the majority dominant clan.²⁰ The Orou controlled most government positions and programs that entered

the village. Even PNPM Mandiri implementation was controlled by the village head, who was also a businessman and the head of the Kaimana Contractors' Association. Another factor that strengthened the domination of the village head in Lumira village was that his younger brother was a member of the Kabupaten Kaimana parliament. On numerous occasions, the brother helped to bring programs to the village, such as a *Puskesmas*, a school, and an electricity installation. Some of the villagers were also employed as workers on projects managed by the village head.

Villages in Kabupaten Kaimana could access significant sums for development purposes, with each village able to access between IDR 600 million and IDR 800 million annually from the *kabupaten*, the province and the central government. Fund sources included the provincial government's Village/Kelurahan Empowerment Program (P2K) and the Village Funds Allocation (ADK). According to the Community Empowerment Section Head in Kabupaten Kaimana, P2K was the initiative of the *bupati*, who adopted the PNPM model, namely that projects should be proposed by communities, constructed by communities, and maintained by communities. The amount of funds per village was IDR 160 million, broken down into IDR 10 million for village operations, IDR 100 million for infrastructure, IDR 25 million for social funds, and IDR 25 million for women's empowerment. For activity implementation in villages, the *kabupaten* government delegated the facilitation process to PNPM. P2K has been running since 2012 and allocation have prioritized physical development, plantations, and fisheries, as well as promoting education by building school facilities.

Aside from P2K, the Kabupaten Kaimana government also launched the Village Funds Allocation (ADK). ADK is a special fund for village development, managed by the provincial government through sub-district heads and village heads. The allocation amount is IDR 60 million to IDR 150 million per village per year. Overall, ADK for Kabupaten Kaimana in 2012 amounted to IDR 12.9 billion. These funds were used for the village governments' daily operational costs, physical infrastructure, community housing improvements and village fencing.

From the central government, PNPM agriculture funds were also provided to three sub-districts in West Papua, namely Kaimana, Arguni and Buruway sub-districts. Each sub-district received IDR 1 billion, which was then divided to five villages per sub-district (IDR 200 million per village).

²⁰The Orou clan represents around 60 percent of total population in Kampung Lumira.

This program aimed to promote the agricultural, plantation and fisheries sectors.

The variety of funds from various programs caused tensions between social groups. These tensions, as discussed above, were observed in Coa, Tanusam and Egerwara villages and were triggered by the inequitable distribution of benefits and the non-transparent use of funds. While there was no tension observed in Lumira village, this was largely because of the domination of village head over the social-economic life of village inhabitants.

3.1.1 Knowledge and Experience of Communities regarding PNPM Mandiri and RESPEK in Kabupaten Kaimana

Communities in the four villages generally knew the PNPM program name and could distinguish it from other activities in their village, such as RESPEK and ADK. They also knew PNPM investment types, as well as the sources of the funds. Villagers also knew the PNPM activity managers, such as the TPKK head, secretary and treasurer in the village, as well as the village facilitators.

With regard to PNPM funds, the communities in Egerwara, Coa and Lumira villages knew nothing about PNPM fund management. One woman who was an MCK facility beneficiary in Coa village said that she had only heard the amount of the funds from PNPM during the village meeting, but she did not know how the funds were used.

The only village in which the community knew how the funds were managed was Tanusan. Here the villagers were able to explain that PNPM funds were managed directly by the TPKK for facilities such as the sea retention wall, rainwater collectors, wells, and roads. People also explained that in 2012 the TPKK managers had failed to complete a concrete road as planned, leaving it about 120 meters short. As explained by members of the community, the apparent reason for this was a miscalculation of the volume of concrete required. In addition, sections of the road had uneven slopes and holes, such that the thickness of the concrete was uneven, possibly contributing to the miscalculation.

The village head and the activity managers (TPKK) had most knowledge of PNPM. In Egerwara, Tanusan and Coa villages such detailed knowledge was found among the TPKK and its supporting group, who were normally relatives of the TPKK. These people were privy to information regarding programs that entered the village or could inquire about the programs directly. The members of the TPKK knew the program name and could distinguish PNPM from other programs. They also

knew the amount and the source of the funds, the program investments in the village, and the implementation stages and processes in the village, as well as the rules used in managing the activities.

In Lumira village, detailed knowledge of the PNPM program was only held by the village head, who could explain the types of investment, the planning process and PNPM Mandiri fund management. The village head admitted that he had written the PNPM financial report for the village. The village secretary admitted that she could not distinguish between P2K, RESPEK, and ADK funds, adding that all the information was known by the village head.

Compared with their knowledge of PNPM, people's knowledge of RESPEK was even more limited. Villagers only knew RESPEK by the program's name and explained it as "*Dana Otsus*", a provincial program. Only people in Tanusan village knew a little more about RESPEK. Here most people were aware that the village government received funds through RESPEK from the provincial Special Autonomy Fund (*Dana Otsus*) to the tune of IDR 100 million. According to the villagers, RESPEK was managed directly by the village head and used to rehabilitate people's houses and the village hall. People were aware that construction of the village hall had been ongoing for three years and was still unfinished.

Detailed knowledge of RESPEK was held only by the village head and secretary. The village secretary in Coa, for instance, could explain that in 2008, when the two programs were merged, the PNPM/RESPEK program funded the construction of a footpath in RT 2 for IDR 75 million, while another IDR 50 million was used to build a footpath in front of the *pesantren*. He also knew that these funds were disbursed in two tranches.

Villagers who lived further away from the village center, together with migrants, had very poor knowledge of both PNPM and RESPEK. In Coa village, for instance, a husband and wife who made their living from horticulture had never heard of PNPM. They described projects in the village as "government development projects" and were unaware of the village consultations organized by the community to manage development funds for the village. The only activities in the village that they were aware of were religious ones.

Women who were active in the women's group in the village knew the program name, program investments and the TPKK managers. They also knew that some funds were earmarked specifically for women's activities. These active women also

knew the TPCK managers in the village. While women who were not active knew the program name and the managers, they were only aware of the program investments by observing changes in their villages.

The people's knowledge about PNPM in Kabupaten Kaimana can be summarized as follows:

Table 3.1 shows that the village elite comprising village heads and TPCK managers knew most about the PNPM program. However, only in Tanusan village did the elite know the purpose of PNPM. Meanwhile, the communities' knowledge in general varied. Communities in the four villages all knew the program name, the source of the funds, and the TPCK managers, as well as the program investments in their villages. People in Egerwara village also knew the amount of the funds available for projects in the village. The community in Tanusan village had a similar level of knowledge as the village elite, with the exception that they did not know the rules or the purpose of the program. This higher level of knowledge than elsewhere was explained by the fact that the elite was divided in the village and the factions therefore had to compete in order to win the community's support.

Women in all four villages knew the program name, the source of the funds, the activity managers, and the types of investment in their respective villages. However, only women in Tanusan village were aware of the amount of the funds. Generally, those women who had most knowledge of the PNPM program and other programs were those who were also most active in village activities.

Table 3.2 highlights that the elite—village heads, heads of the Village Consultative Body, activity managers/TPCK managers—had most knowledge of RESPEK, such as the program name, the source of the funds, the processes and stages, and the program investments, as well as program rules. In Tanusan village the elite had more knowledge of RESPEK than in other villages. Communities generally had similar levels of knowledge of RESPEK as women in the communities.

3.1.2 Community Participation in PNPM Mandiri and RESPEK in Kabupaten Kaimana

A significant decline in community involvement in the PNPM program was observed across the four research villages in Kabupaten Kaimana due to competition between groups within the villages. This competition revolved around three types of involvement in PNPM: attendance at meetings; conveying proposals and making decisions in planning meetings; and involvement as workers during the construction phase.

In Egerwara village, the planning process involved the community, the village head, the village secretary, the TPCK and women. In Lumira village, community involvement was limited to attending planning meetings and temporary work during the construction phase. However, the planning meetings were more akin to the socialization of activities in the village, because proposals and activities had already been determined by the village head. In Lumira village, activity proposals and decisions were decided before the planning meeting at a separate meeting in Kaimana town, where the village head resided.

*Table 3.1
Knowledge of Communities in Kabupaten Kaimana regarding PNPM*

Knowledge	Coa				Lumira				Tanusan				Egerwara			
	E	K	PA	PK	E	K	PA	PK	E	K	PA	PK	E	K	PA	PK
Program Name	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Funds	√				√				√	√	√		√	√	√	
Source of funds	√	√	√		√	√	√		√	√	√		√	√	√	
Process and stages	√				√				√	√			√			
Activity managers	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Program investments	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Rules	√				√				√				√			
Purpose									√							

*Remarks: E= Elite K= Community in General, PA= Active Women, PK= Women in General

Source: Processed from field data, 2013

Table 3.2
Knowledge of Communities in Kabupaten Kaimana regarding RESPEK

Knowledge	Coa				Lumira				Tanusan				Egerwara			
	E	K	PA	PK	E	K	PA	PK	E	K	PA	PK	E	K	PA	PK
Program Name	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Funds	√				√				√	√	√	√	√			
Source of funds	√				√				√	√	√	√	√			
Process and stages	√				√				√				√			
Activity managers	√				√				√	√	√	√	√			
Program investments	√				√				√	√	√	√	√			
Rules	√				√				√				√			
Purpose									√							

*Remarks: E=Elite, K=Community in General, PA=Active Women, PK=Women in General
Source: Processed from field data, 2013

In the implementation phase, community members were involved as temporary workers, or as providers of building materials such as sand and stones. Although the village head lived in Kaimana town, he still attended community meetings and was also able to rely on several trusted people in the village for activity implementation, such as the TPKK members. One youth in Lumira village pointed out that all the reporting was done by the TPKK managers and the village head, usually at the home of the village head in Kaimana town. This youth said that he had never heard any public announcements by the village head to the villagers, or been provided with any accountability.

In Coa village, the planning and implementation of PNPM activities only involved those people who supported the TPKK. Before 2012, planning meetings were attended mainly by the clan of the village head, i.e., the indigenous clan living in RT 1. In 2013, the head of the TPKK, who lived in RT 2, was elected the new village head, after which the planning meeting and construction activities only involved members of the community who had supported his election.

In Egerwara and Tanusa villages, the program socialization meeting was attended by most of community in the two villages. However, the planning and implementation stages were mainly attended by supporters of the TPKK (from their own clan/family) and the decisions were all made by them. Members of the community mostly participated as temporary construction workers.

The PNPM's program's financial management was sometimes inadequate and the TPKK managers failed to involve members in the wider community. For instance, many people in Egerwara village felt that the management of the funds by the TPKK had been "vague". One woman said that she had tried to ask the village head for some clarity on the funding for PKK at the meeting. However, she was berated and did not feel able to finish her question. The head of the RT in Egerwara village explained that program funds should be seen as a reward for the village head's ancestors. The RT head felt that he could own a house and cultivate land thanks to the ancestors of the village head and the TPKK. The TPKK secretary in Egerwara village said that there had been no coordination between the village head and the TPKK head, and that he himself had not been involved in the financial management. He added, "The village head is just like the TPKK, playing with the money. So what can we do? You can't reprimand them, as both are in the wrong. So, yeah, we should just not mind each other..." The head of P2K also felt that there was little clarity in the financial management of funds for programs in Egerwara village. He heard that program funds of about IDR 50 million that should have been used to build PKK and cultural centers had disappeared.

The village secretary in Egerwara said that the program funds were kept by the treasurer in coordination with the village head, and that the treasurer was aware of the lack of financial accountability by both the village head and the head of TPKK. He also added that he had tried to raise the matter, as he felt that program

implementation had been inconsistent with the design. The former head of the Village Consultative Body also had a similar view, stating that *"We have proposed Rp 50 million, but that money is gone, so we decided to drop it (the request). Some people are upset and ran amok. But we don't want to be fighting like that because (TPKK officers) are still family, right? .. So just let them answer before God."*

Community involvement in the implementation of RESPEK was also lower than for PNPM Mandiri. This was partly because RESPEK activities involved fewer stakeholders than PNPM Mandiri, which involved the TPKK managers, sub-district facilitators and the communities themselves. Instead, the management of RESPEK funds was directly handled by the village heads. In Egerwara, Coa, and Lumira villages people did not know how RESPEK funds were managed and were never involved in the socialization, planning or utilization of the funds. In Coa village, for instance, RESPEK funds were identified as the village head's personal income that was used to build a fence around his own house. In contrast, PNPM funds were managed by the TPKK head and an accountability report was prepared by the village head and the TPKK head, with all receipts, invoices and other documentation provided as reporting material.

Only Tanusan village experienced a planning process that involved the community in RESPEK. Members of the community in Tanusan attended RESPEK meetings at the village level to discuss the building of a multi-purpose hall, house rehabilitation, and communal MCK facilities and wells. Villagers were also involved on the implementing committee to build the facilities, with some working on the construction committee and others providing their labor. In the other villages, people had very poor levels of knowledge of the RESPEK program and were unaware of the existence of any working group.

The involvement of women in PNPM in the four research locations was limited to attending village meetings, with a few women suggesting ideas. They also participated in some of the projects as daily laborers. One woman beneficiary in Coa village who attended the proposal setting meeting and was also the wife of the TPKK treasurer said that usually only men made proposals at PNPM meetings. In her opinion this was why project ideas had focused on roads, water storage tanks and communal MCK facilities. According to her, no women's activities were ever approved.

Posyandu cadre in Lumira village said that women in the village had participated in meetings, but had mostly remained silent. This was especially true when the village head started to speak in Bahasa Indonesia, which most of the women in Lumira village could not understand.

Women in Tanusan village also participated in meetings and felt that their presence was to represent their husbands who had gone to the town. Women generally only came to the meetings if their husbands could not.

The women in Egerwara village shared how they had proposed to build PKK and cultural centers in 2012. At that time there was the issue relating to the financial accountability of the village head involving IDR 50 million, as mentioned above. The centers were never built due to the lack of funding.

In all research villages, those women who did attend meetings often did not contribute in terms of ideas and decision-making. The women, especially the wives of the village elite who were active in PKK activities in Egerwara village, were invited by the TPKK to the initial planning process. At these meetings some women dared to speak and offer suggestions, even though this was frowned upon by the men. In the subsequent years, the community was no longer involved in activity planning. The situation in Tanusan village was different, with women attending meetings and contributing ideas in the forum, even though none of their ideas were approved. In Lumira village, only a few women were involved as suppliers of building materials, such as sand and stones.

Community participation in this program can be summarized in the following table:

Table 3.3 illustrates how the elite, i.e., village heads, heads of the Village Consultative Body, activity managers/TPKK managers in all four villages, was more involved in the programs than other members of the community. The elite was present at meetings, invited others, contributed ideas and decided which investments to approve and build. With the exception of Tanusan village, most community members, and especially the women, did not contribute ideas and were not involved in the decision-making.

Community participation in Kabupaten Kaimana in RESPEK can be summarized as follows:

In terms of the RESPEK program, participation in all four villages was managed by the village head and his relatives, such that the community, including women, did not participate at meetings. As a

result, they could not suggest program ideas or participate in any decision-making. Only in Tanusan village was the community, including women, present to discuss development plans, but even then the decision-making largely remained with the village head.

3.1.3 Impact of PNPM Mandiri and RESPEK to the Lives of Communities in Kabupaten Kaimana

The direct impacts felt by communities varied from village to village. Facilities that were public and used by many villagers had the widest impact, such as piers, roads, ditches, drainage systems and coastal retention walls. Community members in Coa village said that the roads used to be flooded during the rainy season but after the road was hardened and the ditches and drainage constructed they remained dry even after heavy rain. Similarly, in Tanusan villagers said that over the past three years the road-widening program had made it easier for the *Puskesmas* car to take patients to the jetty. They also said that this road had helped them to transport their produce, such as fruit, to the jetty. This was also seen in Lumira village, where people felt that the concrete road made it easier for them to transport their produce to the village jetty.

Conversely, physical facilities such as communal MCK facilities, wells, rainwater collectors and solar panels were usually only enjoyed by a few people

in the village. In Coa village, program investments to build communal MCK facilities and wells were only enjoyed by the owners of the land on which these facilities were located. Although the communal MCK facilities and wells were intended to serve three to four neighboring households, in practice only the land owners made use of them. The communal MCK facilities and wells in Coa village were built by the TPCK behind people's houses. However, other villagers living nearby said it was awkward for them to share facilities located so close to other people's premises without any familial ties. A teacher from Coa said, "The MCK should have been built in front of the houses so others could have used them too. Just imagine if you have to use the MCK at night and you have to pass behind your neighbor's house."

Similar to Massi village in Papua, in Kabupaten Kaimana there were examples where facilities could not be used by villagers due to damage or neglect, or because the construction remained unfinished. For example, the community in Tanusan village could still not enjoy electric lighting even though their generator had been replaced three times. One villager explained that the generator could not be used because it had caught fire and had subsequently disappeared. In any case, there was apparently no agreement between the manager responsible for the generator and the community about paying maintenance

Table 3.3
Community Participation in PNPM in Kabupaten Kaimana

Participation (planning)	Coa				Lumira				Tanusan				Egerwara			
	E	K	PA	PK	E	K	PA	PK	E	K	PA	PK	E	K	PA	PK
Attend	√	√	√		√	√	√		√	√	√		√	√	√	
Propose	√				√				√	√	√		√		√	
Decide	√				√				√				√			

*Remarks: E= Elite, K=Community in General, PA=Active Women, PK=Women in General

Source: Processed from field data, 2013

Table 3.4
Community Participation in RESPEK in Kabupaten Kaimana

Participation (planning)	Coa				Lumira				Tanusan				Egerwara			
	E	K	PA	PK	E	K	PA	PK	E	K	PA	PK	E	K	PA	PK
Attend	√				√				√	√	√	√	√			
Propose	√				√				√				√			
Decide	√				√				√				√			

*Remarks: E= Elite, K=Community in General, PA=Active Women, PK=Women in General

Source: Processed from field data, 2013

contributions. A school principal in Tanusan village said that the generator was public property, and that he and other villagers were not responsible for maintaining it. Furthermore, no sanctions were imposed if the generator was not well maintained. The combination of all these factors meant that the investment was effectively wasted.

A similar situation occurred with communal MCK facilities in Coa village. The facilities were damaged and then used to store rice and fishing equipment. In one of the damaged MCK facilities, the pipes were leaking and the wells that provided water for the MCK supplied red-colored water. The owner of the house next to the facilities said that he did not know how to maintain the MCK facilities and that, in any case, there was no agreement on maintenance. In Egerwara village, from the 10 MCK units that were planned, only four were completed. The TPKK secretary said that there were only sufficient funds to build four MCK facilities, although the secretary could not explain where the rest of the originally budgeted funds had gone.

One direct impact felt by villagers was the opportunity to do temporary paid work under the program. The building of facilities, especially of wells, concrete roads, coastal retention walls, jetties, ditches and drainage systems were all constructed by involving the communities, including women and youth, as workers. This experience was widely shared across most of the communities in the research locations. One youth in Lumira village who worked as a construction worker said that as a result of the experience he had acquired more proficient construction skills. Whereas he used to be a laborer carrying rocks and sand, after his participation in the program he now knew how to mix sand and cement to make concrete for building construction. As Head of Village Consultative Body of Lumira said, *"When PNPM exists, there is work in the village."*

An opportunity to do temporary paid work in Tanusan village involved the construction of a concrete road. All those involved were paid, either as daily laborers or from selling construction materials such as sand and rocks that could be collected from around the houses. One bucket of sand was valued at IDR 20,000, while one cubic meter of rock was valued at IDR 700,000.

However, according to the head of the TPKK in Coa village, the wages paid had deviated from the program's original plan. He said that the road that was built in Coa in 2012 should have been three meters wide and 50 meters long, but because the wages paid were too high, the activity manager

had to reduce the width to 2.5 meters to stay within budget. Despite the over-allocation for wages in the project implementation, no sanctions were imposed by the sub-district facilitator.

Another impact of the PNPM was an increased level of cooperation between villagers, as observed in Tanusan village. In 2010, villagers decided to establish a university student organization to collect contributions from the community to fund scholarships for Tanusan's students, especially those intending to continue their education in other provinces. PNPM played a role in funding these scholarships, with a five percent contribution coming from procurement costs for PNPM activities. In addition, the organization's administrators collected monthly contributions of IDR 50,000/family from community members and IDR 100,000/family from civil servants. The motivation behind setting up this organization stemmed from the perception that the village lagged behind other villages in terms of education levels. Villagers who took part in this initiative hoped that with higher levels of education more people from Tanusan village would be recruited as civil servants. At the time of the research three students had already graduated in 2013 thanks to financial support from PNPM funds.

Women also felt positive impacts from PNPM program in the form of temporary work opportunities in the research village locations. Women in Tanusan village shared how they used to only provide food and snacks during meetings, but now they could earn money from collecting sand and rocks, and be paid the same wages as the men. This was similar to women in Egerwara and Lumira villages, who worked alongside their husbands as sand and rock coolies for physical investments in the village. A *Posyandu* cadre said that she had once earned IDR 2,000,000 from collecting rocks.

In terms of RESPEK, only in Coa Village where women felt benefited from using infrastructure built by RESPEK in the form of clean water facility.

3.1.4 Factors that Influence the Experience and Participation of Communities in Kabupaten Kaimana

Similar to the experience observed other Papuan villages, the ability and willingness of the program's implementers such as facilitators and TPKK members to involve community and provide sufficient oversight played a key role in ensuring high levels of community participation. For PNPM, village heads and TPKK officers organized meetings that involved the community when

the program was first introduced. However, the frequency of such meetings decreased to the point at which villagers no longer saw any effort from the TPKK to organize PNPM implementation meetings. A pastor in Coa village felt that socialization by the sub-district facilitator and the TPKK had been lacking, as there was also no explanation to the community on how the funds were used, or how much of the total PNPM funds remained. Program implementation at the village level also received very little oversight from sub-district facilitators. Oversight of the TPKK by the sub-district facilitators was limited to PNPM activity reports, and these were addressed to the TPKK, not to the community.

With regards to RESPEK, the program was entirely managed by village heads with no other player at the village or sub-district levels. It was not surprising, therefore, that there was almost no community involvement in the program. Villagers did not know how much money was received by the village government and they were not involved in the planning and utilization of RESPEK funds.

This situation was compounded by a lack of coordination between village officials. Some officials felt that they were excluded by the TPKK head or the village head, as in the case of Egerwara and Lumira villages. The TPKK treasurer in Egerwara village felt that he was not used by the head of TPKK: following the meeting to appoint the TPKK team, management was taken over by the TPKK head, from finances to bookkeeping. Similarly, the TPKK secretary was also not used by the TPKK head. The TPKK head in Egerwara village said that other members were not capable of doing the bookkeeping properly, including the TPKK secretary and treasurer. Consequently, he had decided to take over all the tasks, from the disbursement of the funds, to the procurement of building materials, to the preparation of the financial accountability report.

The relationship between community groups also influenced the voices and experiences of communities in Kabupaten Kaimana, as observed across all four research villages that had influential groups involved in program management.²¹ Competition between community groups provided the backdrop for PNPM and RESPEK program implementation in Coa, Egerwara, and Tanusan villages.

In Coa village, the competition between groups in the village was marked by competition for power (village head) between the migrant community and the indigenous community. This competition came about because the village head from the Sirfefa clan lacked transparency in his management of the various programs and always favored the indigenous community. In 2013, the candidate from the migrant community won election as the new village head. In Egerwara village, the competition was between two elite groups within the same clan, namely between supporters of the village head and supporters of the TPKK, both of whom were from different families in the Furima clan.

Competition between elite groups was also apparent in Tanusan village. The village head from the Ruwe clan (a migrant clan that had grown to become the majority) was in competition with the tribal chief who was the head of the TPKD and the main landowner (owner of the customary land rights) to win support from the villagers to manage village activities and programs. However, unlike in Egerwara and Coa villages, cooperation between these two groups was relatively good, as seen in common activities such as the funding of university scholarships mentioned above. This cooperation also explained the relatively equitable levels of knowledge and participation in the PNPM and RESPEK programs by members of the community.

A different situation was observed in Lumira village, where PNPM implementation was controlled by the village head from the dominant clan. Domination by the village head over the program was observed in the decision to build a coastal retention wall. Construction of this wall had started in 2010 but at the time of the research it was still not complete. This was similar to other proposals decided by the village head, who lived in Kaimana town and not in Lumira village itself. This village head also worked as a contractor and was the head of the Kaimana Contractors' Association. His ability to draft proposals and make reports led to the TPKK becoming dependent on him. The village head's dominant position meant that the community's knowledge of PNPM was limited. People generally only knew the program's name, who the activity managers were, and the program investments in the village.

²¹See above on information about community groups in each village.

With regard to women's participation, it was apparent that men still dominated the PNPM implementation processes. In village meetings, women usually provided snacks and, although present, rarely participated in the discussions. Most of the ideas that were accepted came from men. If the women asked about their rights, they were invariably obstructed by the program managers and village officials. For example, one woman in Egerwara village was berated harshly by the village head for asking about missing program funds.

3.1.5 Community Hopes for PNPM Mandiri and RESPEK in Kabupaten Kaimana

Communities in general, as well as the elite, considered PNPM to be a beneficial program. In Coa village, villagers said that every proposal that had been approved by PNPM program had been properly funded and executed. A school principal in Tanusan village thought that only PNPM had involved the community. He saw that villagers could actively participate as temporary construction workers and that financial management reports were produced to account for the work, together with other information displayed in the sub-district market. He also felt that the quality of PNPM construction was better than in other projects that had been tendered out.

One villager from Coa village compared his experience in the Musrenbang (Development Planning Consultation) activity with the PNPM program planning process. This villager felt that the Musrenbang in the village was a useless exercise because all proposals were adjusted to fit with the working plan of the Regional Government Working Unit (Satuan Kerja Pemerintah Daerah, or SKPD). For instance, if a road in the village did not fit with the plans of the Public Works SKPD, the road would not be built. This was quite different to his experience of the PNPM mechanism, where proposals made by villagers stood a good chance of being realized.

The head of Lumira's Village Consultative Body considered PNPM a successful program as it directly involved the community. However, he felt that one of the main obstacles in PNPM implementation was operational budgets, because projects had to spend large sums on buying cigarettes for the workers, lease chain saws, pay for the costs of transporting materials, transportation

rental, boat fuel, and others. Regarding the wages, the TPCK head in Egerwara village felt that these were adequate and more than sufficient to cover all daily needs.

However, several villagers expressed their disappointment regarding the PNPM/RESPEK programs, such as a beneficiary of a water storage tank in Coa village. He and others had received a fiberglass water storage tank after four weeks of waiting, but they were not provided with any materials to build the supporting structure for the tank, instead having to spend their own money to buy wood, cement, and tools. In the end, they asked the TPCK managers to pay for their labor for the four days spent on building the structure. The villagers were unhappy with the performance of the village officials in this case, who they felt lacked transparency and were manipulative. The villagers knew that the previous village head had received funding of IDR 160 million from the *kabupaten* government, but there was no clarity on how these funds had been actually used.

Other villagers in Coa had not received any benefits from the programs and consequently felt that the development assistance in the village had missed its target. They knew of one particular civil servant who did not qualify for housing assistance but nonetheless received such assistance along with a water storage tank. People felt that this civil servant was able to access benefits only because he had a close relationship with TPCK officers.

Women in the four locations generally felt satisfied with the development programs in their villages. However, they felt that the community, particularly women, should have been more involved by the TPCK, especially in the management of the funds. Women in Tanusan village, for instance, already had information about the funds available to their village, but what they hoped for was greater involvement in managing those funds. One woman in Coa village commented that she felt there was no transparency in the budget and that she had never been informed of the amount of funds received by the program, except during the proposal meeting in the beginning. Furthermore, implementation was entirely managed by the TPCK, which directly distributed the work to a select group of beneficiaries without further consultations with the community.

3.2 Kabupaten Teluk Bintuni

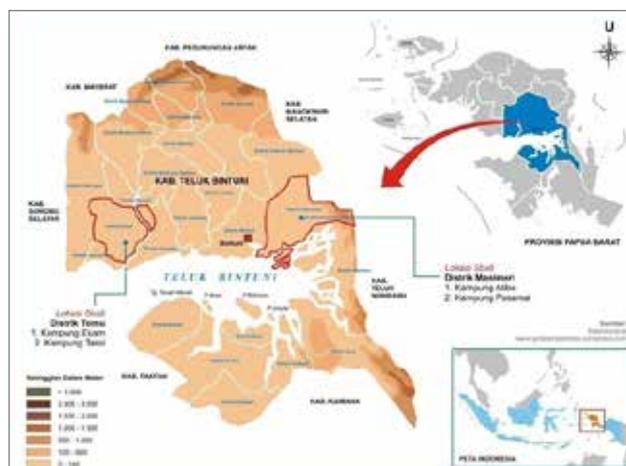
Kabupaten Teluk Bintuni is located in the “bird’s head” region of Papua Island.²² This *kabupaten* was formed in 2002 following Law No. 26/2002, with its capital, Bintuni town. The area²³ of Kabupaten Teluk Bintuni is 18,114 km², while based on the 2010 census the population was 52,403 people²⁴ spread over 24 sub-districts; around 35.4 percent of the population of Kabupaten Teluk Bintuni (18,552 people) live in Bintuni sub-district. The population of Kabupaten Teluk Bintuni includes indigenous Papuans comprising seven ethnic indigenous groups, together with various migrants. The indigenous Papuan tribes include the Sough, who live in Manimeri sub-district, and the Wamesa and Sebyar, who live in Tomu sub-district. The migrant population in Kabupaten Teluk Bintuni mainly comprises Butonese, Javanese, Buginese, and Torajanese. These migrants largely reside in the main *kabupaten* town or in the sub-district towns.

The geographic character of the *kabupaten* is marked by a difficult terrain, which complicated project implementation. By 2012, there were only five technical facilitators at the sub-district level. This was because many sub-district facilitators had resigned, apparently feeling unable to travel the long distances and overwhelmed by the prospect of handling 24 sub-districts all at once. This undoubtedly undermined the facilitation of activity implementation in the PNPM program.

Figure 3.2 shows the research locations. This study gathered data from four villages in two sub-districts in Kabupaten Teluk Bintuni, Namley, Atibo and Pasamai villages in Manimeri sub-district, and Ekam and Taroy villages in Tomur sub-district. Topographically, the characteristics of Kabupaten Teluk Bintuni are diverse, consisting of coastal marshlands, precipitous cliffs, and dense jungle, so that most of the villages are difficult to reach, either requiring aircraft or transport by river or sea. Atibo and Pasai villages are considered more easily accessible, being about 15 km away from Bintuni town, while Ekam and Taroy can only be accessed via the bay, at more than four hours from Bintuni town.

Nevertheless, basic services have already reached even these two more remote villages. These services are provided by the *kabupaten* government, as well as from the corporate social responsibility (CSR) funds of companies that

Figure 3.2
Regional Map of Kabupaten Teluk Bintuni



operate in the jurisdiction of Kabupaten Teluk Bintuni. The four research villages all have *Pustu*, kindergartens, and primary and secondary schools within 4 to 15 km. Thus, many villagers have a high school education, and some have even gone on to study at universities outside the region.

Many private companies operating in Kabupaten Teluk Bintuni also provide facilitation to those communities impacted by their activities. The form of facilitation is through the provision of corporate social responsibility (CSR) funds for infrastructure development.

The *kabupaten* policies and PNPM/RESPEK program stages have influenced participation in PNPM/RESPEK programs over time. The PNPM Mandiri program in Kabupaten Teluk Bintuni had been running for about seven years at the time of this research. Since commencing in 2007, PNPM/RESPEK program implementation in Kabupaten Teluk Bintuni has experienced three distinct phases, namely:

1. In 2007, the PNPM Mandiri program ran separately and did not join with regional programs. The *kabupaten* government was responsible for 10-20 percent co-sharing funds from the total PNPM budget.
2. In 2008, due to the merger of the PNPM and RESPEK programs, program implementation changed to PNPM/RESPEK. After the merger, facilitation was provided by PNPM.
3. In 2009, the West Papua Provincial Government made a significant policy change, with PNPM Mandiri implementation reverting to how it had been implemented in previous early

²²Kabupaten Teluk Bintuni shares borders with Kabupaten Manokwari, Kabupaten Sorong Selatan, Kabupaten Fakfak and Kabupaten Kaimana (Law No.26/2002)

²³The splitting of sub-districts occurred in 2007; previously it only comprised 10 sub-districts.

²⁴Male population 29,022 and female 23,381.

stages in 2007. As the governor chose not to allocate funding for RESPEK to be joined with the PNPM program, so RESPEK was turned into a provincial program. This change was experienced in three of the research villages, Atibo, Pasamai and Ekam, which had experienced the PNPM Mandiri program since 2007, while the PNPM program in Taroy village only started in 2010.

The majority of the population in the four research villages in Kabupaten Teluk Bintuni rely on agriculture and fisheries. For example, communities in Atibo and Pasamai villages in Menimeri sub-district generally work as farmers with the main crops being yams, sweet potatoes, peanuts, vegetables, bananas, durian, guava, coconuts, areca nut and mango. Some of the produce is consumed locally and while some is sold to the central market in Bintuni town. In Ekam and Taroy villages in Tomu sub-district most of the population is engaged in the fisheries sector. The fishermen in the area have a cooperative that works together with BP Tangguh LNG to supply shrimp for the company's consumption. Aside from agriculture, some of the population in the four villages work as merchants, civil servants, company employees, and development contractors in the *kabupaten*.

The socio-economic structure of communities in Kabupaten Teluk Bintuni is determined by their access to economic resources, especially land, networks, both with the *kabupaten* government and groups that hold power, and the ability to speak Bahasa Indonesia, which is vital for negotiations. The most powerful group in a village is the one that possesses most of the customary lands and accounts for the majority of the population. In Atibo village, several clans co-existed, although the dominant clans are the Yettu and the Iba. The Yettu clan is the main land owning clan, while the Iba clan has the largest population in the village. The Iba clan is also allowed by the chief of the Yettu clan to cultivate Yettu customary lands, because the two clans have had long and cordial relations since ancestral times. At the clan level, each clan chief regulates his own clan. For instance, in Atibo village where PT. Henrisonq/PT. Yotefa Sarana Timber Iriana was operating on the customary lands of the Teinom, the Onyou, and the Iba, every clan chief negotiated compensation individually, subsequently distributing the funds to their respective clan members.

The village head and village officials normally come from the dominant clan in the village. The village head is therefore usually the party with access to the programs provided by higher levels of government and private companies, given the networks that he normally has. The village head is therefore able to determine which programs enter the village and who should be appointed as village program managers. The ability to speak Bahasa Indonesia is an important asset enabling the village elite to play the role of negotiator with outside parties. This condition is common across most villages in Kabupaten Teluk Bintuni. As such, village elite groups in Kabupaten Teluk Bintuni usually comprise village land owners, government officials, and managers of programs that enter the village.

In some cases, such as in the villages of Ekam and Taroy, the village head was not from the dominant clan. In both cases, this occurred because of a swap in position between the village head and village secretary, necessitated by a government policy that required all village secretaries to have high school diplomas. The village secretaries who did not have high school diplomas were therefore replaced by the village heads from the dominant clan. As a form of appreciation, the former village secretaries were appointed as the new village heads in Ekam and Taroy villages. Despite the swap, power was still held by the former village heads even though they now held inferior positions as village secretaries. The new village heads abided by the rulings of the new village secretaries, as the latter were owners of the customary lands.

Program managers in a village were usually extensions of the dominant ruling group. The program managers were often appointed by the chief of the dominant clan and they subsequently coordinated with the chief, for example the village heads in Atibo and Pasamai villages, or the village secretaries in Ekam and Taroy villages. Highlighting the practise even more clearly, the head of the TPCK in Taroy village was the adopted son of the village secretary and only coordinated with the village secretary.

With the exception of Atibo village, program managers were mostly younger people who dealt directly with village heads and village officials, usually based on familial relations. While younger men often played the role of program managers, the elders controlled land management and government affairs.

Appointed program actors helped to affirm domination by the village elite, while other groups from smaller clans who were outside village government structures were encouraged to contest for power. This contest usually took the form of distributing the management of programs that entered the village.

The policy of the West Papua Provincial Government requiring that infrastructure building could only be done by villagers gave rise to contractors from the villages. These contractors were known by villagers as “owners of CV” (*commanditaire vennootschap*, or CV, is a type of business legal entity). Contractors in the village accessed Kabupaten Teluk Bintuni development programs, such as the construction of *Puskesmas* and concrete roads. The CV owners (contractors) at the village level were all members of the elite group from the dominant clan, especially the land owning clan. In Atibo village, for instance, the village secretary was from the Iba clan, the main landowner in the village, and also a contractor who undertook construction of roads that passed through the village. In addition, he was also the head of the TPKK and managed activities to construct facilities funded by the PNPM Mandiri program in the village.

Similar to research villages in Papua, in West Papua province the community in general comprises people who are outside the power circle, either of the dominant land-owning clan or the majority clan. Migrants are categorized as members of the general community, as they do not have the power to regulate local resources directly, but do still play an indirect economic role, for instance as shop owners.

The difference between the four research villages in Kabupaten Teluk Bintuni and villages in other *kabupaten* in both Papua and West Papua is the prevalence of CSR programs for villages impacted by the activities of private companies in the area. CSR program mechanisms mostly take the form of training and assistance in the economic, health and education sectors, such as the programs conducted by BP Tangguh LNG for villages directly impacted by the company’s gas drilling activities. In Taroy village, economic empowerment of the people was nurtured through a cooperative that supplied fresh shrimp for company employees, as well as the plan to build a vocational training center supported by the company. The company also provided trained facilitators from Gadjah Mada University’s Population Study Center.

The success of the various programs in the research villages was sometimes hindered by a lack of coordination between program implementers in Kabupaten Teluk Bintuni, both at the *kabupaten* and at the village management level. The effect was often an over-provision of activities in villages, such as communal bathing, washing and toilet facilities (known locally as *mandi*, *cuci*, *kakus*, or MCK) from three different funding sources, namely the Health Department (*Dinas Kesehatan*), the Bintuni Bay Development Foundation (*Yayasan Pengembangan Teluk Bintuni*), and the PNPM program.

At the village level, program organization was largely performed by groups belonging to the village elite, especially the PNPM program managers (TPKK). This also helped to build capacity among program managers and the village government. Many programs and facilities were subsequently provided to the villages and there was a tendency for villagers to become increasingly dependent upon them, especially programs from private companies’ CSR funds.

3.2.1 Knowledge and Experiences of Communities in PNPM Mandiri and RESPEK

Similar to the level of knowledge of communities in other research locations, the knowledge of communities of the PNPM and RESPEK programs in Kabupaten Teluk Bintuni was limited. Villagers usually only knew the program investment types from the physical facilities in their village. They also knew the activity managers, especially the head of the TPKK, and they knew that the programs funds must be used for public facility development.

A villager from Pasamai village said that he was unaware of the source of the funds for either PNPM or RESPEK because only the head of the TPKK was privy to this information. While he knew which facilities had been built by PNPM or RESPEK in his village, such as the water tower and storage tanks, public washing facilities (MCK), wells, and drainage systems, together with the yard at the kindergarten, he was unable to distinguish between the funding sources. One migrant in Atibo village said that he knew nothing about either PNPM or RESPEK, least of all about the funding. He said that the village secretary, as well as the former head of the TPKK, held all the information concerning the PNPM program.

Unlike the community in general, activity managers usually had far more complete knowledge of PNPM and RESPEK. In Atibo and Pasamai villages, knowledge was concentrated among the village heads and PNPM program actors, such as the

heads of the TPCK. Their knowledge included program investments, the processes and stages of PNPM, the rules concerning financial management, and the program funds that were available to the villages. In Ekam and Taroy villages, knowledge of PNPM was controlled by the head of the TPCK. Even the village head said that he did not know how much road had been built using program funds and that he had not been provided any reports by the TPCK managers. Only in the most recent project had he received a duty-stamped report, as this was required for approval by the village head, as well as from the sub-district and *kabupaten* levels.

The considerable development funds that entered villages caused the management of the funds to become grouped, resulting in a situation where no information was shared between one group and another. An activist in Pasamai village was aware that PNPM had a special management team and facilitators, and he also knew that PNPM funds originated from central government. The activist also knew RESPEK by the name of 'Otsus' and said that the funding was similar to that of PNPM, only without facilitation, and that the funds originated from the regional government.

Women in the four research villages could not distinguish between PNPM and RESPEK; for them both programs were collectively known as 'PNPM'. Just as with the communities in general, women could not distinguish between the projects funded by PNPM Mandiri or RESPEK. They knew about PNPM from activities conducted in the village by

the *Pustu* cadre. In Taroy village, for instance, the women knew of the PNPM development programs in the previous year, such as the rainwater collectors and nutritional supplements. They also knew about the public washing (MCK) facilities built in previous years of the program. Women's knowledge was limited to activities that involved them and the visible physical developments seen in their village. The women from Atibo village, for example, could not distinguish between the PNPM and RESPEK programs, but had heard of PNPM from developments in another village. They had no idea that PNPM was active in their own village, although they had seen some development activity without knowing the source. One woman in Pasamai village did not know about RESPEK, but knew of women's involvement in the meetings organized by PNPM and that women were encouraged to be active in village meetings unlike other village activities that were only attended by men.

The knowledge of communities in Kabupaten Teluk Bintuni can be summarized as follows:

From Table 3.5, it is evident that the elite, i.e., the village heads, heads of the Village Planning Body, activity managers/TPCK, is the group that knows most about the programs compared with the wider communities, including women. Table 3.5 also highlights that all groups knew the program name, the TPCK activity managers, and the program investments made in the village. The women who knew most about PNPM were those who were also most active in their village.

Table 3.5
Knowledge of Communities in Kabupaten Teluk Bintuni regarding PNPM

Knowledge	Atibo				Pasamai				Ekam				Taroy				
	E	K	PA	PK	E	K	PA	PK	E	K	PA	PK	E	K	PA	PK	
Program Name	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Funds	√				√				√				√				
Source of funds	√				√				√				√				
Process and stages	√				√				√				√				
Activity managers	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Program investments	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Rules	√				√				√				√				
Purpose																	

*Remarks: E=Elite, K=Community in General, PA=Active Women, PK=Women in General

Source: Processed from field data, 2013

Table 3.6
Knowledge of Communities in Kabupaten Teluk Bintuni regarding RESPEK

Knowledge	Atibo				Pasamai				Ekam				Taroy			
	E	K	PA	PK	E	K	PA	PK	E	K	PA	PK	E	K	PA	PK
Funds	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Source of funds	√				√				√				√			
Process and stages	√				√				√				√			
Activity managers	√				√				√				√			
Program investments	√				√				√				√			
Rules	√				√				√				√			
Purpose	√				√				√				√			
Funds																

*Remarks: E=Elite, K=Community in General, PA=Active Women, PK=Women in General
Source: Processed from field data, 2013

Table 3.6 shows that knowledge of RESPEK lay mostly with the elite, and that the village head was the person who dominated the management of the program. Other groups knew of the RESPEK name, but upon further inquiry most said that the village head was the person who knew most about the program and who also managed it. This indicated that RESPEK funds were to a large degree dominated by village heads.

3.2.2 Community Participation in PNPM Mandiri and RESPEK in Kabupaten Teluk Bintuni

The communities in Atibo, Ekam and Taroy villages were involved in neither the PNPM nor the RESPEK planning processes. The management of RESPEK funds was dominated by village heads, and villagers were left feeling ignorant and suspicious, lacking trust in the management of the funds. With regard to PNPM, although communities were invited to attend village meetings, people in Pasamai, Ekam and Taroy villages did not pay much attention to the program because they were already involved in other programs from private companies, as well as their own economic activities. For example, one villager in Pasamai village said that he rarely attended PNPM meetings because he had to work. However, if he happened to be at home, and was invited, then he would make time to come.

People in Pasamai village attended PNPM planning meetings because they were invited by the head of the TPKK, but nonetheless many of the proposals were still decided by the village head and the head of the TPKK. One villager in Pasamai village said

that during the meetings, those who spoke most about proposals were invariably the head of the TPKK, the village chief, and the village secretary, together with the TPKK secretary and religious leaders. He added that the idea to build drainage systems came from the village chief, as well as the idea to level the yard of the kindergarten and the early childhood education center. According to him, PNPM activities were also used as an opportunity to collect church funds by asking those who were given work to donate a portion of their wages to the church.

During village planning meetings, communities were usually represented by the village government/elite. In Atibo village, the planning meeting was attended by only the village head, teachers and the head of the TPKK, because invitations were limited to just these few attendees. Decisions were then made by the village head and the head of the TPKK. According to the head of the TPKK in Atibo village, the participation level of people in PNPM was low because there was no interest in cultivating a spirit of cooperation. He explained this was the result of solidarity being undermined by the opportunity to earn money and, as a result, villagers were only interesting in work if it was paid. He added that in PNPM meetings, village facilitators were not always present because authority rested with the TPKK. Those most active in the meetings were the village head, the head of the Village Planning Body (*Baperkam*), the former head of *Baperkam*, and active women such as the wife of the village head, and kindergarten and early childhood education teachers.

Regarding cooperation, a member of PKK said that Atibo villagers still cooperated with each other, especially in religious activities, volunteering to cook meals and doing the gardening in the church garden. Other community members also said that people continued to work together, both in agriculture-related work and work for programs. When working in the gardens together, the garden owner normally provided food, drinks, cigarettes, betel nut and areca.

The village heads in Ekam and Taroy were rarely present at planning activities because these were dominated by the village secretary (and the former village head) from the dominant clan.²⁵ Aside from the head of the TPKK in Taroy village (who was the adopted son of the village secretary), it was the village secretary who played the most important role regarding PNPM. The incumbent village head in Taroy explained that there was a plan to build rainwater collectors using PNPM funds and that the proposal had come from the Baperkam and the village secretary.

In all four research villages, women generally felt they had not been sufficiently involved by the activity managers in village deliberations. One woman from Ekam village who worked as a temporary worker said that many women had the potential to be actively involved, but they were not invited by the TPKK. She also felt that the TPKK and village officials had not been transparent in managing investments in the village. According to this women, the head of the TPKK never invited people to meetings and had taken over all control of program management. She also said that she remained confused about the program mechanisms because the TPKK had never explained the rules.

Two women in Atibo village said that they had never been directly involved in village activities and only knew about PNPM from the previous programs

in the village, such as the clean water installations that no longer worked. The two women felt that village officials had not been transparent about the use of the funds, because they had seen no programs that were well-managed. This compared poorly with what the women had heard from other villages, where apparently programs were working well. As a result, they were disappointed with their village leaders and reluctant to participate if invited to program meetings.

Women actively involved in PNPM were limited mainly to those who were already active in village activities, such as PKK and *Posyandu*. The head of the TPKK in Pasamai village stated that PKK and *Posyandu* cadres had succeeded in proposing PNPM activities, such as the cake-making training, sewing and knitting, and making food for babies and infants, as well as providing uniforms for schoolchildren.

The above can be summarized in the following table:

It is evident from Table 3.7 that the elite in all four villages attended community meetings, contributed ideas and, most importantly, made the decisions about which investments to build. The wider communities in Atibo, Ekam, and Taroy villages were usually not involved in community meetings, and to an even lesser extent involved in deciding which activities to approve, because community meetings were only attended by the elite, such as TPKK members, village heads and the Village Planning Body (Baperkam). The women who attended community meetings were those who were already active in village affairs, such as teachers and the wives of activity managers.

The participation of Kabupaten Teluk Bintuni communities in RESPEK can be summarized in the following table:

Table 3.7
Community Participation in PNPM of Kabupaten Teluk Bintuni

Participation (planning)	Atibo				Pasamai				Ekam				Taroy			
	E	K	PA	PK	E	K	PA	PK	E	K	PA	PK	E	K	PA	PK
Attend	√				√	√	√		√		√		√		√	
Contribute ideas	√				√				√				√			
Make decisions	√				√				√				√			

*Remarks: E=Elite, K=Community in General, PA=Active Women, PK=Women in General

Source: Processed from field data, 2013

²⁵See explanation above regarding the exchange of positions between the village head and village secretary in Ekam and Taroy villages.

Table 3.8
Community Participation in RESPEK in Kabupaten Teluk Bintuni

Participation (planning)	Atibo				Pasamai				Ekam				Taroy			
	E	K	PA	PK	E	K	PA	PK	E	K	PA	PK	E	K	PA	PK
Attend	√				√				√				√			
Contribute ideas	√				√				√				√			
Make decisions	√				√				√				√			

*Remarks: E=Elite, K=Community in General, PA=Active Women, PK=Women in General

Source: Processed from field data, 2013

As can be seen from Table 3.8 and the explanation above, communities were suspicious and distrustful of the management of RESPEK because village heads dominated the management and information flows regarding the program. Communities in general, and specifically women, both active and non-active in the village, were generally not involved in community meetings, proposals and decision-making.

3.2.3 Impact of PNPM Mandiri and RESPEK to the Lives of Communities in Kabupaten Teluk Bintuni

Communities in Pasamai, Ekam and Taroy villages felt that the programs were consistent with their needs, as they had benefited from facilities such as bridges, footpaths, clean water facilities, and concrete roads. One community member in Ekam village said that even the unfinished road construction had helped the community to collect firewood: before it had taken five hours to collect firewood, while at the time of the research it took just two to three hours using a push cart. A road constructed across marshes in Taroy village also helped to improve access, as previously villagers had been forced to walk through an area using sago foot paddings.²⁶

Investments in villages could be adjusted according to the needs of communities and specific village characteristics. Investments included MCK facilities, wells, concrete and gravel roads, footpaths, and wooden bridges. Villages that were in marshy areas, such as Ekam and Taroy, built wooden footpaths that connected the village roads to people's houses. In villages where the soil was solid, such as Atibo and Pasamai, the program built connecting gravel and concrete roads. Program investments in the form of clean water facilities in Atibo and Pasamai village were also related to lack of access to clean water in those villages. In Atibo village, the TPKK treasurer stated that the

clean water project was selected because the land in Atibo was coral and limestone, and water was only available during the rainy season. Before this development, people had to walk two kilometers to the nearest river to collect water. In 2011, the TPKK built a water storage facility using PNPM funds so that people could collect water without having to walk long distances.

The construction of clean water facilities improved access to clean water. Most villagers in Pasamai village had access to clean water for drinking through the provision of wells. One community member in Pasamai who enjoyed the benefits said that collecting water used to involve a 30 minute walk, made worse during the dry season. After the wells were dug water could be obtained very close to home, although the quality of the water was still murky.

Unlike the communities in the three villages that had all benefited from PNPM, the people in Atibo village felt disappointed with their clean water installation. One woman in Atibo said that only a few people in the village were able to benefit from clean water, because of the six installations constructed only one worked properly. Another person in Atibo village said that other wells remained dry during the dry season, unlike the well at the church, which he said was the only clean water facility that worked properly. An effort was made to build a water pipe to channel water from a clean water installation to people's homes, but this water pipe was soon broken. A former TPKK member in Atibo village said that many piped-water installations had been damaged because they were located in front of people's houses and the pipes had been broken by the weight of cars or motorcycles. The damage was not repaired because villagers did not have the means or the will to do the necessary work.

²⁶Villagers from Taroy use sago bark as footwear padding to protect their feet while wading through the marshes.

In addition to infrastructure, villagers in Ekam and Taroy also felt the direct impact of PNPM in the form of wages for temporary work involved in the construction of pathway sand jetties. Villagers were also paid for providing construction materials such as iron wood in Ekam village. In Taroy village, people received wages for the construction of pathways and wooden bridges. While the whole community benefited from the work, the number of workers was limited by the funds available.

Unlike Ekam and Taroy villages, the building of MCK, wells, gravel and sand roads, and clean water installations in Pasamai and Atibo villages was undertaken by workers from outside the villages, as community members did not have the necessary skills. These workers were brought in by the TPKK, reducing community participation in the program. A PNPM verification team member in Pasamai village said that they had used skilled workers from Toraja (South Sulawesi), while the local villagers only did laboring work.

As for RESPEK, in Atibo and Pasamai villages, the funds were used to make village fences for the whole community. In addition, in Ekam, Taroy and Pasamai village RESPEK funds were used as village operational funds, for example when there were expenses for village cleaning and fixing damaged facilities. However, community members were often unaware of this use of funds. While some funds were used to build roads, RESPEK funds were often used to repair wooden buildings because these buildings deteriorated more quickly. RESPEK funds were also used to pay for cadres' honoraria and, as a result, the full benefits of RESPEK funds were hardly felt by the wider community.

With regard to the village elites, the tribal chief in Pasamai village suggested that PNPM had already provided benefits to the community, such as the clean water program. In addition, PNPM brought development to the most remote villages and facilitated a learning process with training and facilitation of activities so that people better understood the purpose of the investments. A member of the maintenance team in Pasamai village said that MCK provided by PNPM had been beneficial. Previously, people had to walk considerable distances to go to the communal MCK facilities, and at night women had to be escorted for their safety.

As with the wider community, women also felt the benefits from PNPM. For example, in Ekam village one woman said that it was easier to collect firewood because she could transport it using a push cart. One woman in Pasamai village said, *"PNPM has helped the 'mama-mama' because, before the faucets were installed, 'mama-mama' had to go to Muturi River and use a big noken to wash and bathe, and bring water back home. The 'mama-mama' are happy because they no longer need to go far to find water and bathe."*

The TPKK activity managers benefited from broadening their networks and through capacity building. The head of the TPKK in Pasamai village said that his knowledge and skills had improved while active in PNPM, including public speaking which previously he had been too embarrassed to attempt. The TPKK secretary in Atibo village said that she was now able to type reports after being taught to type by the sub-district facilitator. The TPKK members sometimes visited the sub-district facilitator's house to ask about matters they had difficulty in understanding, especially when preparing accountability reports.

Such impacts were not felt from the RESPEK program because the funds were used only for village operations by the village heads, and involved no training activities to build the capacity of the implementers.

Women benefited from PNPM through cake-making, sewing and stitching, and making nutrition supplements for babies and uniforms for school children. In Pasamai village, women learned cooking skills, with one woman explaining that she had previously only boiled food, but now she knew how to cook using spices and soy sauce. A woman in Taroy village said that she could now make doughnuts and sell them in front of her house, earning extra income. Women's groups also benefited from the use of the infrastructure, such as the MCK built in the villages. One migrant woman in Taroy village said that in the past she had to bathe in a puddle near her house and in order to use the communal MCK facility she had to go to the edge of the forest. Since the MCK facilities were built, she had been able to wash and use the MCK close to her house.

3.2.4 Factors that Influence Community Experiences and Participation in Kabupaten Teluk Bintuni

PNPM implementation in the four research villages in Kabupaten Teluk Bintuni was strongly influenced by several factors: the many development and empowerment programs besides PNPM; the lack of TPKK capacity to encourage CDD at the community level; interventions for women that were only aimed at groups that were already active in village affairs; and the strong domination of elites and activity managers.

At the time of the study, Kabupaten Teluk Bintuni was an area that received many programs from both government and private companies, each with its own mechanisms and management. There was no coordination between programs and overlaps were common. The plethora of programs made it seem as though villages were continually receiving support while in fact only program managers experienced an increase in capacity from so many programs. The high number of programs also resulted in low participation of communities in PNPM/RESPEK programs. For example, villagers in Pasamai, Ekam, and Taroy villages received so many economic and other programs that they would only attend PNPM meetings if they had spare time.

The TPKK had a major influence in determining communities' voices and experiences in Kabupaten Teluk Bintuni. The lack of willingness on the part of the TPKK to encourage wider participation was a major factor determining how the programs were run. This situation occurred due to lack of control by sub-district facilitators to consistently apply the procedures that should have been followed in order to avert elite domination. A similar situation was observed in efforts to encourage women's involvement: those women who became involved were invariably women who had already been active in previous programs.

Another factor that served to undermine the dissemination of knowledge, participation, and positive impacts was the domination of the elite and/or program managers in the dominant clan in the village. The dominant clans filled positions such as village heads, village secretaries, and heads of the TPKK in the implementation of PNPM and RESPEK programs. The dominant clans were characterized by their ownership of customary land in the village, were the majority in the village, and

had close relationships with those in positions of power in the *kabupaten* government. Heads of the TPKK—who were often extensions of power holders such as village heads and secretaries—coordinated with the power holders instead of encouraging the implementation of CDD according to the procedures. For example, the head of the TPKK in Atibo village also served simultaneously as village secretary, while the head of the TPKK in Taroy village was the adopted son of the village secretary.

3.2.5 The Hopes of Communities towards PNPM Mandiri and RESPEK in Kabupaten Teluk Bintuni

Villagers in Pasamai, Ekam, and Taroy villages saw that PNPM involved the community to decide on the proposals and also made a special effort to involve women, although this usually meant only giving them the opportunity to listen to the discussions. One villager in Pasamai who worked as a driver said that PNPM was welcomed because it encouraged people to suggest ideas, while women were invited to attend meetings, not simply to listen to proposals but also to participate in decision-making.

However, the opposite was true in Atibo village, where people felt disappointed in, and pessimistic about, PNPM. This disappointment started following the rejection of villagers' ideas by the TPKK at the planning meeting. The head of *Baperkam* in Atibo village stated that during the proposal setting, villagers, especially women, had proposed MCK facilities in their houses but the clean water proposal from men was the one chosen. Subsequently, all proposals coming from the community, both the women and men, were rejected and the TPKK decided to continue building clean water facilities. For three years, the PNPM program built clean water installations, which ultimately failed because pumps and water pipes were broken and never repaired, and the quality of the water was poor. This outcome created community distrust towards the elite and further disappointment in the program.

Communities in all four villages hoped that the TPKK would invite them more often to participate in activities, especially the proposal-decision meeting. One community member in Atibo village said that it was difficult to attend community activities because they were often organized at short notice and the invitations were too vague. Regarding financial management, one villager

in Taroy village hoped that the TPKK would be more transparent in the future about how the funds were managed, as the information was only known to members of the TPKK. A villager in Ekam village said that the Community Joint Planning (*Perencanaan Bersama Masyarakat*, or PBM) run by the BP Tangguh LNG project was more transparent than PNPM because the community development officer from the company visited the village. This officer asked villagers directly about the programs needed by the community and the people understood how the funds were allocated. This was more difficult with PNPM because the investments tended to be decided and managed by members of the TPKK directly.

On program fund allocation, the village chief in Pasamai village felt that PNPM funds should be determined according to the program performance in the village, and not based on the number of households. A funding system that counted the number of households disadvantaged those villages with a small number of households. A priest in Pasamai village hoped that the facilitation would be adapted to encourage a greater sense of communal responsibility in the

future. He felt that people had become dependent on their customary rights and no longer generated anything through their own efforts. He hoped that the program would involve more people and conduct analysis to better understand the factors that supported or undermined the program. He stated that no matter how much a program might be encouraged, if communities were uninterested the a successful outcome would be difficult.

Women hoped for more invitations to attend meetings. One woman in Atibo village, for instance, said that there was little information about meetings and especially those dealing with the management of funds. She had only attended two meetings as a result. Other women in Atibo village also said there needed to be more transparency on how the funds were managed by the managers and the village head, who were in charge of PNPM and RESPEK funds, respectively. She added that people were disappointed because the village head had failed to be transparent about the programs in Atibo village. All the villagers wanted, she said, was to know the value of the funds received by the TPKK and the village head and how the money would be used.

VOICES AND EXPERIENCES OF COMMUNITIES
IN PNPM/RESPEK IN PAPUA AND WEST PAPUA

4



VOICES AND EXPERIENCES OF COMMUNITIES IN PNPM/RESPEK IN PAPUA AND WEST PAPUA

Experiences of communities of the PNPM/RESPEK programs in the 20 villages in Papua and West Papua provide valuable insights into how the programs were actually implemented, how they influenced the lives of people within communities and, most importantly, how members of the community viewed and understood the programs. The experiences also provided a deeper understanding of the factors that influenced PNPM/RESPEK implementation and the results in terms of community knowledge, levels of participation, and the programs' impacts. This chapter elaborates on the overall picture of these three aspects and the factors affecting them.

4.1 Knowledge of Communities of PNPM/RESPEK

The CDD approach used in PNPM/RESPEK through community participation to determine village development proposals aims to encourage broad participation by all elements of the community. However, participation is only possible if people understand the essence of the program, particularly the program purpose and the implementation mechanism/rules. In practice, based on the findings of this study, it was evident that most people in Papua and West Papua had difficulty in grasping the objectives and the essence of PNPM/RESPEK. Many could not fully understand why it was important for community members to gather and deliberate when proposing ideas, to establish activity proposals, or to be involved in the implementation of the activities. Members of the community were also unable to explain the reasons for selecting the investments made by the program and their involvement was largely limited to helping with the construction of infrastructure projects. This limited understanding arose from the limited amount of information that members of the community received and an implementation process that failed to follow the rules. For example, while communities were involved in meetings

during the disbursement and the implementation stages, they were usually not involved in the proposal stage—including the privatization of proposals—which was often only attended by a limited circle within the community focused on the village elite and program managers.

Communities' knowledge of PNPM/RESPEK, both in Papua and West Papua, was generally limited to the program's identity. As a program, PNPM/RESPEK was popular among communities in both provinces. Most people in the research villages knew of the existence of the PNPM/RESPEK program. In Papua, most people recognized the program as the PNPM program or "RESPEK", and saw the two as identical. Only the village elite (the village head and the head of the TPCK) could clearly distinguish between PNPM and RESPEK: namely, that PNPM was a program provided by the central government, while RESPEK was a program provided by the Papua provincial government. Meanwhile, in West Papua the community (the elites and most people) saw the two programs as separate entities, with PNPM Mandiri as a program of the central government and RESPEK as a program funded by the West Papua provincial government.

The difference in communities' knowledge of the program names in Papua and West Papua stemmed from the ways in which the programs were socialized by sub-district facilitators. During the early stages of the program (2008), sub-district facilitators socialized the PNPM/RESPEK program to communities at socialization meetings. In Papua in particular, the provincial government socialized PNPM/RESPEK through television, visits to the region/villages, and print media. As a consequence, communities mostly understood the program to be one and the same. In West Papua, on the other hand, after 2009 sub-district facilitators socialized the program's name change, namely from PNPM/RESPEK to PNPM Mandiri, due to the change in policy by the West Papua provincial government to separate RESPEK from PNPM Mandiri.

The program's popularity with communities was influenced by the length of the program and the degree to which people were involved in the construction of the facilities. Most villages in Papua experienced four to five implementation program cycles of PNPM/RESPEK, while villages in West Papua experienced three to four program cycles (particularly for PNPM Mandiri since 2009). The development of physical facilities in Papua and West Papua, particularly in 2008 and 2009, involved the communities in general; some villagers became temporary paid workers, while others became providers of building materials. As a result, communities' knowledge of the program was evenly spread and villagers generally recognized the program from the facilities built in their village. Only members of the community in Tomon 1 village in Kabupaten Yahukimo failed to recognize any program facilities from infrastructure built in their village, because they were barely involved in the construction process.

Both in Papua and West Papua detailed knowledge of the stages of the program tended to be held by the elite (village head, village secretary and public figures) and the TPCK managers, with far less knowledge held by the community in general and women in particular. Village elites were generally involved in the decision-making process and in all the other stages of the activities. In almost all villages, the elite knew about the

meetings, the details of plans for infrastructure development, the negative list (activities that were not allowed by PNPM), the stages of infrastructure development implementation, and the stages of fund disbursement. The elite was also aware of the types of built infrastructure from each stage of PNPM/RESPEK implementation, as well as the period/time for construction implementation. The elite also knew that in PNPM/RESPEK there were two distinct sources of funds, namely the Special Autonomy Fund (*Dana Otsus*) from the provincial budget (APBD) and funds from the national budget (APBN).

Among women in both Papua and West Papua, knowledge of the program was highly dependent on their position within the community and the level of their engagement in other village activities. Women who were active in PKK, the *Posyandu*, or the local church or mosque, knew of the proposal deliberations, the TPCK, and the amount of funds earmarked for women's activities. Some of these women also knew that they had the right to propose activities and obtain special funding for women. In the research villages in Papua, for example, members of women's groups were aware that 15 percent of village funds should be allocated for women's revolving loan funds (RLF), even though these funds were never actually released by the TPCK managers. In two villages in Kabupaten Merauke (Kweel and Urumb), this knowledge encouraged women to demand an allocation of 15 percent (IDR 15,000,000) from the total funds allocated to each of their villages.

Women who were not involved in activities in the village tended to have less knowledge of the program than active women. These women were generally aware of the activities that made use of program funds to develop infrastructure in their village and that these funds were managed by the TPCK, but they were unaware of the program stages and the source of the funds. Of all the *kabupaten* visited in this study, only in villages in Kabupaten Merauke did non-active women attend program meetings, but they did not speak up or make any proposals in the meetings. In villages in Kabupaten Yahukimo, on the other hand, non-active women only knew the program's name and no other details.

The different levels of knowledge of PNPM/RESPEK processes and program stages between communities in general, women, and the elite were primarily due to weak facilitation, both from sub-district facilitators and TPKK members. The ability of sub-district facilitators to conduct effective facilitation was limited by several factors, including weak incentives and low capacity. Facilitators were mainly tasked with attending to administrative procedures and requirements of the program, and their performance was largely judged by their competence in this area. Consequently, they often “bypassed” deliberation and/or community meetings in order to simplify processes and ensure that reports were completed satisfactorily and on time. This could be seen in all those *kabupaten* where the frequency and level of community participation in program meetings declined overtime as facilitators strove to keep the program moving within the given time limit for each cycle.

In addition, the emphasis on administrative procedures also influenced facilitators’ training, which was largely focused in this capacity. They were rarely provided trained in facilitation skills, such as encouraging participation from the community (and marginalities groups), moderating discussions/meetings to avoid domination by elites, and handling complaints/problems.

Other factors influencing facilitation were logistical challenges and the language barrier. Many villages in Papua and West Papua are difficult to reach due to their remoteness and the difficulties of the terrain, inflating the transport costs when chartering flights or boats is required. Thus it was often difficult for sub-district facilitators to visit all the villages at least once in each sub-district over the course of each program cycle, let alone make more than one visit to attend all program meetings, from socialization to deliberation of proposals, to disbursement and accountability. This explains why facilitators preferred to simplify procedures and types of sub-project to enable them to visit villages only once a year. In addition to the logistical issues, most sub-district facilitators could not speak the local dialects, reducing their ability to interact effectively with members of the community outside the elites.

Language difficulties also influenced the communities’ capacity to understand the program. Explanations of the PNPM/RESPEK program were given in Bahasa Indonesia, even though most villagers could not speak Bahasa Indonesia, or had trouble understanding it. Bahasa Indonesia was mainly understood by the village elites and TPKK members because these people were more used to communicating with people from outside the village. Those who were selected to be managers invariably came from the elite, as they were often the only people able to meet the qualifications, such as the ability to write and read. It was apparent that in several villages the ability to speak Bahasa Indonesia was a source of power for the elite and other program actors.

Difficulties in understanding Bahasa Indonesia obliged most members of the community—even those present during meetings—to rely on information from the TPKK. Information about the program, the activities to be undertaken in the village, and the process of activity implementation, generally came from the head of the TPKK. However, because TPKK members also had a limited understanding of the program, they too were unable to entirely explain the processes, the stages and the objectives of the program to the community. Thus, the process of generating proposals, eliciting ideas from the community, and encouraging its participation in the decision-making process, received less than full support from the TPKK.

Issues related to terms or language arose when the program was translated as ‘*kerja*’ (work). The community translated the word ‘work’ in all programs that came from the government and used this to refer to all physical infrastructure development. This was unfortunate, because at the community level terms or words already existed to describe and capture the principles of CDD, such as ‘*kumpul-kumpul*’ (gathering) for the discussion process or ‘*kerja sama*’ for communal work (*gotong royong*). The use of the word ‘*kerja/work*’ came up in program socialization by sub-district facilitators and the TPKK, giving rise to one of the reasons why communities understood PNPM/RESPEK more as a job opportunity than a community empowerment program.

Another factor that limited communities' knowledge of the program was the nature of the social relationships in the village. In villages where the community tended to be heterogeneous and relationships between the clans was balanced, program managers generally came from groups other than the village head's own elite group. The program managers then acted as a balance to the power of the elite (the village head and his dominant clan). This relationship was visible, for example, in Coa and Tanusan villages in Kabupaten Kaimana. However, in villages where the community was heterogeneous but dominated by one clan, information was generally focused on the dominant clan and not evenly distributed across the community. Such a relationship was visible in most of the research villages, including all the villages in Kabupaten Merauke and Kabupaten Teluk Bintuni.

In villages with a relatively homogeneous community but where power was distributed among several groups, information distribution was more equitable. This was observed in Anjelma village (Kabupaten Yahukimo) and Bukapa village (Kabupaten Dogiyai). In Anjelma village, for example, there were two large clans, the Lantipo and Watipo, together with several smaller clans. These two large clans accounted for the majority of the residents of the village and together they controlled the largest areas of customary lands. All the clans lived in *honai*-based hamlets located on their respective customary lands. With authority over their respective area, each *honai*-based hamlet had relatively balanced rights vis-à-vis other hamlets. This was evident, for example, in the distribution of administrative power in Anjelma village. All the clans were involved in village governance and the village head was elected democratically by direct election. The village head at the time of the study was from the Watipo clan, and had succeeded the previous village head from the Haselo clan, one of the smaller clans, who had passed away. Meanwhile, the village community organization (LMD), with membership from across all the hamlets and clans, was led by a member of the Haselo clan, while the Lantipo clan controlled the PNPM/RESPEK program management through the TPKK head. With representatives in the village government, every settlement (totalling 14 *honai*-based hamlets) in Anjelma village had the opportunity to access program information (including PNPM/RESPEK) that entered the village. In addition, information could be spread quickly among the *honai*-based hamlets because of the strong familial ties between occupants of the different hamlets.

The different levels of knowledge of PNPM/RESPEK between villages in Papua and West Papua were also a consequence of the separation of PNPM from RESPEK in West Papua, as well as the existence of other programs in some villages. As previously explained, the separation of PNPM and RESPEK implementation in West Papua meant that communities at all levels were better able to distinguish between the types of investment and the program stages of each program. Villagers could name the PNPM investments in their village, as well as the meetings conducted during activity implementation to determine the activity types and the construction of the facilities. Conversely, people only knew of RESPEK's existence and the amount of funding, but could not point to any investments in their village, or explain how RESPEK funds had been used. Most villagers said that RESPEK was the concern of the village head. In Papua, however, people were generally unaware of other programs besides PNPM/RESPEK and so had little comparative knowledge.

Villages that benefited from corporate social responsibility (CSR) programs also had higher levels of understanding of the program, as they were able to draw comparisons with programs other than PNPM/RESPEK. Communities in these villages could distinguish between the implementation mechanisms of the CSR programs and those of PNPM Mandiri. For example, the communities in Taroi and Ekam villages could distinguish between the mechanism of the Community Collaborative Planning initiated by BP's operation in its Tangguh gas field in Bintuni Bay (known as *Perencanaan Bersama Masyarakat*, or a PBM program) and PNPM Mandiri. Villagers explained that the PBM program was conducted in collaboration with the community through discussions in the village. The company then supported the program by sending facilitators, the materials needed for the construction of the facilities. In contrast, villagers explained that the PNPM Mandiri program was usually planned by the program managers themselves, who also undertook the procurement of the materials, with the result that villagers felt they had little if any direct role in managing the program. This more detailed knowledge allowed communities to draw comparisons between the different programs in their villages and to better understand the PNPM Mandiri program.

4.2 Community Participation in PNPM/RESPEK

Studies of community participation in programs using a CDD approach show that elite domination often undermines participation levels and that where the relationship between groups in the community is not balanced CDD tends to entrench the inequality rather than shifting benefits towards poorer or marginalized groups (Mansuri and Rao, 2013; Dasgupta and Beard, 2007). Even if members of these groups are present during the decision-making process, their participation is often largely symbolic. The CDD approach is more successful in encouraging participation when village groups are more egalitarian and have equal power relationships, are accountable to local government, and where there are no large political, social, or economic disparities between the elite that controls the resources and the wider community. Participation is also supported where there is capacity to build reliable facilitator groups. These groups are vital in truly encouraging the development of a framework that favors the wider community, as well as develop a monitoring and evaluating system that looks beyond mere administrative aspects of the program, such as the availability of a good accountability system, both upwards and downwards.

4.2.1 Community Participation in General

The findings of this study reinforce these previous studies. At the deliberation stage, there were examples where communities could attend meetings and propose ideas, and some communities could also participate in decision-making. However, the presence of community members in discussions and activity meetings was often outweighed by members of the elite. Meetings to discuss PNPM/RESPEK activities were generally attended by the village elite, such as members of the Village Consultative Body (*Badan Permusyawaratan Desa*, or BPD), village officials, TPKK members, and women from the elite (PKK and *Posyandu* cadres). Meanwhile, villagers from the wider community generally found it far harder to attend PNPM/RESPEK deliberations and activity meetings. Although some villagers were present in these meetings, decision-making was controlled by the village elite and community participation in the planning process was largely symbolic.

The lack of opportunity for villagers to attend deliberations and activity meetings was partly a consequence of people's livelihood activities and partly the meeting invitation mechanism. The decision-making meetings required physical

presence, which was often difficult for some Papuan and West Papuan communities whose livelihoods came from hunting and fishing. In Bupul village, for instance, most men had to leave the village for weeks at a time to hunt in the forest, while in Taroi and Ekam villages (Kabupaten Teluk Bintuni), many members of the community spent most of their time fishing at sea.

The invitation mechanism influenced the level of attendance in village discussions. Most villagers in Papua and West Papua assumed that attending meetings in the village (including to discuss PNPM/RESPEK activities) required an invitation. People who received an invitation directly from the program actors generally attended the meeting and followed the discussion, while those who did not receive invitations did not attend. However, those villagers normally invited were generally those already active in village organizations or involved in village activities. A direct invitation mechanism was observed in most research villages, but those villagers receiving invitations were invariably members of the elite.

One alternative but effective invitation mechanism to encourage the attendance of the community was by open invitation. Open invitations spread the information more equitably because the entire community had the same opportunity to receive invitations and therefore access information about the program. Such open invitations were seen in Bukapa, Ekemanida, Tanusan, and Lumira villages and were made by inviting the community publicly through loudspeakers to attend village meetings. The TPKK in Bukapa and Ekemanida villages in Kabupaten Dogiyai invited the community by going around the villages using loudspeakers to announce the event. The place for deliberations/meetings was the village road or an intersection where people commonly gathered. A similar situation was observed in Tanusan village, where the TPKK invited the community openly and used the village community hall as the meeting venue. With such an open invitation mechanism, the level of attendance in these four villages was higher than in villages using direct invitations.

Elite domination also influenced community participation during the activity proposal stage. The elite, especially the village head from the dominant clan who exerted control in the village based on the clan's customary land rights, tended to decide the activities in the village. In order to cultivate land, for example, other community members had to ask for permission from the elite to first clear the land. Regarding PNPM/RESPEK,

many physical investments from the program were built on such customary lands, and elite domination was further entrenched as a result.

This study also reinforces two previous studies (AKATIGA, 2010; Sari et al., 2011) on marginalized groups in PNPM and the results of PNPM/RESPEK implementation, which found that facilitators played a significant role in encouraging community participation. As mentioned above in Section 4.1 on program knowledge, weak facilitation caused by a combination of weak incentives and low capacity of sub-district facilitators, logistical challenges and the language barrier also had a major impact on the level of community participation. Sub-district facilitators who were largely evaluated on their administrative performance, and who had received limited training in facilitation skills, tended to limit their time for visiting villages. Facilitators also had difficulties communicating with communities using only local dialects and tended to simplify program processes by reducing the number of meetings and limiting the types of activity that could be proposed (often simply repeating what had been done in the previous cycle).

Weak sub-district facilitators also tended to give rise to weak TPKK members, since the TPKK relied primarily on sub-district facilitators for their training and knowledge of the program. As a consequence, the role of the TPKK in encouraging community participation was not evident during activity implementation. The TPKK tended to view PNPM/RESPEK as infrastructure building projects. As a result, the TPKK was more focused on efforts to complete the physical facilities rather than encouraging community participation. Processes that involved communities occurred when the program first arrived in villages, but subsequently the required community participation stages were no longer implemented, leading to widespread disappointment among the communities. TPKK members tended to coordinate far more closely with sub-district facilitators than with their communities, including in the activity reporting phase: the TPKK only provided reports to facilitators without conducting any accountability meetings with the wider community.

The existence of CSR programs in Kabupaten Teluk Bintuni and Kabupaten Kaimana also influenced communities' participation in PNPM. These alternative programs also required communities to participate, often in providing labor and collecting materials for infrastructure projects. Given the

limited time and human resources available in each village, those involved in these CSR programs often could not, or chose to not to, participate in PNPM, lowering the level of participation in PNPM.

4.2.2 Women's Participation

Generally, women's participation was relatively low in PNPM/RESPEK activities and usually amounted to little more than their passive presence at community meetings, or as providers of snacks at the meetings. Although present, the women tended to remain silent and simply agree to whatever proposals were made by the men. Of the 20 research villages, in only seven villages did women suggest activities at village-level consultations, and in every subsequent decision-making vote the women's suggestions lost out to the men's suggestions. Those women who were able to suggest activities were invariably those who had long been active in the village, for instance in PKK or church activities.

Similar to PNPM implementation in other regions outside Papua and West Papua, women received special attention through revolving loan funds (RLF) and women-specific proposals. However, meetings specifically aimed at eliciting women's ideas were almost entirely absent. Some women, especially those close to the elite and program actor circle, were invited to community meetings, both individually and to represent their husbands if the latter were unable to attend. However, as with the community in general, the presence of these women was largely symbolic.

Limitation on women's participation in PNPM/RESPEK activities were also determined by the relationship between men and women, the lack of any dedicated space for women, the program implementation bias, and the lack of facilitation specifically for women. The relationship between men and women could be discerned from, for instance, the division of labor between the two. In daily life of Papuan societies, the division of labor is based on the cultural values adhered to by communities, where men are responsible for physically demanding activities according to local values, such as building houses, clearing land for cultivation, building fences and ditches, and hunting. Conversely, the relatively 'lighter' activities according to local values are the responsibility of women, such as tending the house, providing food, tilling the land and gardens, harvesting, selling produce, and caring for children. In West Papua, the division of labor between men and women is narrower than in Papua, and collaboration between

men and women is more evident in daily activities. For instance, women catch small fish and collect shells close to land, while men catch shrimp and larger fish further out to sea. Women and men also help each other when pounding sago. Meanwhile, program implementation bias was observed during the construction of physical infrastructure, whereby as in the Papuan tradition this was usually performed by men.

The situation was similar regarding the provision of a dedicated space for women. Opportunities for women to make suggestions and take decisions were rarely made available by activity implementers at the sub-district and *kabupaten* levels. In Papua and West Papua, almost all research village locations failed to provide opportunities for women to develop and decide upon their own plans. This lack of opportunity, according to sub-district and *kabupaten* facilitators, was because during the early stage of PNPM/RESPEK program implementation the women had failed to manage the 15 percent of funds allocated to the village's revolving loan fund (RLF) with the result that the RLF failed.

Exceptions were found in villages that had special facilitations for women. Women-specific facilitation was provided by NGOs to build the confidence of women to enable them to participate in the public space. This facilitation encouraged women to actively participate in the program and also supported the argument that providing special facilitation to marginalized groups during the development process, including women, can be successful without creating an additional exclusive group in the village (AKATIGA, 2010).

Examples of the strengthening of women's participation were found in Kweel and Urumb villages, where women's participation was higher than in other villages following facilitation. The managers in these two villages allocated a portion of their funds (15 percent from PNPM/RESPEK funds) specifically for women. This was the consequence of the facilitation made available to the women by Oxfam, which encouraged them to negotiate with the sub-district facilitators and the TPKK for access to the 15 percent of funds allocated to women. The high level of participation of women in Kweel and Urumb villages was evident in their strong presence at village meetings, where women also actively spoke up to convey their opinions and activity proposals.

4.3 Impact of PNPM/RESPEK on the Lives of Communities

More effective infrastructure than that provided by other government programs was the most often cited benefit from the various studies (Baker et al., 2013; Sari et al., 2011) regarding the CDD approach. The same was also true for PNPM, where the built infrastructure was of better quality, even in the more remote provinces of Papua and West Papua (Sari et al., 2011). Studies also revealed that the poor and women were among the beneficiaries, notwithstanding the fact that members of the elite still dominated (Akatiga, 2010; Sari et al., 2011; Syukri et al., 2013).

This study found that benefits in the form of built infrastructure were generally felt by community members all the way down to the lowest village level. However, the benefits of some types of infrastructure were concentrated among the elite, the program actors, and those closely allied to them. There were also some types of infrastructure that rapidly fell into disuse. Meanwhile, the non-infrastructure impacts felt by communities included temporary work opportunities (especially in infrastructure that did not require highly skilled labor, such as road building or digging drainage ditches). Increased cooperation among villagers was also observed, although the opposite effect whereby the program actually weakened cooperation among community members was also evident.

4.3.1 Impact of Physical Infrastructure Building

The impact of built infrastructure was felt by many villagers, although the impact was not always equally distributed. Benefits were equally shared in public investments, such as micro-hydro installations, wells, *Posyandu*, and *Puskesmas*.

Although their participation in planning remained relatively low, women were among those who enjoyed the greatest benefits from such public facilities. In Anjelma village, the electricity generator facility (micro-hydro) added significant time for communities to conduct activities at night. As a result, the productive time available to women to produce *noken* (handicraft bags) increased. Likewise, the building of a public well and rainwater collectors also helped women to access water more easily for their household needs, freeing up time for other activities. Meanwhile, the operation of a *Pustu* also helped women to improve access health services, especially for their children.

Built infrastructure of an individual nature, such as washing facilities (*mandi, cuci, kakus*, or MCK) and wells, tended to benefit only a limited number of people in villages. In Coa village, the MCK facilities were only enjoyed by the owners of the premises on which the facilities were built. Although originally the wells and MCK were intended for three to four nearby households, in practice only the landowners enjoyed the benefits, as other villagers were reluctant to use the common facilities if they were required to enter another's property. In Papua, elite groups, including activity managers in the village, enjoyed most benefits from the program. This could be observed in the infrastructure building that served their own groups first.

Some physical investments rapidly fell into disuse due to damage, incomplete construction, or incompatibility with the community's needs or village characteristics. In Pusuaga village, for instance, the rainwater collectors were distributed without considering that most people's houses had thatch roofs, while the collectors required tin roofs to capture and channel the water into storage tanks. As a result, the rainwater collectors were left idle and eventually became damaged. In villages in Kabupaten Merauke, well investments failed to take into account the environmental capacity. It was subsequently found that the water quality was unsuitable for consumption and that settlements were often inundated with seawater during high tides, which then mixed with the ground water.

4.3.2 Non-infrastructure Impacts

4.3.2.1 Temporary Work Opportunities

Infrastructure building through PNPM provided temporary work opportunities for many villagers. These opportunities aimed to provide work for farmers outside of their harvest or planting seasons (Sumadi and Yulaswati, 2011), and were sometimes the only form of program benefit enjoyed by the poorest members of village communities (Akatiga, 2010). Temporary work opportunities were eagerly awaited by many villagers, as they provided them with a rare opportunity to earn a cash income. Wages depended on the number of days worked and were usually used to purchase daily needs. For most communities, having a PNPM/RESPEK program in their village was synonymous with having opportunities to do paid work.

However, temporary work opportunities could not last forever and were limited to infrastructure construction that did not require special technical skills, such as road improvements and drainage ditches. The types of infrastructure proposed in

PNPM/RESPEK implementation periods after 2011 tended to eliminate the role of communities in the construction process, as specialized skills were required, such as in the construction of *Pustu*. In such cases, work opportunities often went to workers brought in from outside the village and of non-Papuan ethnicities.

4.3.2.2 Changes in the structure and relations of communities at the village level

This study reaffirms earlier studies (Conning and Kevane, 2002; Mansuri and Rao, 2004) that show the participatory approach strengthens relationships and cooperation among community members in relatively egalitarian communities, but is often ineffective in more fragmented communities.

In villages where the structure and relationships of the community were dominated by the elite and program actors, PNPM/RESPEK tended to aggravate this domination. Individual physical facilities constructed were more likely to be controlled by the elite, as in Anjelma village. Here, the TPCK head proposed the construction of a village hall on his own land, but the building was eventually used instead as an extension to his private home. The construction of the building also involved hired labor from outside the community, failing to bring any benefits to the village community.

In terms of trust, PNPM/RESPEK tended to strengthen trust between clans and socio-economic groups where this had previously existed. The long-established social capital of *gotong royong* continued with the implementation of PNPM/RESPEK. In Tanusan village, PNPM/RESPEK enabled villagers to collect funds from their paid temporary work for scholarships for their children, especially those who wanted to continue their education in other regions.

Conversely, in villages where program implementation was centred on the elite or program actors, the program often sparked suspicion among community members, who felt that they had failed to receive any benefits or had not been adequately involved in the decision-making process. This also encouraged critical views of the program's implementation, with some villagers questioning the usefulness of the built infrastructure and the performance of program actors. However, in many places, suspicions of abuse directed towards program actors remained only a matter of hearsay unsupported by firm

evidence. Such suspicions also undermined trust between clans and groups, and led to a decline in cooperation between members of the community, as in Pusuaga village. Here, before the program arrived the community had a cooperation mechanism when building its *honai* or clearing land for cultivation. After the program, people felt that the TPKK had not involved the community in planning and implementation, undermining trust and eroding the existing cooperation mechanism.

Wages for temporary work also transformed communities' *gotong royong* tradition. Communities generally, both in Papua and West Papua, follow the tradition of *gotong royong* whereby they provide assistance to one another, for instance to clear land for cultivation or for house building. Community members also volunteer for religious activities, such as building the church and helping each other to fulfil customary needs, such as customary fines and weddings. In Bukapa village, people volunteered for church construction work by providing stones, sand and labor.

However, this *gotong royong* tradition did not apply to projects initiated by government, regardless of level, including PNPM/RESPEK. People's understanding of government projects was that these were purely about access to money: the provision of materials, land clearing and labor were recognized by communities as items that had been budgeted for by the government. As a result, some communities felt that PNPM/RESPEK had undermined *gotong royong* volunteerism among villagers. In Bupul village, for instance, the communal work known by the term *elibam gola-gola*, such as land clearing, house building, weddings, and lending a hand to community members in need, was replaced by the paid work introduced by PNPM/RESPEK. In Bukapa village, the work to till gardens that used to be undertaken by women without pay disappeared and was replaced with paid work.

4.3.2.3 Women's Empowerment

The role of women in PNPM/RESPEK was generally low, both in terms of their knowledge and their participation. Low participation among women stemmed from the strongly prevalent notion among men that physical building activities were their domain. Public spaces were also viewed as the domain of men, while men held negative views towards women who were involved in public activities. Despite this background, women in villages that had received women-specific facilitation from civil society organizations tended

to be more active in demanding their rights from PNPM/RESPEK. Women who were already active in village activities, such as PKK and church activists, were first to demand their rights from the program, with some succeeding in obtaining the 15 percent share of funds allocated for women's groups. In Urumb village, the women's group established by Oxfam succeeded in obtaining IDR 15,000,000 to develop the agricultural sector. This group received funding because it had already been running for some time and had a clear organizational structure, as opposed to being established simply to access funding from PNPM/RESPEK. As a result, the group became something of a role model for other women's groups in Papua and West Papua.

4.3.2.4 Community's Capacity in Program Management

Generally, most communities in Papua and West Papua had the capacity to manage the program. In the planning process, although still largely limited to the village elite and program managers, villagers were still able to participate in village development planning meetings. Only in Tomon 1 village did the community have no opportunity to participate in the village planning process, as it was controlled exclusively by the village head. However, in determining the activity priorities communities seemed unable to determine priorities according to their needs. This was because the process of setting activities was dominated by the elite or program actors in the village, along with interventions from sub-district facilitators. The cases of communal MCK facility construction in Matara village, the village hall in Anjelma village and the rainwater collectors in Pusuaga village are all examples of intervention by the elite and sub-district facilitators in determining activity options in their respective villages.

In terms of accountability, most villages in Papua and West Papua lacked the capacity to ensure that this occurred. Program managers had great difficulty in preparing activity and financial reports in accordance with program standards. In almost all research villages the compiling of activity and financial reports required the assistance of sub-district facilitators. Only in Lumira village was the PNPM financial report prepared by the village head, and in this case he also happened to be a contractor and developer in Kabupaten Teluk Bintuni. All written reports were given to the sub-district facilitators to be handed over to the program managers at the *kabupaten* and provincial levels.

The program actors in the research village locations had the capacity to record cash flow during activity implementation. This capacity was developed through training and facilitation provided to TPKK members on book-keeping and program financial management. In some villages signs of poor financial record-keeping were apparent, such as in Pusuaga, Bupuland Egerwara villages, where as a result communities assumed that the TPKK had misused the program funds. Weak oversight by communities and sub-district facilitators, as well as the lack of sanctions in cases of abuse, contributed towards abuse.

Unlike activity and financial reporting to sub-district and *kabupaten* facilitators, downward reporting to communities remained weak across the board. In all the villages studied in both Papua and West Papua no reporting to the communities was evident. In all villages, communities saw no accountability reports for either the activities implemented or financials. This occurred because there was no pressure or facilitation from sub-district facilitators, despite the rule requiring that program accountability be provided to communities.

4.4 Communities' Hopes for PNPM/RESPEK

Communities hoped that infrastructure benefits would be felt more widely in the future and would better fit their needs according to community proposals, as opposed to only benefiting certain groups. Such hopes were expressed because people perceived that the benefits of some program investments had only been enjoyed by a limited group, such as the communal MCK facilities in Matara village that were constructed next to the house of the head of the TPKK and village officials. Such locations discouraged people from using the facilities. Experiences of failed infrastructure investments also caused dissatisfaction among communities, as well as activities that deviated from the initial plans agreed during village planning meetings, such as clean water facilities that were only successful in one out of six wells in Atibo village. In Matara village people felt that communal MCK facilities were unsuitable for their needs, as the community needed a sea retention wall more urgently to prevent the intrusion of seawater into their farmland during high tides with resulting damage to crops. Despite this, the communal MCK facilities in Matara village were selected by the village head who had received a recommendation from the sub-district facilitator.

All groups across communities hoped that the program would continue. However, each group felt that adjustments were needed based on the experience of the benefits felt by each of these groups within the community. For instance, activity managers and village heads who had directed the benefits for their own personal advantage and others in their exclusive group hoped that the amount of the funds would be increased so that other people would be able to enjoy the benefits as well. They also recommended that the mechanisms be simplified, for instance by disbursing the funds in one tranche instead of two, in order to expedite the projects. They also suggested that the program mechanism be simplified to avoid inviting too many people to village meetings.

Members of communities who had not yet enjoyed benefits in the form of infrastructure nonetheless hoped to be more involved in the program in future, so as to access benefits instead of only being involved in construction activities. Communities seemed to understand the benefits of a decision-making process that was open to all and, as a result, expected to be involved. In Papua,

aside from having physical investments that could be enjoyed by many members of the community, people also hoped for allocations that would help them to improve their lively hoods. Communities in West Papua felt that the activities were dominated by program managers and, as a result, hoped to be invited to attend decision-making meetings more often in the future and to be more active at all stages of the program. Communities also hoped to be more involved in the evaluation stage in order to provide feedback about the pluses and minuses of the program. These hopes surfaced largely because communities felt that the program had not been run in a transparent way in their villages.

Women's groups hoped to receive special allocations for infrastructure that was proposed by women, such as *Posyandu* and funds for economic empowerment, such as RLFs. Women felt that while program benefits were certainly enjoyed by their communities, too few projects were directly addressed to the needs of women. Instead, women felt that the program in general prioritized men and that infrastructure projects were invariably selected by men.



CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

Viewed from the perspective of beneficiaries in the research locations, it is clear that a large majority of beneficiaries, including non-elites, appreciates PNPM/RESPEK investments and wants the program to continue. However, it is equally apparent that a majority also hopes for the program in the future to include improvements in terms of community involvement in the process and in more transparency of program information to all. These aspirations arose because the program suffered from a multitude of weaknesses that prevented it from being properly implemented, thus falling short in achieving its intended objective in community empowerment. This research highlights some of the key implementation challenges and proposes how these challenges might be addressed for future implementation of CDD programs in Papua/West Papua, as well as in the context of the new Law on Villages (Law No. 6/2014), known as 'the Village Law'. The Village Law will see a significant increase in development funding allocated to villages, while mandating the inclusion of participatory, transparency and accountability principles in its implementation mechanism.

Research findings in all locations reveal some factors underlying various weaknesses in program implementation, one of which is the issue of facilitation. Various challenges in facilitation, in terms of capacity, ability and logistics, strongly influenced the levels of knowledge and participation of members of village communities. In the context of Papua and West Papua, other major factors influencing program implementation include: geographic challenges, language barriers and strong cultural/*adat* structures. Geographic remoteness of many areas in the two provinces (especially the mountainous areas of Papua) made it very difficult for facilitators to be present in villages for significant periods of time each year to provide proper facilitation. It also influences availability and cost of materials and transportation, which in turn influence community's ability to complete projects as planned. The language barrier between facilitators and communities prevented adequate levels of communication and this gave excessive political power to elites that were already familiar with, and used to using, Bahasa Indonesia. The village *adat* structure was also crucial in dictating the control of resources coming into villages. With these issues in mind, the degree to which facilitators could understand, engage with, and mediate between, the various power groups and the community at large, was crucial to the success of the program. However, this was an area in which no support was provided by the program and which the facilitators had little training in or capacity for.

Finally, despite the efforts made to involve them, it was apparent from the findings that women struggled to participate to the extent intended by the program. Women seem to become more empowered where they have the space to conduct their own meetings and ensure that the funds allocated in the program specifically for women's needs really do reach women in the community. It is clear from the findings that women's empowerment must go beyond providing the revolving loan funds (RLF) that were set up by PNPM/RESPEK in some villages. The understanding of TPKK members and facilitators of how the funds allocated for women's needs should be used also needs to undergo a fundamental shift.

These conclusions are explained in further detail in the following sections. In terms of the recommendations, given the imminent implementation of the Village Law, which encompasses similar participatory, transparency and accountability principles as in PNPM/RESPEK, the recommendations here are discussed in light of the Village Law, in addition to current/future CDD programs in Papua and West Papua (for example, PROSPEK in Papua, which will replace RESPEK).

5.2 Issues/Challenges With PNPM/RESPEK Implementation

The research findings across the 20 villages indicated that there are four main factors underlying the poor quality of facilitation in PNPM/RESPEK, namely: 1) poor capacity/quality of facilitators, especially sub-district facilitators; 2) an incentive system that does not encourage strong facilitation; 3) severe challenges due to geographic difficulties; and 4) cultural challenges (including language barriers) that tend to entrench elite capture. The poor capacity of facilitators can be seen, among others, in their limited knowledge of the program's objective in empowerment and ability to engage with communities and serve as interlocutors/"power brokers" between communities and the elites. Sub-district facilitators, who are the main focal points in the program to engage with villagers, were often ill-equipped to explain the program's main objective in community empowerment and instead only explained the program's procedures and funding. They were also often incapable of helping communities to put forward their priority needs. In many cases, sub-district facilitators were found siding with the elites in prioritizing proposals or predetermining the activities that were supposed to be proposed by the community.

This situation was largely the result of the incentives of facilitators: their performance was judged and evaluated based on their capacity to fulfil the program's administrative requirements, namely, ensuring that the program stages, fund disbursements and reporting requirements were delivered in a timely manner, while at the same time limiting the misuse of funds. This imposed significant pressure on the facilitators to try to complete all the administrative requirements by the end of the project cycle. Because of this emphasize on administrative compliance, facilitators' training was also mainly focused on understanding of the program's procedures and requirements, and not on how to facilitate/encourage communities' involvement in the program. Also, sub-district facilitators were required to attend monthly coordination meetings at the district level to report on project progress. Due to geographic conditions in Papua and West Papua, this requirement sometimes meant that sub-district facilitators needed to spend days, and even as much as up to

a week, away from their duty stations, significantly reducing the time that was available to visit villages and engage with the community.

The severe geographical challenges also made it difficult for sub-district facilitators to cover all the villages under their responsibility due to a combination of lack of transport, difficult terrain, large distances involved, and the small number of facilitators compared with the number of villages under their responsibility. Some villages did not have direct access to sub-district towns and had to be reached via district cities or from other sub-districts/districts. In some cases, due to the remoteness of the sub-district or to security concerns (such as in Dogiyai and Yahukimo), sub-district facilitators were pooled in several easy-to-access sub-districts or the district capital. This inevitably placed more distance between facilitators and the villages.

The challenges faced by sub-district facilitators had a knock-on effect on the performance of the TPCK at the village level. The TPCK played the most prominent role in the implementation of physical development activities in villages. However, members of the TPCK were heavily reliant on the assistance they received from the sub-district facilitators, having little if any access to information on the program from elsewhere. As a result of the infrequent facilitators' visits and the lack of in-depth information provided to the TKPP members, the TPCK's capacity to effectively facilitate the implementation process was severely impaired and its ability to ensure that the program's intended purpose was achieved was limited. Compounding these weaknesses, there was insufficient additional information made available to both facilitators and TPCK members. Such information could have helped to explain facilitation methods, how to deal with frequently occurring problems, and information about cultural conditions in the target villages.

The existence of often very strong and hierarchical cultural/*adat* structures in villages in Papua and West Papua, compounded with the language barriers, also made facilitation more challenging. Sub-district facilitators lacked technical understanding of the socio-cultural and socio-political conditions in the villages in their respective areas of coverage. In most cases, facilitators were provided no background information on the

adat power structures in the villages under their responsibility, but instead had to develop their own understanding of these structures in the field, if they were so able. This meant that facilitators were ill-equipped to understand the particular power structures in villages, the structure and dominance of the various tribes and clans, the composition and size of marginalized groups, and the degree of heterogeneity or homogeneity of the dominant clan or clans in each village. As was seen from the study's findings, the socio-cultural/political mix had a major bearing on the ways in which the elite in a village interacted with other segments of the village community. In some cases, the mix led to elite capture and suspicions of the misappropriation of funds among marginalized groups. This created tensions that could undermine cooperation and trust in the village or, worse, could even lead to outbreaks of violence between opposing groups.

Facilitators had the potential to play a crucial role as power-brokers between competing groups in the villages, balancing the political forces at play and helping to ensure that less powerful groups were not squeezed out by elite capture of program activities. For example, within villages with a single dominant clan, facilitators had little option but to try to work with the clan, which often occupied the primary position of power in the village, namely the village head. A good facilitator would ideally be able to "broker" the relationship between the village head (and his circle) and the community in order to help community members to voice their needs. Alternatively, a good facilitator would utilize the village elites' desire to show that their village was better than others as an opening to introduce development projects that could benefit the community at large. However, facilitators with limited knowledge and skills on interfacing with local power holders would often just succumb to the wills of the elites and failed to help communities to have their voices heard. Even within villages with more than one dominant clan, opportunities to counter balance the power structure existed, but without good facilitation skills facilitators would not be able to make the most of such opportunities.

Given the lack of training and infrequent visits that facilitators were able to make to the villages, the development of such an in-depth understanding

of the power structures and potential entry points to influence existing power structures would have been extremely challenging, if not impossible. The opportunities for facilitators to play a more important role in balancing the various power groups in the *adat* village structures was therefore lost, to the detriment of the weakest and more marginalized segments of the village community. In addition, since sub-district facilitators often came from different sub-districts/regions than their duty stations, they did not speak the local dialects and had to rely on Bahasa Indonesia to communicate with villagers. This often limited their ability to engage with communities and gave excessive power to the elites, who tended to be confident in using Bahasa Indonesia.

As a result, and as we see from the study's research findings, levels of knowledge of the program among the communities were very low and tended to be heavily concentrated in the village elite and those close to/related to the elite. Marginal groups and women were those members of the community most disadvantaged by the poor quality of the facilitation. This in turn led to low levels of participation at communal village meetings, which were supposed to underpin the community empowerment approach, often resulting in further elite capture of the decision-making progress.

5.3 Recommendations

Comparing PNPM/RESPEK implementation in Papua and the separate PNPM Rural and RESPEK implementation in West Papua, it can be seen that beneficiaries, especially non-elites, had better knowledge and participation levels in PNPM/RESPEK (Papua) and PNPM Rural (West Papua). For RESPEK (West Papua), only in one out of eight study villages did non-elites beneficiaries know anything more about the program other than its name. It seems that despite the clear weaknesses in implementation, PNPM/RESPEK and PNPM Rural were still far better in garnering community participation and enhancing transparency than RESPEK. Observations from this study indicate that this was largely influenced by the fact that PNPM/RESPEK and PNPM Rural employed independent facilitators to safe guard the program (ensuring that program stages and requirements were fulfilled), while in RESPEK all aspects of implementation, including the holding of program funds and decisions on what to build and by whom, were controlled by village heads alone.

Hence, despite the major weaknesses in implementation due to the challenges mentioned above, both future CDD programs in Papua/ West Papua (such as PROSPEK, which will replace RESPEK) and Village Law implementation will undoubtedly benefit from efforts to improve/ strengthen facilitation in the two provinces. This, however, will not be an easy feat to achieve given the unique circumstances in Tanah Papua.

5.3.1 Increasing Quality of Facilitators through Training and Incentive

Clearly, improving facilitation skills can only be done if program implementers actually provide adequate training in such skills, which ideally not only involve classroom materials but also field practice to test the skills, and mentoring to ensure that such skills will continue to improve overtime. Facilitators need to understand the primary objective of CDD programs in terms of empowerment, as well as the principles of participation, transparency and accountability that are stipulated under Village Law implementation. They also need to understand their roles in empowering communities: to support communities to voice and formulate their development needs, and to act as a bridge in the interaction and communication between elites and communities. The capability of facilitators to deal with power holders, to engage with various groups in the community, and to act as a bridge between elites and non-elites, is a critical component of the skills that need to be developed, both prior

to facilitators' deployment (through training) and throughout the lifetime of their deployment (through mentoring and refresher training where appropriate). An understanding of the socio-cultural and socio-political situation in various areas of Papua and West Papua also needs to be included as part of the preparation of facilitators prior to deployment.

In addition, the issue of incentives needs to be taken seriously if facilitators are to be expected to focus their work on facilitating and empowering communities. Current pressure to fulfil the administrative requirements of the program have created incentives for facilitators to favor finishing project activities and reporting on time, often at the price of ignoring community involvement, which takes longer to achieve. This focus on administrative requirements ultimately served to undermine community trust and expectations in the program. Thus, facilitators' tasks and performance must be linked with the facilitation skills mentioned above, with the ultimate goal of empowering communities to achieve their priority development needs.

5.3.2 Ensuring Participation of Marginalized Groups through Targeted Consultations

Given the social structure in Papua and West Papua that tends to entrench elite domination, CDD programs as well as Village Law implementation will need to carve out more targeted consultation space with marginalized groups to ensure that their aspiration and needs are captured in village planning. Such kind of consultations should ideally be facilitated by independent facilitators who can encourage marginalized groups to participate and speak up in meetings and can intercede on behalf of them if needed. In the context of Papua and West Papua, this role will likely need to be supported by existing community/civil society groups as explained in more details in the following section.

5.3.3 Using Existing Groups in Communities to Support Facilitation

One of the critical issues affecting facilitation in Papua and West Papua is the inadequate number of facilitators, especially in remote sub-districts. According to PNPM project data, 30 to 40 percent of sub-district facilitator positions are left vacant annually in Papua and West Papua. Although program implementers have taken some initiatives to overcome this—including lowering qualification requirements from a bachelor's degree to a diploma and special recruitment of technical facilitators through the Barefoot Engineer program—given the difficult working situation

in the two provinces, the chronic shortage of independently hired facilitators is likely to continue.

Given such challenges, it would be more realistic for the program to work with existing groups that are already working with communities in the villages, such as NGOs or religious groups, especially in remote/hard-to-reach areas. Findings in this study support this option, as seen for example in Urumb Village in Kabupaten Merauke, where church-sponsored NGO and Oxfam's work on women empowerment programs helped improve women's capacity to develop group proposals in PNPM/RESPEK and to manage RLFs. There is also an indication from previous studies on PNPM/RESPEK that church activists, including women and young people, can be empowered to play a role as power brokers to counterbalance the dominance of village elites (AKATIGA, 2010). Government from central, provincial and district levels will need to develop an arrangement that enables this effort, particularly in the context of the implementation of the Village Law.

5.3.4 Expanding Space to Communicate with the Community at Large

Providing information through formal meetings was not an effective way to transfer program information and knowledge to the community at large. As often happened, only elites or those close to the TPKK/village heads were invited to the meetings, leaving behind non-elites, women and other marginalized segments of the community. This also eventually limited community participation in the program and consolidate elite capture.

In some villages, informal venues such as the local market and *honai* were used to spread information and to gather community ideas for working on infrastructure projects. In Bukapa Village (Dogiyai), the market was the natural place for people from various backgrounds in the village to gather and exchange information. The TPKK and sub-district facilitator utilized this venue to exchange information about what had been built in other villages/sub-districts, to come up with initial ideas for village proposals, and to negotiate the proposals with the community prior to formal project meetings. As a result, communities' knowledge of the program was relatively better than that found in other research villages in the same sub-district. In Anjelma Village (Yahukimo), information about the program was spread through the *honai* so that knowledge of the program was relatively well dispersed throughout the clan, although this knowledge was still limited to male members of the clan.

Future program socialization will also benefit from utilizing such informal/public spaces to reach out to as many community members as possible.

5.3.5 Addressing Language Barrier More Effectively

In addition to verbal information, visual communication tools will also be crucial in improving people's understanding of the program, especially given the language barriers mentioned above. Using videos, pictures, and simple diagram will help facilitators to explain program objectives, activities, and procedures more clearly. Involving local civil society or community organizations to help translate and explain the procedures can also be very helpful in ensuring smooth communication. Facilitators also need to pay attention to local context in using Bahasa Indonesia to avoid using words that could lead to wrong perception about the program. For example, avoid using "kerja" to explain PNPM project and use "kumpul-kumpul" instead.

5.3.6 Creating Space for Women and Their Needs

As is clear from the study's findings across almost all of the research villages that women's participation in the PNPM/RESPEK program remained weak despite the efforts made to encourage their involvement. Of the 20 research villages in the study, in only seven villages did women suggest activities at village-level consultation meetings and, even then, in every subsequent decision-making vote, the women's suggestions lost out to those of the men. In addition, those few women who did feel able to suggest activities were invariably those who had a track record of being active in village activities, for instance, in PKK or the church.

In light of the context of gender relations in Papua/West Papua, in which women are widely dominated and marginalized by men, special attention is needed to create space for women's participation in CDD programs and also to ensure that allocated funds specifically for women's activities do indeed reach their targets. The findings show that despite these allocations of 15 percent in PNPM, it was rare for these funds to be fully controlled by women's groups, or even to be used to address the specific needs of women in the community. This was partly due to an erroneous assumption that the 15 percent of funds earmarked for women could only be used for women's revolving loan

funds (*Simpan Pinjam untuk Perempuan, SPP*). Sub-district facilitators often vetoed the allocation of these funds on the grounds that the risk of default/non-repayment was too high and could lead to suspension of the village in qualifying for the following year's block grant.

One outstanding exception to the general rule was found in Urumb village in Kabupaten Merauke. As elsewhere, in Urumb most of those attending and dominating PNPM meetings were men. However, thanks to the facilitation of women's groups in the village by NGOs, in particular Oxfam GB, operating through the Papuan Women's Empowerment Project (PAWE), some women's groups were able to improve their capacity for collective action and create solid and complete proposals and were thus empowered to participate in the PNPM/RESPEK program. As a result, members of the groups were invited to village meetings and were able to voice their opinions and take part in the decision-making process. Their participation led to one of the women's groups receiving the full allocation of IDR 15,000,000 to start small enterprises through a revolving loan fund.

Building on this experience, it seems reasonable to conclude that if efforts to promote women's participation are to be successful, it will be necessary to strengthen the capacity of women to organize themselves and develop solid and complete proposals for economic-and health/education-based activities. In addition, program implementers need to provide dedicated space for women, such as special meetings for women and specific fund allocations for women's groups. Thus far, most villages in the research locations did not conduct special meetings for women and neglected to provide women with their share of 15 percent of the block grant. Whenever possible, women facilitators should be deployed to work with women's groups, given the unbalanced relationship between men and women in most villages in Papua/West Papua. When this is not realistic (for example, due to security concerns or the remoteness of working locations), the program should be encouraged to work with existing NGOs/church organizations, or with women cadres (PKK, *Posyandu*, etc.) to help create and enforce space for women to participate in community development.

GLOSSARY

ADK	<i>Alokasi Dana Kampung</i> (Village Funds Allocation)
ADPK	<i>Alokasi Dana Pemberdayaan Kampung</i> (Village Community Empowerment Funds Allocation)
APBD	Provincial Budget
APBN	National Budget
BPD	<i>Badan Permusyawaratan Desa</i> (Village Consultative Body)
Bupati/Walikota	Mayor
CDD	Community Driven Development
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
Dana Otsus	Special Autonomy Fund
DDUB	<i>Dana Daerah Urusan Bersama</i> (Joint-Affairs Regional Funds)
DG PMD	Directorate General of Community and Village Empowerment
Gotong Royong	Mutual Help System
Honai	Traditional house of the mountainous community in Papua
Kabupaten	District
Kecamatan	Sub-district
Kerja	Work
KPMK	<i>Kantor Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Kampung</i> (Village Community Empowerment Office)
Kumpul-Kumpul	Gathering
LMD	<i>Lembaga Masyarakat Desa</i> (Village Community Organization)
MC	Management Coordinator
MCK	<i>Mandi, Cuci, Kakus</i> (Bathing, Washing And Toilet Facilities)
MoHA	Ministry of Home Affair
NGO	Non Government Organization
OPM	<i>Organisasi Papua Merdeka</i> (Free Papua Organization)
PAD	Project Appraisal Document
PAWE	Papuan Women's Empowerment Project
PBM	<i>Perencanaan Bersama Masyarakat</i> (Community Joint Planning)
PD	<i>Pendamping Distrik</i> (Sub-district facilitator)
PK	<i>Pendamping Kampung</i> (Village Facilitator)
Pergub	<i>Peraturan Gubernur</i> (Governatorial Regulation)
PNPM	<i>Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat</i> (National Program for Community Empowerment)
PJOK	<i>Penanggung Jawab Operasional Kegiatan</i> (Activity Operational Manager)
PKK	<i>Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga</i> (Family Welfare Program)
Posyandu	<i>Pos Pelayanan Terpadu</i> (Local Community Health Post)
PPK/PPD	<i>Program Pembangunan Kecamatan/Distrik</i> (Kecamatan Development Program)
PTO	<i>Petunjuk Teknis Operasional</i> (Technical Operational Guidelines)
Pustu	<i>Puskesmas Pembantu</i> (Auxiliary Community Health Center)
RAB	<i>Rancangan Anggaran Belanja</i> (Cost Budget Estimate)
RESPEK	<i>Rencana Strategis Pembangunan Kampung</i> (Village Development Strategic Plan)
RLF	Revolving Loan Funds
RT	<i>Rukun Tetangga</i> (Neighbourhood Unit)
SPP	<i>Simpan Pinjam Kelompok Perempuan</i> (Women's Savings and Loan)
TNP2K	<i>Tim Nasional Percepatan Penanggulangan Kemiskinan</i> (National Team for Acceleration of Poverty Alleviation)
TPKD	<i>Tim Pelaksana Kegiatan Distrik</i> (Sub-district Program Implementation Team)
TPKK	<i>Tim Pelaksana Kegiatan Kampung</i> (Village Program Implementation Team)

PNPM SUPPORT FACILITY (PSF)

The core business of the PNPM Support Facility (PSF) is reducing poverty by supporting the effective leadership and management of the Government of Indonesia's (GOI) flagship poverty reduction program, the National Program for Community Empowerment, PNPM, which is the largest community-based poverty reduction program in the world. Through PSF, development partners provide high-quality coordinated technical assistance as well as policy and planning advice and targeted financial assistance to the GOI in support of PNPM. PNPM has benefited millions of men, women and children in accessing infrastructure, services, and employment. The PSF is now supporting the GOI to adopt the key principles of community-driven development from PNPM in the implementation of a new national framework for village governance, the Village Law of 2014.

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