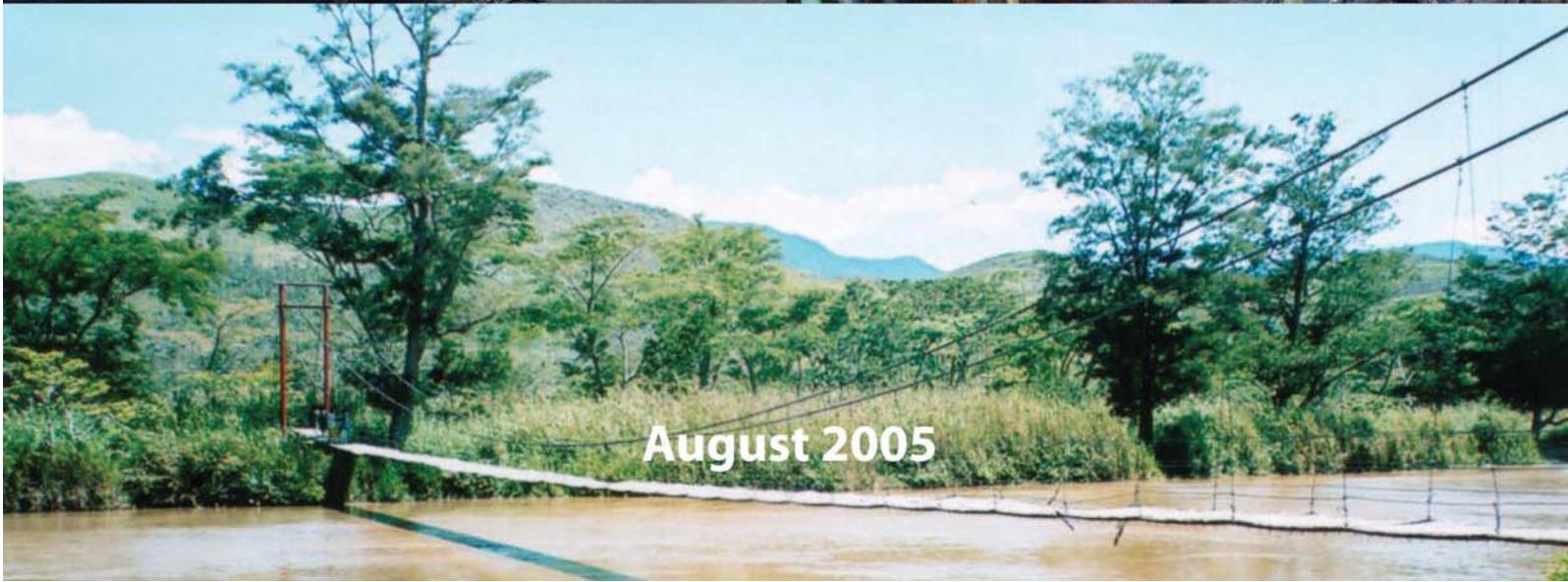




Papua Needs Assessment

An Overview of Findings and Implications for the Programming of Development Assistance



August 2005

Papua Needs Assessment

*An Overview of Findings and Implications for
the Programming of Development Assistance*

UNDP
2005

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FORWARD

This Papua Needs Assessment Report has resulted from cooperation between the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the National Development Planning Agency (BAPPENAS) and local partners in Papua, the Regional Development Planning Agency (BP3D), civil society organizations and universities in Papua.

The result of the assessment depict the community and development situation in Papua, mapping local problems that require attention in an integrated manner. The recommendations put forward would serve to increase support for Papua's development in relation to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Papua's Medium Term Development Plan (RPJM) and the Long Term Development Plan (RPJP).

Such as framework emphasizes the importance of human resources and capacity development for local government and civil society. To successfully improve the welfare of Papuan communities will require hard work and support from diverse parties, both government, the community, businesses, politicians and academics.

I would like to congratulate the Papua Needs Assessment team and all parties involved in the effort of producing the information and framework presented herein.



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Executive Summary

With more than 250 different linguistic groups and a vast land area rich in natural resources, Papua presents unique challenges and opportunities for human development. Despite its extraordinary cultural and natural resources, Papua ranks as the lowest province in the Indonesian Human Development Index (2004) and is lagging behind most other provinces in the key indicators used in measuring progress toward the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Key development challenges include widespread poverty, limited economic opportunities, the spread of diseases (such as HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria), and the poor level of education.

With this in mind, in 2004 the Government of Indonesia requested the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) to facilitate a needs assessment to examine the situation in Papua and review the implications for programmes to further human development there. The Papua Needs Assessment (PNA) was undertaken in collaboration with local Papuan partners and other national and international consultants over 12 months between August 2004 and May 2005. The UNDP's point of departure was Papua's Grand Strategy, the framework through which provincial government has expressed its view of Papua's needs and priorities. The key areas for attention in the Grand Strategy are health, education, livelihoods and basic/community infrastructure, which are clearly and directly consistent with the MDGs, to which the government has affirmed its commitment.

For the PNA, the State University of Papua (UNIPA) and Cenderawasih University (UNCEN) conducted assessments of local government capacities, with a focus on service delivery in health, education, infrastructure and livelihood-related services in 17 *kabupatens*, including 8 newly formed *kabupatens*. Papuan non-government organizations (Yalhimo, Yayasan Almamater, Yayasan Pembangunan Masyarakat Desa and Perdu) carried out assessments of village conditions and community livelihoods in 17 *kabupatens*, and analysed selected civil society organization (CSO) capacities related to community livelihood needs and aspirations. Other consultants reviewed the status of governance and public finance, gender issues and environmental management, to complement the work done by local partners. A multi-stakeholder team referred to as the Synthesis Team, or "Tim Sintese", reviewed this work and developed a synthesis of the development situation in Papua, which is available separately from this overview of the PNA.

This document summarises the UNDP's understanding of the main PNA findings, beginning with an overview of cross-cutting social, cultural, environmental and economic dimensions, then presenting governance issues related to development and finally the provision of education, health, community livelihoods, and infrastructure. Issues of capacity, development coordination and lessons from the PNA process are summarized as a reference for all stakeholders committed to human development in Papua and for consideration in the preparation of future policies and programmes. A recommendation for a framework for development assistance to improve individual, institutional and societal capacities in Papua is outlined in the concluding section.

Based on a review of the existing quantitative secondary data and a rich set of qualitative information drawn from field assessments, the main picture of Papua emerging from the PNA is one of:¹

- Low local government capacity for policy-making, planning and delivering basic services outside the main cities or towns
- Little local government accountability

¹ Data integrity is low in Papua and presents a major constraint to quantifying a baseline and monitoring changes over time. Some of the official (BPS) data for Papua differs from one report to another, and presents a very different picture than that emerging from information that was collected directly from *kabupaten* agencies and from village communities during the PNA.

- Capable but severely constrained civil society organizations
- Lack of locally-responsive programme designs
- Communities with extremely varied histories and conditions but common needs for basic social services.

Since the advent of Special Autonomy, there have been significant increases in the allocation of financial resources to Papua by the central government. However, due to the local government authorities' limited capacities, the additional funds have not yet produced the results expected for the benefit of the local population. People in the many areas outside the district (*kecamatan*) centres do not have reliable or adequate access to clean water, power, teachers, health workers or markets. Women, children and other vulnerable groups receive little priority in government policies and the provision of social services. Civil society organizations, and in particular those religious organizations that have long served local and remote populations, have limited access to the increased resources available to local government. Overall public engagement in government policy and programmes is low, however with the vibrant civil society in Papua, demands for greater public participation, influence and development benefits are growing.

Natural resources, which are the mainstay of Papuans' subsistence economy, are under increasing pressure from commercial exploitation. A major factor in this problem is a lack of clarity in existing laws and local administrators' limited capacity to manage renewable natural resources in a sustainable way. The potential for conflict within communities and between local people and outsiders is also increasing, particularly in relation to the mismanagement of natural resources, but also due to the growing disparities and social changes that many local communities are experiencing.

Local community, CSO and government accounts of previous development initiatives in Papua repeat the message that development assistance must be long-term, focused on developing capacities, and must keep people as the focus of development benefits. There is broad agreement that cooperation and coordination between all development actors, both local and external, should be improved, so that lessons and successes are more widely and deeply understood. Furthermore, coordination between these actors is seen as a way to couple the considerable resources of the government and donors with the local knowledge of CSOs.

While supporting development in Papua requires concentrating on 'the basics', the dynamics of Papuan society make it a complex and demanding environment for more effective development assistance. Throughout the PNA, considerable time and resources have been devoted to fostering relationships in Papua and respecting local pace and contexts. The UNDP's focus in the PNA was at least as much on the process as on the content of the assessment activities, as the ultimate objective was to formulate a locally-owned framework for appropriate development assistance for Papua. Establishing cooperation and mutual learning were seen as an important operational norm for the PNA as well as for the future long-term programme amongst donors wishing to support the achievement of the MDGs in Papua.

1. Introduction

From a development perspective, Papua has long been one of Indonesia's most challenging regions. Its vastness and remoteness has at once helped to preserve some of the richest cultural, linguistic and ecological diversity in the world, while presenting unique challenges to the development initiatives of local people, the Indonesian government and civil society actors. In the past, a lack of understanding of local context has often hindered the effectiveness of development efforts. Moreover, the unique diversity of cultures has meant that communities often have different priorities and divergent understandings of development objectives. Although Papua is one of the richest provinces in terms of GRDP per capita, there are vast segments of the population that do not yet have access to public education and health services and are in many regards considered 'poor' or, as some Papuans prefer, "not yet fortunate".

In 2004 the Government of Indonesia requested that the UNDP facilitate a needs assessment as the basis for a strategic framework for a long-term development programme for Papua. Papua's local government has also laid out a grand strategy for development, expressing its own view of Papuan needs and priorities. This strategy places the highest priority on health, education, livelihoods and basic/community infrastructure and is consistent with the basic human development objectives articulated by the Millennium Development Goals (MGDs). The Papua Needs Assessment has sought to integrate these differing perspectives of development into a coherent picture of development needs.

This report presents the results of the assessment examining both the broad, cross-cutting factors of development (i.e. cultural, environmental, economic, governance factors) as well as the specific priority areas of development in Papua (i.e. health, education, community livelihoods, and infrastructure). It portrays a vision of development shared by communities and the government alike, while highlighting the distinct contextual issues that affect how this vision can be achieved.



2. Assessment objectives and methodology

2.1 Objectives

The Papua Needs Assessment was formulated to examine the current situation in Papua and review the implications for policies, strategies, and programmes geared to reduce poverty and further human development. The primary outputs of this assessment were:

- 1) Identification of priority needs to support human development and reduce poverty in Papua by understanding local realities, perceptions and aspirations; and
- 2) Formulation of a programme framework for development assistance in Papua.

Recognising that development is part of a long historical process, the assessment emphasised the engagement of key actors and diverse stakeholders, aiming to set an operational norm for subsequent programmes. As such, the assessment thus adopted the following additional process-oriented objectives:

- *Consult, and promote dialogue* with all levels of society from *kabupaten* centres to rural neighbourhoods, as input to determining priorities, strategies, and needs;
- *Mainstream gender and environmental issues* by incorporating these issues and perspectives into all component activities of the assessment from the outset;
- *Build capacities of local partner agencies through action* as an integral element of the assessment approach, by engaging local groups and institutions in the process, and providing training and technical support when necessary;

2.2 Overview of PNA activities

The Papua Needs Assessment involved many stakeholders with disparate perspectives of development. It built on existing processes that have led to an increasingly shared vision of people-centred development for Papua. Assorted field studies provided a snapshot of the current baseline and helped to highlight the gap between development goals and the current realities in Papua. Integral to this was the assessment of the current capacity for achieving development goals. This facilitated the identification of areas where development initiatives can most fruitfully make progress in the unique Papuan context.

To conduct the needs assessment, the UNDP worked with local Papuan partners and other national and international consultants between August 2004 and May 2005, reviewing and assessing a range of issues related to human development and poverty in Papua.

The assessment team maximised use of local expertise by engaging local universities and organizations to carry out the more specific inputs to the PNA process. The State University of Papua (UNIPA) and Cenderawasih University (UNCEN) conducted assessments of local government capacities, with a focus on service delivery in health, education, infrastructure and livelihood-related services in 17 *kabupatens*, including 8 newly formed *kabupatens*. Papuan non-government organizations (Yalhimo, Yayasan Almamater, Yayasan Pembangunan Masyarakat Desa and Perdu) carried out assessments of village conditions and community livelihoods in 17 *kabupatens*, and analysed selected civil society organization (CSO) capacities related to community livelihood needs and aspirations. Other consultants reviewed the status of governance and public finance, gender issues and environmental management, to complement the work done by local partners.

3. General Assessment

3.1 Overview

Papua constitutes a major region within Indonesia - with 42.2 million ha of land, it represents 22% of the total land area of Indonesia. In the 2000 census by BPS, the total population of Papua was 2.23 million, of which 580 thousand (26%) were living in urban areas, and 1.65 million (74%) in rural areas. According to BPS data from 2003, the population had increased to 2.35 million, of which 646 thousand (27.5%) were living in urban areas population and 1.7 million (72.5%) in rural areas. According to the same source, only one third of the population in urban areas is indigenous Papuan, while in rural areas they represent three quarters of the total population.

Papua is endowed with abundant forest, water and mineral resources, which, combined with its many vibrant cultures, give Papua a unique identity. Although Papua enjoys Indonesia's fourth highest level of GRDP per capita of over Rp.11 million largely from natural resource-related industries, these economic successes have not been shared by most Papuans and have not translated into corresponding levels of human development. Papua is the province with Indonesia's highest incidence of poverty with 41.8% of Papuans living on less than US\$1 per day, more than double the national average of 18.2% (Indonesia Human Development Report, 2004).

Note on statistical data

Statistical data cited in this report is derived from a range of sources accessed by the teams working on the PNA. In some cases, original sources such as BPS are cited, however other sources noted as being from 'PNA reports', refers to the data collected directly from *kabupaten* governments and '*dinas*' offices. Such data was gathered either by UNCEN and UNIPA teams or by other task consultants and has been included in this summary based on their reports. Realising the problems of data integrity in Papua, the PNA teams endeavoured to accurately portray their findings by using a combination of statistical data, rich descriptions of observations and information, with photographic records.

3.1.1 Papuan poverty and the Millennium Development Goals

Papuans recognize that they live in a rich natural environment, and one from which some have extracted considerable material wealth. Rather than describing the majority of Papuans as poor, some CSOs have suggested that Papuans are impoverished and "*belum beruntung*", or "not yet fortunate". These local perceptions provide insight into some of the frustrations and aspirations that Papuan people have regarding their human development situation. An examination of other social indicators that relate to a more holistic picture of human development further reveals the depth of poverty endemic in the province.

For many non-economic indicators of poverty, including those measured by the MDGs, Papua lags behind most other provinces. According to the recently released Indonesian Human Development Index (HDI 2004), Papua ranks lowest in Indonesia. It stands out as one of the few 'declining' regions, actually suffering *deterioration* in HDI status, which is mostly attributed to declines in education coverage and income levels. The government's Demographic Health Survey in Papua (1997) showed an infant mortality rate at 65 per 1000 live births, and child mortality at approximately 30 per 1000. An indicator for maternal health, the percentage of births assisted by trained medical personnel is just 50.5% in Papua (Provincial Health Service, 2005). The BPS census of 2000 indicated that only 82% of children in Papua attend primary school (SD), 47% attend junior secondary school (SLTP), and 19% attend senior secondary school (SMU). These figures place Papua far below national levels and paint a much more serious development situation than the GRDP data above.

Although these indicators are useful for comparisons across regions and countries, especially with regard to the MDGs (see inset), they may not be especially salient to Papua's particular cultural and socio-economic contexts. Debate concerning the nature of poverty in Papua is vigorous, especially as it relates to what are viewed by some development actors as externally-imposed indicators of poverty.

As part of the UNDP's work in supporting preparation of poverty reduction strategies and mainstreaming the Millennium Development Goals throughout Indonesia, stakeholders from government and civil society in Papua were involved in workshops and discussions about the MDGs. The local relevance and appropriateness of the goals was questioned and draft local targets and indicators were developed. An example of a Papuan-specific indicator that was proposed in relation to Goal 1 (halving poverty and hunger) was a minimal daily income of Rp.26,000 per person, as US\$1/day was considered insufficient in the local economy. In another example, common Indonesian poverty indicators such as rice consumption, home construction, meals per day, or even access to

The Millennium Development Goals

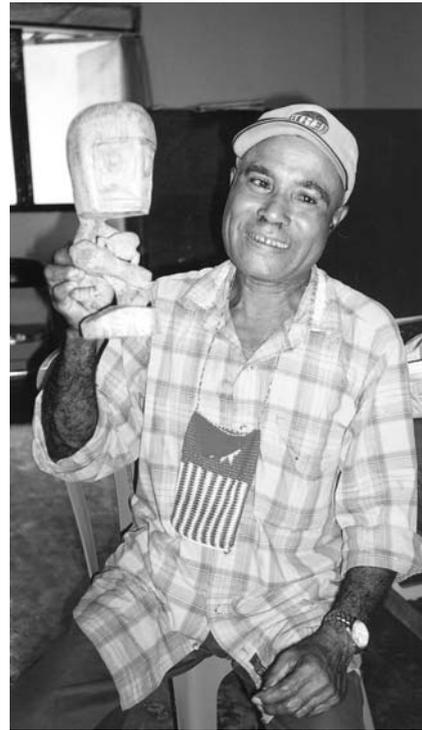
- Goal 1:** Eradicating Extreme Poverty and Hunger
- Goal 2:** Achieving Universal Basic Education
- Goal 3:** Promoting Gender Equality and Empowering Women
- Goal 4:** Reducing Child Mortality
- Goal 5:** Improving Maternal Health and Combating
- Goal 6:** HIV/AIDS, Malaria and Other Diseases
- Goal 7:** Ensuring Environmental Stability
- Goal 8:** Developing Global Partnerships

'improved' water supply are also considered an imposition of standards and expectations that derive from and reflect ideas closer to other, non-Papuan cultures. This opinion, expressed by several NGOs and local government personnel in Papua, is demonstrated by the example of the 'RASKIN' (*beras miskin* or 'rice for the poor') program, a transfer payment scheme providing subsidized rice for poor families and generally thought to be an effective pro-poor program in much of Indonesia. In Papua, 6 years of *Raskin*, has made little difference to the quality of life of people that were categorised as poor and received rice through the program. Reasons include that besides being very expensive due to air transport costs for remote, poor areas, the introduction of rice appears to be undermining food security in poor areas by weakening or displacing traditional production and consumption patterns which were based on dietary staples of sago, yams and sweet potatoes.

3.2 The economy

Papua's GRDP was estimated to reach Rp 28.725.638 million in 2003, generating a per capita GRDP of over Rp.11 million, which is the fourth highest level of per capita GRDP of all provinces of Indonesia - only East Kalimantan, Jakarta and Riau have higher levels of per capita GRDP. In recent years the Papuan regional economy also has experienced significant and sustained growth. The regional economy has two dominant sectors, namely mining and agriculture, which together account for 76% of the GRDP (See Figure 3). These two sectors play two distinct roles in the economy. The capital-intensive mining industry is the largest aggregate generator of income accounting for 57% of GRDP, while employing only 0.6% of the workforce. On the other hand, the labour-intensive agricultural sector, accounts for 75% of the workforce while only generating about 19% of the GRDP, due to low productivity. This has resulted in the extremely low income levels for the vast majority of workers, thus accounting for the wide income disparity discussed earlier. Even within the agricultural sector there exist considerable disparities in levels of income and productivity. An important part of the agricultural sectors is characterized by traditional farming systems and patterns of hunting and gathering. At the same time, more intensive farming systems that make use of modern technologies are found in the transmigration settlements, the modern estate crop sub-sector and some fishing operations.

Of the 7.2 million hectares of arable land, as much as 163,000 hectares have been brought under cultivation in commercial estates that produce cash-crops such as coconut, cacao, cloves, nutmeg, cashews, coffee, palm oil, and rubber. Forestry production areas cover 10.5 million hectares. Non-timber forest products are also produced in forests owned and managed by local communities, using *adat* systems. The principle constraints identified to expanding the agricultural sector and increasing productivity of those engaged in agriculture are identified as: (i) limited access to markets; (ii) limited access to appropriate technical assistance; and (iii) limited access to credit.



The largest economic enterprise in Papua at present is the PT Freeport McMoran Indonesia copper and gold mine in *Kabupaten* Mimika. Excavations by this company provides access to approximately 447 million metric tons of ore, 14 billion pounds of copper reserves, 19 million ounces of gold and 35 million ounces of silver. The company's actual gross revenues are estimated to be US\$ 1.7 billion or US\$ 0.5 billion net per year (www.fcx.com). Taxes and royalties paid to the Government in 2003 amounted to US\$ 329 million, and 13% of this was shared with regional government authorities in Papua. The mine employs approximately 7,000 people of which a minority (2000) are native Papuans.

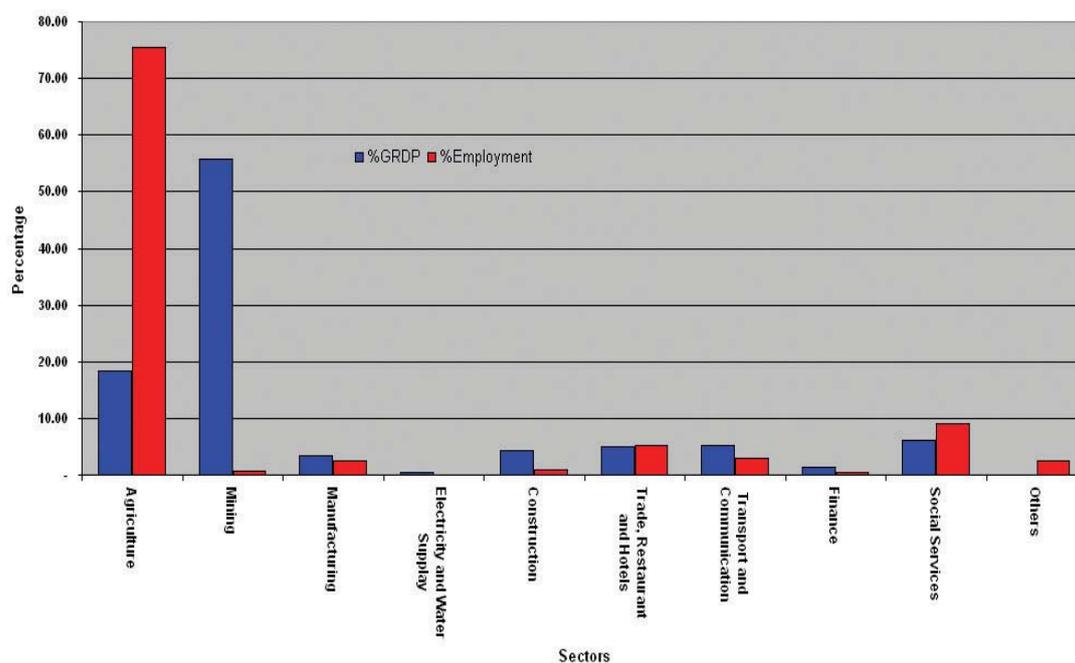
A new major investment being set up by BP Indonesia is the Tangguh Project, located in Bintuni Bay, south of the Bird's Head region of Papua. BP will invest an estimated US\$4.6 billion and has obtained a 25-year sales contract for exporting an estimated 7 million cubic feet of liquefied natural gas annually from the confirmed 14.4 trillion cubic feet of gas reserves. When operational, the Tangguh Project will employ approximately 500 people, including native Papuans who are being trained to acquire suitable skills and experience (www.bp.com).

As shown in **Figure 2** and **Table 1**, the other sectors of the regional economy of Papua make significantly smaller contributions to GRDP than agriculture and mining. Their roles in providing employment opportunities are also less than the agricultural sector, but considerably greater than the mining, oil and gas sector. The social services sector provides employment for some 9% of the work force and the government directly employs nearly 6% of the work force as civil servants. The manufacturing sector is weak, generating only 3.66% of GRDP, and the region is dependent on other regions of Indonesia for most manufactured goods.

The region's current strategy for economic development has been drafted to achieve a more equitable pattern of growth and greater participation of Papuans in the economy. This strategy calls for:

- Increasing foreign and domestic investment and building more functional linkages between foreign investors and domestic investors; strengthening the capacity of small and medium sized businesses;
- Increasing Papuan participation in natural resource exploitation through shared ownership in exchange for use of land resources;
- Improving infrastructure so as to open up and strengthen rural-urban market linkages;
- Generally improving the access of native Papuan populations to economic benefits from the use of natural resources.

Figure 2. Percentages of GRDP and employment by sector of the economy of Papua region.



Source: Papua in Figures, BPS 2003

Table 1. GRDP (in current Rupiah) and employment for all sectors of the economy of the Papua region.

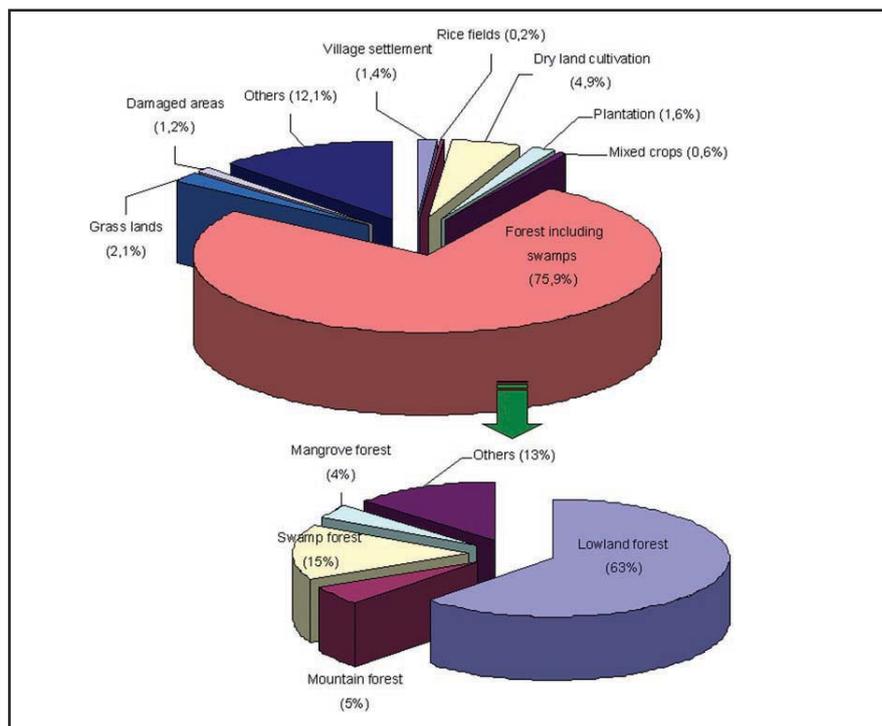
Sector	GRDP Papua by Sector		Employment by Sector	
	Rp. Million	%	Total Individuals Engaged	%
Agriculture	5.404.154,55	18,81	814.98	75,40
Mining	16.296.055,00	56,73	6.584	0,61
Manufacturing	1.051.053,27	3,66	27.674	2,56
Electricity and Water Supply	109.447,74	0,38	789	0,07
Construction	923.650,79	3,22	10.961	1,01
Trade, Restaurant and Hotels	1.636.693,42	5,70	57.371	5,31
Transport and Communication	1.003.301,74	3,49	31.659	2,93
Finance	298.351,65	1,04	6.106	0,56
Social Services	2.002.930,26	6,97	97.648	9,03
Others	-	-	27.038	2,50
Total	28.725.638,42	100,00	1.080.810	100,00

Source: Papua in Figures, BPS 2003

3.3 Land and environment

As noted earlier, Papua's greatest comparative advantage is its natural resources.. However while abundant, these natural resources , are finite and some uses have the potential to impact their future availability. Furthermore, because of the intimate relationship between the land, sea and the socio-cultural and economic (livelihood) status of many communities, the manner by which the 42.2 million ha of land is used is a cross-cutting issue with profound implications. However, with the diversity of social systems, there are many, often competing paradigms for the use allocation of resources. Formal property rights are often at odds with informal adat governed property rights, while illegal resource appropriation undermines both. Although some resources remain robust to further exploitation, others are already subject to increasing scarcity. In some areas, intense extraction activities are causing some local people to irreparably lose their environmental assets, spawning conflicts between local people over natural resources and disrupting delicate ecosystems. This environmental damage has a disproportionate impact on the poorest for whom the local environment is their primary means of livelihood and for whom employment in other sectors is inaccessible. Figure 3 shows the breakdown of land use, according to BPS (2003).

Figure 3. Land uses in Papua



Source: UNDP, based on Papua in Figures, BPS 2003

Papua is rich in copper, gold, silver, oil, gas, timber and marine products, such that the extraction of natural resources by corporations is the primary source of income in the Papuan economy (see section 3.2). The value of these primary commodities combined with the remoteness of their locations renders them vulnerable to illegal and excessive extraction. In addition to threatening the long-term health of the local ecosystems, the unlawful extraction of natural resources has serious economic implications. In 2002 alone, illegal logging in Papua resulted in an estimated Rp. 558.8 billion (roughly US\$ 60 million) in lost state income, which could have been used for vital public services. In 2003 and for coming years, such losses were estimated at Rp 2.142

trillion per annum (roughly US \$230 million, based on data of Rp.178.5 billion per month) (Cenderawasih Post cited in PNA reports, 2005).

In Papua, much land considered to be the customary or *adat* land of local tribes and clans is now formally classified as state lands and large areas have been allocated as concessions to forestry and mining companies. Other areas constitute titled land or have been formally designated as national reserves. Still further areas of land remain *adat* land owned by local communities, used for subsistence activities, rented out to others or commissioned to forestry enterprises. At the same time, there is considerable overlap between areas, where multiple classifications exist and government allocations bear little resemblance to the resources – or their use- on the ground. The overall land use situation in Papua is thus relatively complex.

Although a national-level set of laws on forestry and on marine fishery are in place, they have been unable to guarantee natural resource conservation or local communities' rights to sustainably exploit the forests. The majority of local communities are highly reliant on natural resources for their daily needs as well as for incomes. An overview of Papuan ecosystems and the relationship between local people and livelihoods with these environments depicts this dependence (see box). In areas away from towns most of people's material needs are met through the environment, whereas closer to towns people have more diverse means to income but also remain reliant on the surrounding environment. The forestry policy of licensing community co-operatives (Koperasi Masyarakat or 'KOPERMAS') may have been intended to allow local people to participate in and benefit from organised industry, however in Papua it is widely regarded as a means to legitimise illegal logging. KOPERMAS licences are offered to companies that in turn allow and encourage local people to log their forest areas without enforcement of environmental guidelines or regeneration activities. This practice generates short-term employment opportunities, but threatens longer-term uses.

Overview of Papuan ecosystems, cultures and livelihood patterns

Marshlands in coastal areas and rivers – approximately 21%* Mainly subsistence, depending on sago, fishing, hunting; growth season 3-6 months; remote from urban markets (Sarmi, Merauke, Mappi, Asmat, Waropen, Sorong South)

Coastal areas - approximately 35%*

Indigenous farmers live from subsistence farming (sago, gardening, pig husbandry, fishing) while transmigrant farmers live from soybeans, cassava, sweet potatoes and tree crops; growth season 10 months; sandy soils of moderate fertility (Biak Numfor, Supiori, Bay Wondama, Manokwari Yapen Waropen, Sorong, Fak Fak, Mimika)

Highlands – approximately 28%*

Population concentrated around Paniai lakes, in Baliem Valley, and eastern valleys, living from subsistence gardening, pig husbandry, heavy dependence on sweet potatoes; growth season 10 months; living conditions poor with associated malnutrition; soil depths < 50cms and acidic (Entire mountain cordillera, Jayawijaya, Puncak Jaya, Paniai Pungunugan Bintang, Yahukimo,)

Foothills and Valleys – approximately 16%*

Scattered households, whole or mainly living from subsistence sectors, relying on gardening, pig husbandry, hunting and gathering food; growth season 10 month; shallow slope soils with complex accumulations of peat soils around the lakes. Living conditions worse than coastal rural zone, better than in swamps and riverine zone (Bird's Head, Bird's Neck, inner-land of Raja Empat, Keerom, Bintuni Bay, Boven Digul, Tolikara, Kaimana)

* estimated % of total rural populations; based on data from Lavalin International 1998 (assorted preparatory documents in Integrated Area Development Programme).

Some resources appear robust enough to accommodate greater extraction, if properly managed. For example, surveys have determined that Papua has a potential sustainable yield of 1,254,700 tons per year of fishery products. The total catch at present is estimated to be 211,211 tons per annum, comprised both the catches of large fishing companies and those of local fishermen in coastal and inland fisheries. The fisheries sector would appear to have great potential for future expansion, if managed sustainably. Although marine resources are subject to regulation by local *adat* rules and systems in some areas, traditional marine tenure is not recognised in state laws.

A further issue in natural resource and environmental management in Papua is the perceived lack of synchronization between the policies of the central government and those of the local governments. At the same time, however, it is not particularly clear what type or degree of synchronisation is required of local administrations. A major part of this problem is that the legal instruments do not exist to address the competing interests in natural resources management and environment issues. The provincial and Kabupaten governments have limited capacity to prepare and enforce stronger legal instruments related to sustainable resource use. This is coupled with minimal central and provincial government action to protect the environment or ensure sustainable environment management. Local government at *kabupaten* and district (*kecamatan*) levels has also very little capacity to manage and monitor the use and protection of natural resources, or to enforce existing or future laws. In summary, there is no operating model for natural resources management that accommodates all stakeholders and capacities to support such a model are extremely weak.

3.4 Cultures and communities

With more than 250 different indigenous tribes as well as migrants from other parts of Indonesia, Papua's cultural diversity is on an order apart from the rest of Indonesia. The total indigenous population is estimated at 1.46 million or 66% of the total population. Each community in Papua has its own culture, norms, practices and values, and in many cases, language. The remaining 34% of the population are non-indigenous Papuans or migrants, of whom approximately half have been brought to Papua by government-organised transmigrations from Java, Bali and Nusa Tenggara Timur. The other half moved without government sponsorship from Sulawesi Toraja, Makassar, Minahasa, Maluku and other regions of Indonesia, and from abroad (BPS, 2003). The 25 largest linguistic groups represent 75% of the indigenous population, however each group has less than 200,000 people, and in many tribes there are only a few thousand people.

The family and clan are the most basic social units in Papua and are considered by some as their own informal community-based organisations. Each ethnic group in every village included in the PNA has a customary institution that deals with resource boundaries, compensation and personal problems related to marriages, moral guidance and other *adat* matters. Some of these customary institutions have gained status as formal organisations (*Lembaga Adat*). Most communities refer to these institutions or organisations for guidance and dispute resolution, instead of the government or police. Semi-formal and formal *adat* institutions in Papua are burgeoning in number and many indigenous people consider them an appropriate way to organise around their common interests as well as to arbitrate justice. Recent formalisation of *adat* into these organisations appears, in part, as a local response to the rising dissonance between local traditions and expanding outside influences. These organisations provide an intermediary between local traditional norms and influences from outside, including formal education and popular media.

In addition to *adat* organisations, many local people readily refer to religious organisations for guidance. Religious organisations are present at the village level and are mostly involved in providing basic education services and spiritual guidance. In the villages further from towns, the church is often the only piece of public infrastructure that is used and maintained on a regular basis, other than lookouts or traditional meeting places such as *adat* houses. The consistent

use and upkeep of church buildings is one of several local norms which shows the central role of the church in their lives. The most prominent religious/church organization in Papua is *Gereja Kristen Indonesia* (GKI-Papua). Together with the Catholic Church and other Protestant denominations, these remain the only non-indigenous institutions with access to, and a presence in, the most remote areas in Papua. Although the government appears not to have fully recognised religious organisations in Papua as important development partner, they have recently shown a willingness to expand their role in human development in Papua.

As cultural and religious organisations, the churches (and some other civil society organisations) play an important role in developing equity. For example, women's participation is greater in church-related activities than in *adat* or local government forums. They have a strong role in family and community economics but have a weak position in public and political spheres.

Apart from religious organisations, NGOs form a vibrant part of civil society in Papua, although the number of active NGOs is far smaller than the number registered. In the Bird's Head area in particular, there has been a growth in the number of NGOs that do not exist to develop communities or to influence policy development, but rather have been formed to take advantage of the financial opportunities they perceive in government programmes and in private sector activities. Of the active NGOs, only a very small proportion are present at district (*kecamatan*) or village levels - the vast majority are based in provincial and *kabupaten* capitals and are reliant on donors for their funding. Furthermore, their activities at the village level tend to be driven by the agenda and schedules of external agencies and thus they are not usually able to have sustainable impacts. At the same time, however, some local NGOs have developed relationships and the cultural knowledge that are essential to successful grassroots development projects. The communities that have benefited from the assistance of NGOs desire longer-term engagements with outsiders that can help them in their social and environmental goals.

At present there is little consideration of customary laws (*hukum adat, hak ulayat, tanah adat*) or local social systems in government development circles. Although there are provisions in OTSUS that signal some recognition of cultural identities, symbols and rights, they have not yet been realised since the required rulings and laws have not been formulated. Development initiatives targetting local populations were reported by NGOs working on the needs assessment as having frequently failed due to methods that did not respond to, or build on, local cultural norms. What constitutes a culturally-appropriate approach varies as much as culture itself, however cultural awareness in development approaches requires knowledge of local habits, priorities, knowledge and beliefs, communities' internal structures and politics, and of their own timeframes and ways of doing things.

In the past, the diverse and strong cultural identities of many indigenous Papuans have often been seen by the government and outsiders as an obstacle to development. However, as each group has its own language, distinct cultural norms and modes of interaction with outsiders, a lack of proper understanding of such local cultural contexts by outsiders may in fact be the source of the problem.

4. Governance

As discussed above, there are a wide range of development challenges in Papua from poverty alleviation to protection of diverse cultures, and safeguarding the environment. Good governance is therefore necessary to provide a framework by which needs and priorities are balanced and services are delivered effectively and responsively. To accelerate the pace of development in Papua, and to increase the opportunity for native Papuans to participate in development, the Government issued a Law concerning Special Autonomy for Papua Province (Law No.21/2001UU number 21 - 2001) known as *Otonomi Khusus* or OTSUS. More than simply providing the region with a bigger share of the revenues generated in the region, OTSUS also sets out a framework for acknowledgement and promotion of local cultures and local people's interests.

4.1 Special autonomy, Papua's grand strategy and the draft Papua general development framework

Special Autonomy (OTSUS) is an expression of the agreement between the Indonesian Government and the people of Papua for the devolution of authority for the development of Papua from the central government to Papua. It is oriented towards the recognition of the social and cultural characteristics of the indigenous Papuan communities and provides an opportunity to address the special needs of the diverse populations of the region, demonstrated by text from the early articles of the OTSUS:

<p>"That in the context of minimizing the gap between Papua Province and other regions and in order to improve the living standard of the Papuan people and to give the opportunity to the natives of Papua Province, a special policy is required within the frame of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia"</p>	<p>"Special Autonomy is a special authority acknowledged and granted to Papua Province to regulate and manage the interests of the local people on its own initiative, based on the aspirations and fundamental rights of the people of Papua"</p>	<p>The Government of the Papua Province is obliged to manage and utilize the living environment in an integrated manner with due observance of the spatial characteristics, protection of the biological natural resources, nonbiological natural resources, artificial resources, conservation of the biological natural resources and the ecosystem, cultural preservation, and biological diversity and climate change, taking into account the rights of the <i>adat</i>* community and for the welfare of the people"</p>
<p>(Preamble, Law No.21/2001)</p>	<p>(Article 1, Law No. 21/2001)</p>	<p>(Article 64. law No. 21/2001))</p>

**adat* refers to custom or culture, held by each ethnic group and comprising knowledge, behaviours, rules, laws and systems for explaining and regulating individual and life in 'adat communities'.

Operationalising the law requires preparing various levels of local government regulation (*Perdasus* and *Perdasi*) in all the sectors. As yet, this has not been done. There are some stipulations in the OTSUS law that may conflict with other pre-existing statutory laws. In principle, following the hierarchy of laws in Indonesia, examined on a case-by-case basis, it should be clear which law takes precedence. In many cases, the problem appears simply to be that local governments refer to OTSUS but have not promulgated new regulations that enable its implementation. At the same time, however, some local government personnel claim there is minimal understanding and support for what Papua's OTSUS regulation entails amongst central government actors.

After the promulgation of the OTSUS law, a Grand Strategy for Papua was developed locally. In effect, it is a provincial government document that expresses the priority areas for development in the region, which, as noted earlier, are health, education, community livelihoods and infrastructure. While the Grand Strategy is known within provincial government in Jayapura, the PNA team found that there was limited awareness or ownership of the Strategy amongst other stakeholders in Papua. At the same time however, consultations and workshops held throughout the PNA confirmed that there is broad agreement with the four priority areas that it highlights. The multi-stakeholder Synthesis Team that synthesised findings from the PNA and contributed greatly from their respective experiences and knowledge, worked with the Regional Planning Agency (BP3D) on formulating a draft Papua General Development Framework for Papua to achieve by the year 2025. This draft has been used as a local resource to support government in preparing medium and long term development plans for Papua. Similar to OTSUS, the vision expressed in the draft framework uphold the importance of Papuans being “socially, culturally, economically and politically self-reliant, in line with traditional (*adat*) and universal values”. To achieve such a vision, the missions proposed in the draft framework were:

- Recognition of Papua’s traditional, religious and cultural rights, as well as the indigenous peoples’ right to development;
- Social welfare and justice, particularly in health and education;
- Equitable and self-reliant economic development;
- Sustainable environmental and natural resources management; and
- Well-developed political and governance systems based on Papua’s cultural values, within the context of the Indonesian nation-state (Synthesis Team, 2005).

4.2 Administrative division

The central Government’s decision to divide Papua into three provinces (Papua, West Irian Jaya and Central Irian Jaya) has been perceived differently by different actors. Restructuring is seen by some as an initiative to bring the seats of government closer to the people in order to accelerate the pace of development. The formation of new provinces and *kabupaten* (see **Table 2**) was also done concurrently with the restructuring of some districts (*kecamatan*) and villages so that local government offices would be physically closer to communities⁴. For others, the division of Papua into three provinces is seen as an effort by Government to create division in Papua and as a violation of Law No.21/2001, which requires the approval from the *Majelis Rakyat Papua* (MRP-Papua People’s Council) and DPRP (Papua Legislative Council) for any such division. The controversy arose because Law No.45/1999 that divides Papua in three provinces was issued prior to Law No.21/2001 that provides Papua with its Special Autonomy. That division of the province continues to be implemented is, for many Papuans, an indication that the central government is removing the powers of the MRP before it has been established. For most Papuans the MRP symbolizes the essence of the Papuan struggle to gain acknowledgement of their unique cultures and identities and is seen as the mechanism that will give voice and representation to local people.

Law No.45/1999 not only split Papua into three provinces but also provided for the formation of three new *kabupaten* (Puncak Jaya, Paniai and Mimika) and 1 new City (Sorong). A much more drastic administrative restructuring took place with in 2002 with Law No. 26/2002, which added as many as 14 new *Kabupaten*, and in 2003 with Law No.35/2003 another *Kabupaten* (Supiori), bringing the total to 2 cities (Jayapura and Sorong) and 27 *kabupatens*. One clear effect of the creation of new administrative units is a reduction in the average size of *kabupaten* populations, which in all administrative units of government are now far lower than before the restructuring and

⁴ In Papua the administrative unit known elsewhere in Indonesia as ‘kecamatan’ (sub-district) is referred to as ‘distrik’ and ‘desa’ (village) is referred to as ‘kampung’. In this report, the Indonesian term ‘kabupaten’ is retained, whereas the English ‘district’ and ‘village’ are used for ‘distrik’ and ‘kampung’. To avoid confusion, where ‘district’ appears, it is followed by ‘kecamatan’ in parentheses.

also far lower than in other provinces of Indonesia. For example, the average population of a *kabupaten* in Papua in 2003 was only 93. 464, the average population of a district (*kecamatan*) was only 12.460, and the average population of a village was only 764 individuals. Similar these figures.

Table 2. Overview of area, administrative units and populations

KABUPATEN/CITY	AREA (Km2)	NUMBER			POPULATION		
		DISTRICT	VILLAGE	KELURAHAN	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
MERAUKE	45,071	5	148	9	88,673	81,608	170,281
JAYAWIJAYA	17,461	12	323	3	121,049	116,833	237,882
JAYAPURA	17,514	11	127	5	48,409	42,824	91,233
PANIAI	18,105	11	135	-	70,382	75,093	145,475
PUNCAK JAYA	1,865	6	144	20	-	-	71,249
NABIRE	15,350	10	147	9	84,300	78,926	163,226
FAK-FAK	14,320	4	84	5	33,095	29,429	62,524
MIMIKA	18,709	12	78	6	141,302	130,233	271,535
SORONG	13,518	10	101	1	38,688	36,356	75,044
MANOKWARI	13,086	16	410	9	78,446	75,130	153,576
YAPEN WAROPEN	-	5	105	6	-	-	76,871
BIAK NUMFOR	3,130	12	217	8	60,609	59,114	119,723
KOTA JAYAPURA	940	4	11	20	103,133	87,996	191,129
KOTA SORONG	1,105	4	-	20	93,031	81,114	174,145
SARMI	35,589	8	50	4	22,682	19,302	41,984
KEEROM	8,390	5	44	-	20,833	17,837	38,670
SORONG SELATAN	36,613	10	222	3	43,594	42,724	86,318
RAJA AMPAT	12,793	7	88	-	18,361	17,154	35,515
PEGUNUNGAN BINTANG	15,883	6	88	-	40,988	40,775	81,763
YAHUKIMO	13,420	4	77	-	53,611	50,502	104,113
TOLIKARA	4,382	6	187	2	51,143	48,989	100,132
WAROPEN	-	3	59	-	-	-	27,673
KAIMANA	13,500	4	71	2	14,422	14,745	29,167
BOVEN DIGOEL	27,100	5	85	-	20,401	18,880	39,281
MAPPI	24,904	6	134	1	36,266	33,538	69,804
ASMAT	23,140	7	139	-	35,186	32,224	67,410
TELUK BINTUNI	18,637	10	94	2	21,873	20,860	42,733
TELUK WONDAMA	7,788	7	56	-	12,568	11,959	24,527
TOTAL	422,313	210	3,424	135	1,353,045	1,264,145	2,617,190
AVERAGE	15,083	8	122		48,323	45,148	99,749

Source: UNDP compilation based on data in "Pemerintah Propinsi Papua - Data Wilayah Administrasi Pemerintahan, Tahun 2003"

4.3 Public administration and public finance

Some government personnel at the regional and local levels have resisted the implementation of decentralization legislation in order to safeguard the resources they command. From Province to *Kabupaten*, and from *Kabupaten* to District (*kecamatan*), the allocation of resources and funding to planning and policy units at the higher levels is far greater than allocations to services units at the district (*kecamatan*) and village levels. Only Jayapura, Fak-fak and Mimika *kabupatens* provide resources as block grants to their districts (*kecamatan*).

There are also noticeable differences between the organisational resources of old *kabupaten* and new *kabupaten*, especially in terms of the number of services units. For example, there are up to 42 service units in the old *kabupaten* and not more than 13 in the new ones. There is also great variation in the number of civil servants, from 400 to 4000 civil servants or from 2 civil servants per 100 residents in the new *kabupaten* and to 4 per 100 in the old ones (PNA reports, 2005). In particular the old *kabupaten* have not restructured their organisation (in accordance with Government Regulation PP No.8/2003) following the administrative changes that meant drastic reduction in the size of their administrative area. Some of the civil servants assigned to the old *kabupaten* have been reassigned to the new *kabupaten* while at the same time new recruitment of civil servants is taking place to increase the total number of civil servants at the *kabupaten* level.

Although new office facilities have been built in most new *kabupaten*, many officials still stay in the original *kabupaten*. This is because there is a lack of housing for officials, schools are of lower standard than what officials desire for their children, and bank and salary payments are not reliable. District (*kecamatan*) governments in the urban areas are generally running well but in the rural and remote areas many have been abandoned by the district (*kecamatan*) heads who prefer to live in urban areas. Similar to district (*kecamatan*) governments, village governments in areas close to urban centres are functioning relatively well, but in the remote areas many village heads have no offices, budgets or staff to provide public services. Even amongst city and *kabupaten* governments there is weak financial management capacity, limited application of performance-oriented budgeting systems, and weak tax collection systems with no incentives and sanctions for tax collection performance. Audits of capacities and performance are barely known.

On the other hand Papua has been amongst the greatest beneficiaries of the government's decentralisation policies, with local government receiving three times more resources now than before the Regional and Special Autonomy. The increase of revenues originates to a large extent from the increased DAU (*Dana Alokasi Umum* or regional autonomy general allocation) and to a lesser extent from increased share of taxes from mining, provided through Special Autonomy (PNA reports, 2005). Data reported by the World Bank in the Public Expenditure Analysis and Capital Harmonisation (PEACH) Programme report (2005) similarly notes that in terms of estimated total fiscal resources, Papua is Indonesia's second richest province, after East Kalimantan. However, much as central government retained two thirds of revenues from the exploitation of natural resources in Papua, provincial and *kabupaten* governments in Papua also retained approximately two-thirds of revenues from central government transfers for their own operations.

In recent years, local governments' own total annual revenues have maintained a level of Rp.150 billion, or about Rp. 65.000 per capita. There is considerable variation in revenue between the *Kabupaten* Sorong, Nabire, Merauke and Mimika (average Rp. 100,000 per capita) and Jayawijaya (average Rp.25,000 per capita). The DAU allocations for the province, cities and *kabupaten* in Papua increased from a total Rp.2.43 trillion in 2002 to Rp.3.45 trillion in 2004. Allocation to cities and *kabupaten* varied between Rp.723,000 per capita (Sorong City) and Rp.1.75 million per capita (in the former Jayawijaya *Kabupaten*) in 2002 and between Rp.750,000 per capita (in the new Jayawijaya *Kabupaten*) and Rp.5.3 million per capita (Waropen *Kabupaten*) in 2004 (PNA reports, 2005).

The DOK allocations (*Dana Otonomi Khusus* or OTSUS funds) totalled Rp.1.38 trillion in 2002 and Rp.1.54 trillion in 2003. In 2002, the allocation was 60% for province and 40% for *kabupatens*. Since 2004, it has been 40% for province and 60% for the *kabupatens*. Formula and criteria to allocate OTSUS budget to cities and *kabupatens* is not clear, however a new formula allocating points for five criteria has been proposed. As yet however, budget allocations are not transparent, and disbursements have not been timely (PNA reports, 2005 and World Bank PEACH report, 2005).

The biggest share of local government revenues, before and after the provision of OTSUS funds, is used for the operational budget. In 2002, an average of 63% of local government revenues was used for operational expenditures and varied between 44% (in the new Puncak Jaya *Kabupaten*) and 80% (in the new Yapen Waropen *Kabupaten*). On average only 5% was allocated to education (Rp.65,000/capita), with a variant between 1% and 8% (Rp.26,000 up to Rp.202.00 per capita). An average of only 2% was allocated to health (Rp.33,000 percapita), with a variant between 1% and 5% (Rp.12,000 up to Rp.151,000 per capita).

The PNA reports from 17 *kabupatens* conveyed that many local people are confused, disappointed or apathetic about OTSUS, as it has not yet brought about substantial, meaningful or practical changes to their lives. Although they are aware of the large amounts of funding received by province, city and *kabupaten* governments from DAU and DOK, local people have expressed confusion over whether funds have been used according to plans or targets. Outputs from government spending that benefit the community are not clear to the public.

4.4 Local government development planning

The planning process is a key step in governance as it provides the means for local needs, aspirations and priorities to be articulated and accommodated in a framework to which resources and facilities are committed. However, with disjointed administrative bodies at varying levels and often low capacity or experience in planning, many would-be useful resources are not used as efficiently as they could be. The planning capacity of provincial, city and *kabupaten* governments is low, and most of the new *kabupaten* do not have development plans. Government officials generally lack the skills to boost local growth and revenues, while monitoring and evaluation of development plans and activities is not habitual, and accountability and reporting on performance is low. There are also few performance-based incentives or sanctions. According to PNA teams in 17 *kabupaten*, the official bottom-up planning process has ceased to be practiced in most villages. The old structures of village government (*LKMD* - 'village community resilience institution') have been replaced by new structures (*BAPERKAM* or 'village development planning body') but are, in most cases, a change of name rather than a change of procedures as most *BAPERKAM* are inactive.

A lack of coordination between development strategies and plans with annual budgeting may be one of the primary reasons for the failures in achieving local development objectives. This lack of integration between development strategies and plans with the budgeting process could be solved through legislation specifying the sharing between levels of government (such as by using a similar formula as that used by the central government for DAU allocations), sharing of expenditures between city/*kabupaten* governments with the districts (*kecamatan*) (based on a formula or percentage) and allocations for priority sectors (such as prescribed by Law 21/2001 from the oil and gas revenues).

Still, local politics and bureaucratic struggles for credit have limited potential cooperation between different organizations and bureaucracies. Allocations for development activities are, in many cases, made on the *Bupati's* (*kabupaten* head's) instructions in an *ad hoc* fashion, rather than based on a technocratic interpretation of established development plans. Sectoral plans are seldom prepared in consultation with stakeholders at provincial and city / *kabupaten* levels and

are not used directly as the basis for fund allocations and in implementing development activities. Planning and budgeting systems are often not synchronized. Subsidies from the province to city / *kabupaten* governments to support the achievement of common strategic or policy goals are also rare, as there is a strong preference for bureaucracies to claim credit for their own projects.

OTSUS provides a unique opportunity for a much stronger link between the provincial and local (City and *kabupaten*) government, however this potential cooperation has yet to be realised. Between province and local governments, and within government institutions, there is limited experience in cross-institutional work or collaboration. A focus on delivering short term, time-bound 'projects' dominates the thinking and activities of civil servants at all levels of government in Papua. This is as opposed to longer-term, holistic thinking about what development means or how it should be measured. Similarly the provision of services, and related issues of consistency and quality or the fulfilment of public needs and rights, do not receive the necessary attention in local, 'projectised' development.

In general, there is little or no communication and involvement between government and CSOs on policy formulation, with local realities, lessons, experiences and needs being considered in formation of local policy instruments. There is limited effort to monitor, evaluate, share, and apply lessons for improved policies and practice; examples of what works where and why are not being replicated. Collaboration between government and CSOs on service delivery is minimal. Through the PNA, government and CSOs have shown increasing willingness to share, learn, cooperate in service delivery but do not have much prior experience on how to do this. Workshops and seminars succeed in bringing people together to exchange of information and views. However, further effort is required to facilitate other forms of cooperation and applied learning between development stakeholders in Papua.

In summary, one of the primary weaknesses of governance in Papua is that of local government planning, especially planning with the active participation of civil society and the private sector. The lack of interaction and collaboration between provincial and city/*kabupaten* government, and the weakness of government at the *kecamatan* and village levels further undermines the capacity of local governance to prepare and implement development plans and programmes. This situation has so far resulted in inefficiency and opportunities for corruption through the misappropriation of public funding. Decades of policies to safeguard the environment, alleviate poverty, respond to basic rights, clean water, health and education have suffered from poorly planned development programmes.

4.5 Capacity issues

Within the broader assessment of governance, the relevance of focusing on the capacity of all development actors in Papua has been highlighted. The assessment of needs and capacities generally is constrained by the limited capacity amongst government and civil society to collect, analyse and use data, and to manage and assure quality of consultancies and project activities. The importance of improving data-related capacities amongst province, *kabupaten* and *kecamatan* government agency personnel cannot be overstated.

Local assessments of needs and capacities conducted by local university and NGO partners as part of the PNA focused overwhelmingly on what is lacking and what has failed. Difficulties in identifying and analysing the capacities that do exist, what does work and why, and what can be developed further suggest that issues of low confidence and self-esteem affect local perceptions of what is possible and how Papua could develop. Partners in the needs assessment have good local knowledge, which is grounded in the experience of local cultures and communities' histories. Consultants from outside Papua often have good qualifications and expertise but often bring strong cultural biases to their work in Papua and are thus unable to effectively assess local

conditions and/or effectively share their skills or knowledge. This situation is seen as contributing to the general picture of “what’s lacking” in Papua, rather than a picture of the opportunities, assets and capacities that can be further developed there.

Since the 2004 general elections, many of the local parliaments are composed of elected councillors that are not experienced in the tasks for which they now have responsibility. They have difficulty articulating a common vision and strategy and have limited competence to exercise their control functions (PNA reports, 2005). They also have minimum interaction with their constituency. In particular, the new *kabupaten* governments have limited experience in planning and monitoring of development, and civil servants are not accustomed to collaborating with those who have the capacity and capability to provide the services.

The PNA found that several religious organisations in Papua have a wide network and ability to support communities. Their network and presence in the remote and isolate areas is an important asset. Other CSOs provide limited services in many areas but their activities are generally not sustainable as they are extremely reliant on donors (i.e. low financial capacity and many human resource challenges). Their service delivery is generally not coordinated with other providers, and like local government, they have limited knowledge and experience in alternative methods of delivering services and developing capacities. They are similarly not accustomed to working with types of organisations other than their own, but throughout the PNA they expressed willingness to participate in new forms of collaborative activity and partnerships.



5. Assessment of priorities

The Grand Strategy identified the areas of health, education, livelihoods and infrastructure as four priority areas. The assessment of service provision in these areas must be considered in relation to the cross-cutting issues identified in the preceding sections, namely Papua's social, cultural, economic, environmental and governance context.

Although poor data integrity has been a major constraint in assessing service provision, the assessments by the participating universities and NGOs consistently reported that areas away from district (kecamatan) towns or centres, including the remote and isolated villages, have extremely limited access to services from government, such as health, education, livelihood / extension and appropriate infrastructure. Existing government services do not appear to be responsive to local conditions, particularly local needs and lifestyles, and are often not planned, budgeted or delivered according to cultural and geographical conditions. Thus they are not always used or valued by local people.

Civil society organisations, particularly religious organisations, are active in providing basic services in many areas where government is not. However they face both financial and political constraints since access to partners based internationally is strictly controlled by certain central government agencies. PNA teams reported that in general, there is low trust and respect for the government as a service provider amongst many communities and services provided by civil society organisations are usually more valued and used. There are very few examples of successful, sustainable livelihood improvement initiatives in local communities, and agricultural, animal husbandry, and fisheries extension services are not considered to be effective.

5.1 Education

Papua has the lowest level of adult literacy in the nation, standing at 74.4% (Indonesia Human Development Report 2004). Overall school attendance is low and the percentage of dropouts and illiteracy amongst pupils who leave primary school is also high. According to BPS data of 2000, only 82% of children in Papua attend primary school (SD), only 47% attend junior secondary school (SLTP), and only 19% attend senior secondary school (SMU). Dropouts from primary school are officially recorded at 6%, and from junior and senior high school the figure is 5%. The average reported dropout rate from primary schools is 3.4%, from junior high school is 15.6% and from senior high school is 24.6.% (PNA reports, 2005).

The main causes of low attendance and high dropout rates in Papua include the following:

- Parents are disappointed with the quality of the education system;
- The education system does not respond to local needs and circumstances, for example by teaching about the actual environments that students are familiar with and using languages that they understand;
- The school year is not synchronised with cultivation or harvest cycles, which are when family and village activities require children's assistance;

Examples of variation in data reporting school participation* around Papua

Primary School:
82% (BPS official for province)
43% (Kab. Sarmi)
93.5% (Kab. Paniai)

Junior High School:
47% (BPS official for province)
25% (Kab. Jayawijaya)
73.5% (Jayapura City)

High School:
19% (BPS official for province)
52% (Papua wide)

*% of eligible age enrolled, from PNA reports

- Schools are far from villages;
- The number of dormitories for students is limited and there are no dormitories for girls in most districts and *kabupaten*;
- The quality of available education is low; and
- There is very limited vocational training and are available in major centres only.

Obstacles encountered by teachers in Papua are many and complex, even though the official teacher-student ratio and total numbers of schools appear to be adequate (1:20 and 2477 primary schools, according to BPS 2003). Particular problems include the following:

- Most good quality teachers do not wish to work in village areas;
- Housing facilities for teachers in village areas are insufficient and sometimes non-existent;
- Distribution of personnel is not equal between urban and rural areas;
- Teacher retention in rural areas is low;
- Teacher commitment is low, due to the low standing of the teaching profession as well as the poor working conditions; and
- Many teachers' mentalities tend to mirror those of a government employee working in an office rather than of a classroom teacher.

In addition, the centralised education curriculum and its delivery systems prescribed by the national government in many instances have limited relevance to students in Papua. Often "recommended" teaching materials include examples from outside a student's frame of reference, which decreases learning effectiveness and motivation. These factors alone are considered important in affecting the quality of education demonstrated by students, such that it is not uncommon to find primary and even secondary school graduates who are illiterate. Similarly, it is common for the low poor quality of education to be blamed on the students' "lack of capacity".

Although the local government has identified education as a priority, they have neither allocated a corresponding proportion of the budget to this area. As a result, subsidised or free school fees (SPP) are not available, and 30% of scholarships are not disbursed as budgeted (*Dinas Pendidikan*, 2005). In addition, because there is a lack of collaboration between the Provincial Government and *Kabupaten*/city governments school heads seldom know what the school funding allocations from the APBD (regional budget) are. Unclear lines of authority have left school heads with little power to tackle problems in their schools. Although parents' committees have been established in some areas, few are active, especially in remote locations, precluding educational improvements resulting from parental pressure.

Partially due to the poor quality and accessibility of public educational facilities, many Papuans who do receive schooling turn to private schools. According to estimates by the Synthesis Team, more than 50% of basic education (SD and SLTP) services in Papua are provided by private, mostly religious, organisations (e.g. The Christian Education Foundation, *Yayasan Pendidikan Kristen* or YPK, the Catholic Education Foundation, *Yayasan Pendidikan dan Persekolahan Katolik* or YPPK, and the Islamic Education Foundation, *Yayasan Pendidikan Islam* or YAPIS). They have long existed and are present in many areas where government is not. These organisations are well-regarded by local communities and are able to encourage better local education participation. Their human and financial resources are however limited. Many of these schools were constructed through community participation and from 1950, were fully subsidized by the government for teachers, infrastructure and education materials. Although subsidies were dramatically decreased in 1970, the organisations were able to continue through contributions from Christian associations in Europe and elsewhere. All external funding support was halted in 1993.

5.2 Health

Health standards in Papua are considerably worse than in other parts of Indonesia. The infant mortality rate of 50.5 infant deaths per 1000 is higher than that of Indonesia as a whole at 43.5 (Indonesia Human Development Report 2004). The maternal mortality rate is 1,116 per 100,000 births, which is the highest in Indonesia, (Provincial Health Service data, 2005). These statistics are indicators of the general health of the population. Among the most serious contributors to these health risks are communicable and sanitation-related illnesses, such as malaria and tuberculosis.

Besides endemic malaria and tuberculosis in many areas, Papua is also subject to the emerging threat of HIV/AIDS. This disease is spreading within the general public infecting a reported 14,392 cases, divided roughly equally among women and men (Papua Government Health Service Data, 2005). The estimated number of cases and infection rates are considered likely to be the highest in Indonesia, due to a combination of factors relating to low levels of health and education, prevalent social norms and practices, and the high number of mobile workers in Papua. The pattern of HIV/AIDS that seems to be emerging there, while not yet confirmed via rigorous epidemiological research, resembles the explosive transmission patterns that have ravaged some African nations.

According to estimates from the Government Health Service in Papua (2003), 68% of HIV infected people are indigenous Papuans, 22% are non-Papuan and 10% are in high risk groups, such as sex workers and their customers. With the expansion of the mining, oil and timber industries, as well as the arrival of security forces in large numbers, many isolated areas in Papua have developed an accompanying sex industry. Going forward, the sex industry is thus a likely accelerant of HIV infections as the industry continues to prosper. However, risky sexual behaviour in general (such as starting sexual activities at a relatively young age and frequently changing partners) and is responsible for over 90% of HIV/AIDS infections in Papua.

To respond to these challenges, the health service systems must also overcome geographic and resource constraints, such as insufficient budgets, expertise and general infrastructure for distributing medicines and equipment. Similar to the education sector, health has been identified by government as a priority sector, but this policy has not translated into larger budget allocations. In the provincial government budget of 2002, only 8% was allocated to health and only 2% of the city / *kabupaten* government budgets (Provincial Government Budget, 2002). Health facilities have been built, but in particular in the rural and remote areas they are often without medical staff, equipment and medicines. The ratio of medical staff per population in the different *kabupatens* varies greatly, from 1 doctor per 2000 to 1 per 23000 people; and 1 paramedic per 200 to 1 per 500 people (PNA report, 2005). Again, as with the education sector, religious organisations provide some basic services in parallel with government in some areas, and alone in other areas where the government is not present. Their human and financial resources are limited, but they do appear to be trusted by communities.

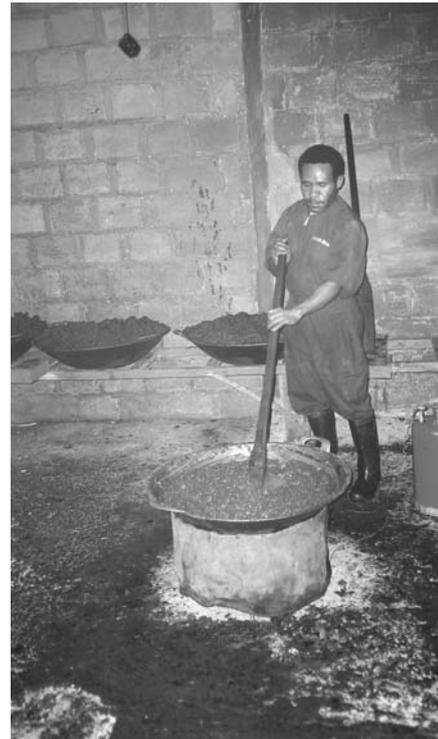
The majority of mobile community health centres or *Puskesmas* (four wheel drive vehicles/small water-craft) cover districts (*kecamatan*) where transport and communication conditions are treacherous. Thus many remote areas do not have enough access to these health centers because of the expensive fuel costs required to reach remote areas. Some remote areas can only be reached by motor bikes and reaching those areas in the wet season makes the cost of health services very expensive. The situation is aggravated by the scattered populations of very small villages, for example Waropko District which has a total population of 2,980 people spread over 16 villages.

When in need of medicine, the majority (65%, according to *Dinas Kesehatan*, 2005) of the population of Papua go to the nearest Community Health Centres (*Puskesmas*). These are often

their only choice because there are insufficient hospitals, pharmacies and private medical services to fill the gap between the government's capacity and the community's health needs. Many native Papuan communities, and in particular those living in rural areas, cannot afford the costs of modern medical equipment. Most village clinics (*Posyandu*) are also not operational every month because health staff do not attend routinely, and communities do not generally run the clinics in their absence.

5.3 Community livelihoods

With approximately 75% of the population work in the agricultural sector (BPS, 2003), most Papuans depend on the land to provide their livelihoods. The vast majority of them exist on a near subsistence basis and are thus extremely reliant on the surrounding environment for their existence. Their 'subsistence existence' does not mean the villagers have no experience with, or interest in, the cash economy - people are part of the cash economy and are impacted by it, however they do not use cash to fulfill the majority of their basic needs. Roughly 75% of the indigenous Papuan population live in the more remote and isolated marshlands, lowlands, highlands and foothills where access to capital and markets is limited and people are highly dependent on the traders that come to the villages and buy their products. Where there are facilities such as roads, the cost of transport is high, affecting the profitability of small income-generating activities. In villages near towns the people's source of income vary and are improvised through a variety of business activities, rather than depending entirely on natural resources. In these areas, pressure and competition for resources is high and exacerbates the potential for conflict.



Government and CSOs have attempted to provide some livelihood improvement and agricultural extension programs for local Papuan communities. However these often fail because inputs are provided without appropriate support or technical assistance (*pendampingan*), or the support is provided for far too short a period. Without a good understanding of the local communities and their modes of livelihood, these efforts are often wasted. As noted earlier, CSOs generally have had a better understanding of local cultures and approaches to successfully supporting local communities. Nevertheless, CSOs often lack appropriate technical knowledge and financial resources to work with local communities until sustainable economic benefits are achieved. At the same time, there is limited coordination and collaboration between civil society and government actors to take advantage of the greater resources of the government and the deeper understanding of the livelihoods of local communities. The existence of multiple, overlapping and uncoordinated programs has created confusion, conflict, apathy and dependence at the community level (PNA reports, 2005). Amongst the few agricultural extension programmes that have been successful in getting local people actively involved, some still fail because of problems of access to markets for the surplus. Ironically, at the same time as local people cannot market their goods, many agricultural products are imported for consumption. Thus, helping to improve markets and transportation infrastructure may be as important as extension programs in helping isolated communities to expand their livelihood activities. Furthermore, as many local enterprises are very small in scale, access to credit, technical and business development advice, and markets is limited. Most successful business enterprises belong to migrants.

5.4 Basic and community infrastructure

Although Papua is resource-rich, it is still poor in infrastructure. The lack of adequate infrastructure not only limits potential livelihood opportunities, it presents a serious bottleneck to improving community access to health and educational services as well as to communications with the government and outside markets. The Papuan geography is a major constraint in developing roads in the region. To date, the roads network that connects *kabupatens* and cities is still very limited. Priority artery roads in mountainous regions are not yet developed, while the roads built by the forest concessionaires are not accessible to the public. Papua's access and transport challenges are arguable better addressed by sea and air.

Indeed, many of the inland and mountain areas of Papua can only be reached using air transport. Papua has 4 international-standard airports (Sentani-Jayapura, Biak, Merauke, Timika), 59 domestic airports (including pioneer airports), and 297 airstrips that are managed by churches or community-based organisations. The major sea ports of the region connect the region to national and international commerce. There are deep-water port facilities at Sorong, Manokwari, Biak and Jayapura, from which commodities can be directly exported. Sea harbours are also the sole source of transport to the small islands of the region, coastal areas and by the major rivers. Sea transportation is relatively low cost compared to land and air transportation and thus plays a critical role in the economy of the region.



While urban infrastructure is quite comparable with other regions of Indonesia, the situation outside these areas is notably lagging. Some *kabupatens* have no access to the main seaports or airports, and within the more remote *kabupatens*, people travel by foot, motorbike or canoes. In many of the new *kabupatens* there is no electricity, no telephone service and no public transport. Systems and facilities for waste management are scarce and ineffective. The facilities and the services in the new *kabupatens* are generally worse than in the older ones as they are more remote. A more important determinant in the quality of infrastructure is the distance from urban centres.

Most of the government-funded infrastructure that Papuan villagers see has been built by external contractors with minimal genuine local involvement. Thus, the existing infrastructure in villages is subsequently rarely well maintained and in many cases it is not used. Contracting of communities for infrastructure development, with contractors used only for technical assistance to the communities, has not been part of government policy or practice to date. Having not been involved in its development, local people tend not to feel ownership of basic infrastructure that the government constructs. There are, however, other community assets that people construct, maintain, and use, including communal and *adat* houses, canoes, wells, and piers. Community-built infrastructure such as roads or schools is rare, but where it exists its upkeep tends to be better. Churches exist in nearly all villages, are built by the community, and are generally well maintained.

6. A strategic framework for development assistance to Papua

As demonstrated and confirmed through the PNA findings, the diversity of the Papua region and its abundant endowment in natural resources present both challenges and opportunities toward the Indonesian Government's commitment to the MDGs. With its relatively poor performance to date in working to achieve the MDGs, Papua is clearly a key region where special assistance is required to accelerate progress⁵. However, although the total international donor and loan funding provided in support of development activities in Papua is not known precisely, it is estimated to be less than 5% of total development spending there. As such, there is considerable scope for the expansion of international cooperation towards the achievement of the MDGs in Papua to complement the Gol funding allocations to Papua.

6.1 Reflections on external assistance

The PNA teams reported that in Papuan villages, development assistance is usually not based on needs assessments or situation analyses. Few communities have experience of facilitated critical analysis of their situation, but those that do show increased motivation to find solutions to their development problems. In the villages, development assistance usually fails, as it is not focused on developing capacities by providing sustained technical assistance. Rather, assistance is usually of an insufficient duration and inappropriate intensity. Many local people have become confused and apathetic, as they have experienced numerous failed or inappropriate interventions.

Government, CSOs and donors lack a comprehensive and up-to-date picture of development actors and their activities throughout the province. While programmes are operating in a range of sectors, they have scattered coverage and there is little interaction between sectors. The PNA teams from UNCEN and UNIPA (universities) nevertheless found that programmes and concepts introduced through external assistance were perceived as helpful in many areas. They asked key informants in 17 *kabupatens* to identify lessons learned and best practices from the development experience of their *kabupaten*. The results are considered to reflect the current thinking of development practitioners at the *kabupaten* level to demonstrate their appreciation of the positive aspects of international development assistance in Papua.

In 12 of the 17 *kabupatens* visited, local informants mentioned specific donor assisted projects as having brought best-practices to their *kabupaten*. The projects mentioned included KDP, CCAD, SADP, CLGI, BIGG, PARUL, PPK (UNICEF) and PERFORM. These programmes are diverse in their substantive areas of focus, including health, education, capacity building, community infrastructure and local economic development. Many had focused on rather limited geographic areas such as the Cendrawasih Bay Coastal Area Development Project, but their positive reputation underlines the importance of further review to determine how the experience gained from these programmes can best be applied in future development programming. The *Kecamatan* Development Project (KDP) was the programme most frequently cited by respondents as one of the best practices in their *kabupaten*. As the programme with the largest profile in Papua, it was mentioned by respondents in 9 of the 17 *kabupatens* surveyed as having provided a positive example by channelling supplemental funding to respond to community needs.

On the other hand, local actors reported to PNA teams that many externally facilitated activities have failed, and learning between sectors and across programmes is limited. Some government and CSO stakeholders in Papua claim that there is less than adequate accountability for the quality of external development assistance.

⁵ UNDP, Country Programme Document for Indonesia, 2005.

6.2 Post-needs assessment support to Papua

Following the Papua Needs Assessment, a programme has been initiated with the Regional Planning Agency (BP3D) and *kabupaten* governments for capacities to help effectively prepare medium and long-term development plans identified through the PNA. Use of the PNA findings, and in particular the Synthesis Team's documentation of the development gap, has been instrumental in revitalising local planning activities. During this period, a framework for long-term, comprehensive support for developing capacities to achieve the MDGs and support improvements in human development in Papua has also been developed in consultation with local stakeholders and selected development partners. This programme, called Papua 2015, provides a clear structure for coordinated and harmonised development assistance activities to support the Papuan government's priorities and plans. Under this structure, the UNDP will specialise in general coordination, facilitation of multi-stakeholder processes and policy dialogue, while working with other UN agencies and donor partners that take advantage of their technical expertise in specific MDG-related issue areas.

The underlying premise is that by helping to develop local capacities and facilitate cooperation between government, civil society and external development partners more sustainable and equitable progress toward human development can be achieved. This includes simultaneously strengthening the capacity of non-state actors working at the community level and of the local government, from the Provincial level to the district (*kecamatan*) level. By developing the capacities of local state and non-state actors, those actors who have the local contextual knowledge will be empowered to provide and influence future development initiatives. With this in mind, a combination of diverse technical assistance and other resources to local governments, civil society actors, academia and communities must be considered in future programming.

6.2.1 Strengthening local capacities

The successful implementation of OTSUS and the achievement of Papua's development vision requires the development of key capacities within local government and civil society to formulate and implement appropriate, locally-specific and targeted development programme in the sub-regions of Papua. Although *kabupaten* and district governments are making important adjustments in planning, operations, budgeting and staffing during the reform transition to ensure that the continued provision of public services, capacity is still far from adequate to achieve operational efficiency in OTSUS and related developmental programmes. Specifically capacities that will bring about key, strategic changes and improvements in Papua are the following:

- Policy development and operational planning (including budgeting);
- Implementation or delivery of basic services in locally-effective ways; and
- Monitoring and evaluation of development processes, to improve policy, planning, budgeting and service delivery (both government and civil society have responsibilities in these areas).

The PNA has shown that improvement in the data on the MDG-related sectors is necessary to support the planning, monitoring, and evaluation of programs that are intended to make progress toward the MDGs. Improving data mechanisms and quality will enable more responsive planning and allocation of resources to the sectors and administrative areas with most need, and will support improved practices in monitoring and evaluation of local (and donor-supported) development policies and expenditure.

Equally critical to the functions outlined above are improvements in financial management systems, including the systems and skills that enable greater transparency in budget allocations, transfer

and expenditure, reporting and verification (audit) processes. To maximise the opportunity provided by means of the funding through OTSUS, focusing on capacities in this area will yield results. A comprehensive approach to strengthening institutional capacities entails developing the capacities of individuals who work in these institutions, as well as facilitating reorientation of the ways that the institutions function. The critical institutions identified for assistance in the future are the provincial and kabupaten level planning agencies (Bappeda), the provincial and kabupaten technical agencies involved in planning and implementing policies and programmes to achieve the MDGs (health department, education department and livelihood related agencies), and CSOs working practically with local people and government at the district and village levels.

6.2.2 Demonstrating local successes

Another key strategy in increasing the effectiveness of development programmes is to utilise context-specific, empirically-proven examples of service delivery to influence local policies, planning and budget allocations. By learning from successful examples of health, education and livelihood services in diverse locations around Papua, local governments and CSOs can ensure the local relevance of their approaches and ensure more effective service delivery. Establishing multi-stakeholder processes, mechanisms for collaboration and partnerships between government and civil society organisations is particularly important in trying to enhance trust and to strengthen networks that can be responsive to emerging development needs, as well as to conflict. They also are helpful in generally increasing civic engagement and enhancing the democratic process.

6.2.3 Lessons learned from the PNA process

To conclude this overview of the PNA findings and the implications for future programmes of assistance, some key lessons learned from the PNA processes are described. Apart from the data presented in the PNA reports (see list in Section 7) and summarised here, the process of the needs assessment yielded various experiences that could be considered in anticipation of the challenges and potential solutions that may be encountered in the planning and implementation of future programmes in Papua.

Working successfully with local organizations requires intensive interaction, frequent face-to-face meetings and special effort to guide and monitor the work or progress on agreed terms. Clear and practical terms of reference are required. Institutional arrangements should be established so as to avoid reliance on individual capacities and to strengthen local institutions such as universities. Development organizations must ensure that appropriate and sufficient inputs, such as quality technical assistance, are available to partners in a timely manner.

The partners that the UNDP worked with in Papua are extremely knowledgeable and possess good analytical skills, however, there are limited skills in structuring reports, preparing summaries, developing presentations and facilitating discussions. These are generic skills that greatly affect local partners/parties' ability to engage with and benefit from engaging with the UNDP and other donors' activities. It is recommended that the terms of reference for the UNDP professionals working in Papua include responsibility to contribute to capacity development in these 'generic' areas.

While the PNA included a study of gender issues and the UNDP attempted to include women throughout the process, getting women involved proved challenging. There is a need to develop more effective ways to enhance inclusion of women in programme decisions as well as ensure that gender analysis capacities are available for programme activities.

Development organizations in Papua do not have a clear or complete picture of the development-related activities of their peers. The need for better coordination of this information is very obvious, but collecting this information during the PNA proved difficult. If the UNDP is to assist in this area, resources for it should not be underestimated – it requires frequent face-to-face interaction with partners. The coordination must take place in both Papua (not just Jayapura) and in Jakarta.

There is a need for better coordination of the UNDP's own work in Papua including coordination between the implementation of national programmes at the Papua level, and the Papua-specific programme activities. Coordinating information, schedules and relationships with Papuan counterparts within the UNDP and with other donors will enhance impact.

The need for quality technical expertise coupled with good development practitioners' skills also should not be underestimated. To ensure that appropriate people are recruited, there is a need to go beyond the normal recruitment process using proactive and alternative networks to obtain the right candidates. Recruitment may require extra budget and time. Furthermore, recruiting appropriately skilled and qualified personnel for certain development activities in Papua means drawing on a limited pool of human resources. Consultation with local stakeholders to consider alternative arrangements may be warranted, so as to minimise the brain drain' from local organisations and instead build up local capacities. Ensuring an appropriate mix of Papuan and migrant or outsider personnel is an important, if delicate, challenge for future development assistance in Papua. Furthermore, a genuine willingness and ability to travel and work successfully in remote areas must be carefully assessed.

The UNDP staff capacities, especially in key areas such as the monitoring and facilitation of tasks, may require a special internal human resource strategy to develop individual confidence and capacities. Planning of resources should be factored around this need, so that there are specific resources dedicated to providing 'more than usual' on-the-job supervision for local team.

Finally, the logistics of operating in Papua are complicated by the geography. Availability of quality health and education services, as well as infrastructure and transport constrain not just the local communities, but also outside agencies operating in Papua. Security issues are also such that special operating procedures are required so that obtaining visas for international personnel, including consultants, can be difficult. Clear directives and procedures for responding to human rights issues will be necessary to support programme personnel in Papua. Thus larger budgets must be allowed for operational costs, as well as for monitoring and evaluation in the design of any programme.



7. Documents produced during Papua Needs Assessment

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