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Abstract

Many factors can cause displacement within a country or be conceptualized as internally displaced. IDP can arise from disasters, development and social conflict in a region. As a country prone to diverse disasters, Indonesia has witnessed many internally displaced persons (IDPs). Similarly, some developments in Indonesia have also caused IDPs. This study aims to lay out the current issues on IDP in Indonesia. IDP is an important issue as without staging a proper intervention, the vulnerability of IDP may increase and expose them to further risks. The method used in this study is a descriptive qualitative approach. Qualitative literature was then classified using tabulation and simple maps. The qualitative research used a meta-analysis of a range of estimates across time periods, backgrounds, locations as well as findings. This study finds there are major problems in handling IDPs in Indonesia such as access to resources, welfare, security, management, coordination and repatriation. Studies of IDPs in Indonesia are primarily driven by conflict. This is proven by the number of IDP studies which have increased after conflict outbreaks in 2000.

Keywords*: disaster; conflict; IDP; review*

1. Introduction

Indonesia has witnessed many internally displaced persons (IDP) which are caused by disasters, such as tsunamis, volcanic eruptions, floods, earthquakes, and by development such as resettlement, relocation and eviction. Internally Displaced Persons or IDP are considered to be one of the most vulnerable groups in the world (UNHCR 2001, PBB 2014, ECHO 2014). Internally displaced persons are usually forced to leave their house or escape from their residence as a result of various conditions. This includes the effects of armed conflicts, situations of general violence, human rights violations, natural disasters or by manmade activities. In addition, they have not crossed the border of international admission (PBB, 1998). Since they are in their own country's territory, they have the same rights of other citizens. Even if they escaped for the same reason as displaced persons (armed conflict, general violence, human rights violations), legally displaced persons are still under the protection of the government as citizens, and they still have all their rights and protections under both human rights and international humanitarian law.

The most recent disasters that caused the occurrence of IDP was the eruption of Mt. Sinabung. The uncertainty caused by the lengthy eruption of Mt. Sinabung for a duration of three years has affected as many as 3.152 families and 11.114 IDPs. During the process, there has been unclear coordination, mismanagement and poor instructions on how and who should take responsibility for the IDPs. Part of the problem is due to an absence of regulations to manage IDP. While there has been National Laws on Disaster Management (UU 24/2007), there has been no law on IDP. After the West Java earthquake in 2009, 678 homes were lost, leaving about 2.082(percent?) of the population homeless (Sagala et al 2013).

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Sagala (2014) highlights 8 key issues that should be considered in relocation, namely: (1) respect for social capital; (2) the community's livelihood; (3) strategies to prevent inducing another disaster; (4) integration with spatial planning; (5) standard social facilities in the relocation area; (6) the possibility of whether relocation can cause social conflict; (7) Bottom-up planning through a community-based approach; (8) opportunities to increase resilience. These eight areas should be considered in doing relocation, such as for IDP management.

2. IDP Theory

IDP has happened since forever with people frequently displaced from wars, disasters, plagues and colonization. However, the international scheme to deal with IDP has only started in the early 1990s. According to the UNHCR, IDP is defined as someone who is forced to flee his or her home but who remains within his or her country's borders. They are often referred to as refugees, although they do not fall within the current legal definition of a refugee.

Displacement is an event that changed life. The experience of displacement cannot be erased; displaced persons must continue their normal life by maintaining a minimum standard service of decent living. That minimum service must guarantee a decent living situation according to the current standard. After their return from being displaced, many affected people cannot return due to the lack of support from the government in recovering their housing, land and property rights. The displaced person, who attempted to integrate with the local people in their displacement area and who were already relocated by the government, often struggle to rebuild their life because of the lack of access to safe property, livelihood and basic services.

Before the 1990s, the international humanitarian sector for displaced persons had not yet given much attention to the issue (Cohen, 2004). It was only at the beginning of the 1990s that IDP became part of the international agenda (Mooney, 2005). At that time, there was no clearl definition about displaced persons. Defining IDP is crucial for identifying who are the populations of people that need attention, what are their special needs, including data collection, and legal frame and policy making that is designed to help them. Expanding the definition of a displaced person became a primary duty for the representation of General Secretary of the United Nations in Migrants fields in their early mandate (UN, 1992). Two core elements of the displaced persons concept are clear enough; first, is unintentional displacements and second, is the fact that displacements are placed in the state borders – the criteria that distinguishes IDP from refugees according to international law by definition is that refugees are located outside of their country (UN, 1951).

1992 marked the start of the process of constructing a definition of IDP. The General Secretary of the United Nations proposed the definition of displaced persons as below:

"People or groups of people who are forced to leave their house suddenly or unexpectedly in a large number, that are caused by armed conflicts, domestic conflicts, systematic violations of human rights or natural disasters or human activities, and they who are in their own regional country (UN, 1992)".

This definition reflects various conditions where core characteristics of internally displaced persons—spontaneous displacements without limits—can appear. This definition encompasses the scope of the people escaping natural disaster and human activities (Mooney, 2005). There are many cases such as floods, earthquake, starvation, as well as disasters caused by human activities like nuclear or chemical accidents. These human-incurred disasters have displaced much of the population throughout time and thus cannot be ignored as one of the main causes of population displacement.

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The definition later evolved in 1998 to become part of the general principles guideline that had been implemented. The Guideline Principles of Internal Displaced persons in 1998 is not a legally binding document, but these principles have reflected and been consistent with international human rights and humanitarian law. The Guideline Principles of Internally Displaced persons by the United Nations became an important tool to manage the situation of internally displaced persons (Cohen, 2004). The definition about displaced persons subsequently evolved:

> *"Internally displaced persons are people or a group of people who are forced or obliged to escaped or leave their house or their usual place to stay – mainly because of, or in order to avoid the effect of armed conflicts, vulnerable situations that are signified by general violence, human rights violations, natural disasters, or disaster by human activities – and who have not crossed the state border which has been approved internationally."*

There are two core elements from the displaced persons concept. First, the tendency for displacement is involuntary. Second, the fact that displacement occurs within state borders (Mooney, 2005). Consequently, displacement create a series of situations that make the affected persons more vulnerable. The most apparent one is the forceful evacuation of people from their homes; they are robbed of shelter and the basic protection that a house provides. Separated from their land, their traditional livelihood, and forced to leave all their things—they find themselves completely displaced , disarmed from their ability to survive and thrive. At the same time, they are separated from their family and societal support network. A later study underlined that displacement caused 'big losses —not only commodities like houses, income, land or other forms of property, but also abstract and symbolic notions, like cultural heritage, friendship, and ownership of a certain place (Mooney, 2005).

To reduce the negative effects and allow life to continue, recovery is needed (Olshanky and Chang, 2009; Tobin 1999). The recovery phase gives a chance to build back physical, social and economic systems. It influences improvement and applies the concept of continuity, development and endurance to disaster (Olshanky and Chang, 2009).

National authorities have the primary duty and responsibility to provide protection and humanitarian assistance to internally displaced persons within their jurisdiction. Internally displaced persons have the right to request and to receive protection and humanitarian assistance from these authorities. They should not be persecuted or punished for making such a request.

Displacement should not be carried out in a manner that violates the rights to life, dignity, liberty and security of those affected. States are under a particular obligation to protect against the displacement of indigenous peoples, minorities, peasants, pastoralists and other groups with a special dependency and attachment to their lands.

3. Background information of Indonesia

In Indonesia, thousands of people had been displaced each year because of disaster and environmental hazards, social conflicts, and large-scale development projects. At least 3.000 of people in Indonesia have been displaced because of natural disaster, armed conflicts, violence and human rights violation since 1998. Most of them are in Aceh, Papua, West Papua, Central Kalimantan, Provinces of Central Sulawesi, Maluku and North Maluku (IDMC, 2014). The tsunami in Aceh in 2004 caused 514.150 people to be displaced (BNPB, 2005), Merapi in 2010 about 13.312 persons, floods at Wasior in 2010 about 500 families. These incidents are some examples of disasters that cause internally displaced persons.

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Regulation Number 24 of 2007 About Disaster Management and Regulation Number 7 of 2012 about Social Conflict Management applied a legal framework in responding to displaced persons resulting from conflict and natural disaster. This regulation stipulated that government and local governments undertaking emergency rescue and protection actions for the victim must do so according to their duty, responsibility, and authority. The emergency action referenced by this regulation includes: the fulfillment of basic needs for the conflict victim, fulfilling the basic needs of displaced persons, including the specific needs of women, children, and groups of people with special needs; and protection for the vulnerable groups. Regulations of 2007 which form the BNPB stated that displaced persons and societies that were affected by natural disaster and manmade activities have rights for protection and fulfillment of their rights in every stage of their move.

Indonesia has not yet adopted a national policy or regulation about internally displaced persons. The national response when handling the displaced persons is regulated by Act Number 24 of 2007 About Disaster Management and Act Number 7 of 2012 About Social Conflict Management. But both of these rules fail to provide a comprehensive basic legal rule to protect the rights of displaced persons. It needs tactically and comprehensive action and handling. The government is supposed to make amendments for the existing rules to include international standards like the Principles Guideline for United Nations Displaced Persons about Displaced Persons to ensure the rights of displaced persons are upheld.

Geographically, Indonesia is an archipelago that is located at the juncture of four tectonic plates: the Asian Continent plates, the Australian Continent, Hindan and Pacific Ocean plates. At the south and east of Indonesia there is a volcanic arc which extends from Sumatera, Java, Nusa Tenggara and Sulawesi, and it contains old volcanic mountains and lowlands which are dominated by swamps. This condition makes Indonesia possess very high potential aside from being prone to natural disasters such as volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, tsunamic, floods, and land erosion. Indonesia is one of the countries which has one of the highest rates of earthquakes in the world; it is more than 10 times that of the earthquake level in the United States (Arnold, 1986).

As of July 2015, the number of IDPs in Indonesia reached 31.444 people excluding the unknown number of IDPs in Papua. These people are distributed in Langkat (3.000 IDPs), Sidoarjo (343 IDPs), West Lombok (161 IDPs), West Timor (22.000 IDPs), Bitung (540 IDPs), Ambon & Seram (5.400 IDPs) (IDMC, 2015). These people presumably are the remnants of previous conflicts and disasters such as separatist movements in Aceh, Papua and East Timor; communal violence in Lombok, Maluku, Sulawesi and Kalimantan; and Sidoarjo mudflow.

4. Methods

4.1 Data collection tools

In order to gather direct information on IDP, the authors refer to scientific papers and articles that can be downloaded from the internet.

4.2 Data collection method

Literatures from 1993 to 2014 were downloaded from websites such as science direct and university website. Data collected used several means such as (1) using 'IDP in Indonesia', 'Internally Displaced Persons in Indonesia', 'Displacement in Indonesia', 'Forced Migration in Indonesia', and 'Eviction in Indonesia' as keywords as well as combinations of these keywords on Google Scholar; (2) looking up The Internal Displacement Monitoring Center website for publications; (3) looking up citations from related literatures. Literatures acquired were restricted to displacement caused by conflict, disaster and

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development. A total of 60 articles were able to be acquired, each title and its abstracts were verified. Those that were not related to internally displaced persons were excluded, leaving 46 literatures to be analyzed.

4.3 Data analysis

To analyze the data, this study uses a descriptive qualitative approach. Literatures were then classified using tabulation and simple maps. The method conducted used a meta-analysis of the range of estimates across time periods, backgrounds, locations as well as findings.

5. Results and Discussion

Between the years 1991-2015, there were 46 literatures that could be obtained, 38 of them were published between 2001-2010. The number of studies regarding IDPs in Indonesia have increased sharply since the 1999 conflict outbreaks in North Maluku. The numbers of similar studies continue increasing and fluctuating with numbers of incidents in Indonesia. Other than these conflicts, natural disasters also add to the increase of IDP studies. Moreover, the number of studies on IDP seems to have increased after the implementation of martial law in Aceh and Papua in 2004.

Studies of IDPs in Indonesia are primarily driven by conflict. It is proven by the number of IDP studies increasing after conflict outbreaks in 2000. Most studies were made in the mid 2000s, regarding the North Maluku communal violence, and separatist movements in Aceh and Papua. Then the number dropped in 2007, where interests in conflict studies started to cool down. The number then steadied from 2007 to 2010 where the focus of IDP studies centered on policy review of the said IDPs. In 2011 the number dropped, and IDP studies shifted its focus to IDPs driven by disaster in Java.

Figure 1 Number of IDP Literatures 1991-2015

5.1 Locations of IDP

Number of Times Mentioned in Study: 1 | 2 - 5 | 6 - 8 | 9 - 12 | 13 - 17
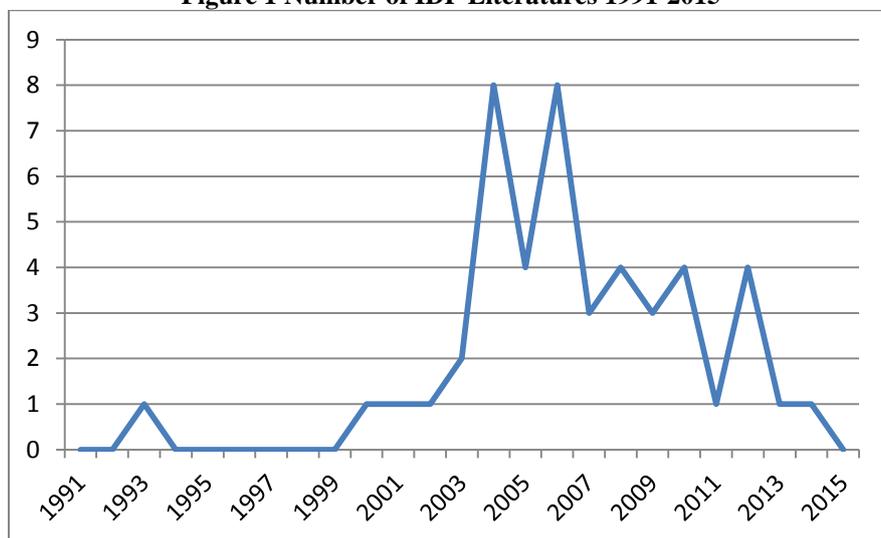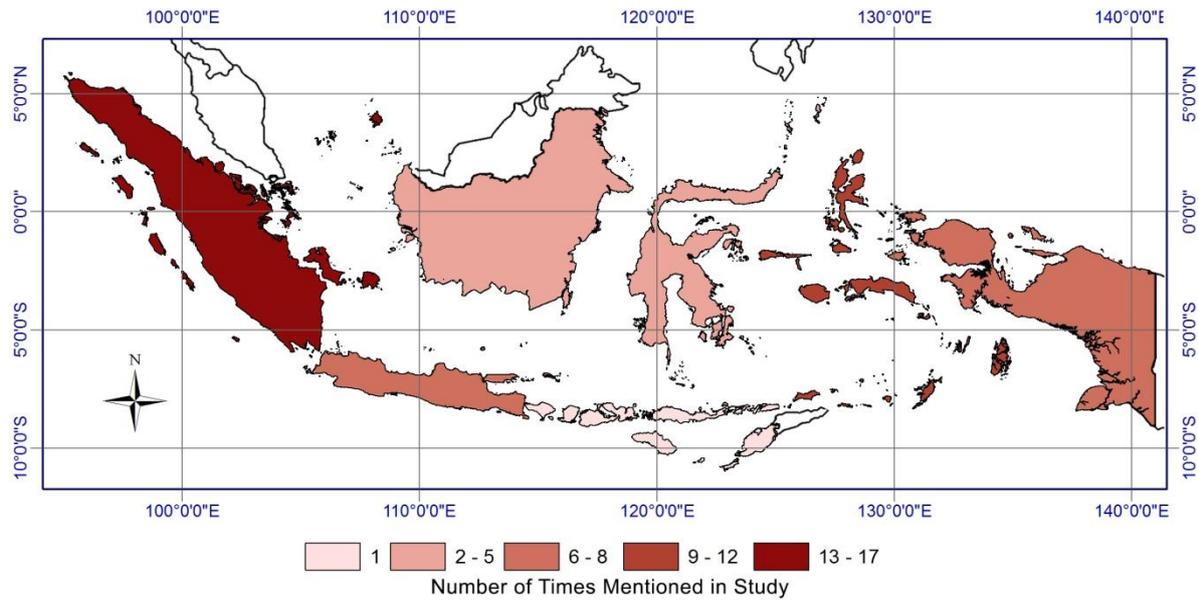
Locations of literature focus are divided into seven major areas which were based on the major islands, such as: Sumatera, Maluku, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Nusa Tenggara, Papua and Jawa. Each area may consist of more than one background.

"Sumatera" region consists of 17 cases; 16 cases are focused in Aceh concerning either the GAM (Free Aceh Movement) Separatist Movement seeking independence for the Aceh region of Sumatera, Indonesia; and/or 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami, and one case is in North Sumatera, which rooted from the same GAM Separatist Movement in Aceh. The "Kalimantan" region consists of 5 cases stemming from the 2001 Dayak-Madurese Conflict, but only one case which specifically studied the said conflict. "Maluku" region consists of 12 cases all rooted from the same incident, which is the 1999 Inter-religious Riot between the locals and immigrants from Java due to Soeharto's Transmigration Programme in 1976-1986, when Soeharto stepped down in 1999, outbreaks started and created more conflict in other regions which IDPs were fleeing to.

The "Sulawesi" region consists of five cases rooted from the same 1999 North Maluku. Inter-religious Riots in Maluku. "Nusa Tenggara" consists of only 1 case in West Timor, rooted from the 1999 East Timor Independence. The "Papua" region consists of 8 cases, all rooted from Independent Papua Separatist Movement. The "Jawa" region consists of 8 cases, unlike the other regions of Jawa which has more cases rooted from natural disasters such as the 2007 Sidoardjo Mudflow, 2010 Merapi Eruption, and one minor disaster flash flood in Jember at 2006; but disasters aren't the only cause of IDPs in Jawa, 3 of the cases rooted from development policies such as the 1988 Jabodetabek Urban Project, 2012-2013 KAI Eviction, and 2004 Bandung Land Tilting.

5.2 IDP Causes

IDPs are caused by many situations, in this study it is generalized into three categories: conflict, disaster and development. Conflict includes separatist movements and communal violence; these conflicts are usually brewed by the 1976-1986 Transmigration Programme and incited by the end of Soeharto's reign at 1999. Disaster includes IDPs that arise by either natural disaster like Merapi eruption and Indian Ocean tsunami, or human-made disasters like the Sidoardjo mudflow. Development includes the eviction of people living in an area due to public policy at a smaller scale.

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Figure 2 Causes of IDP
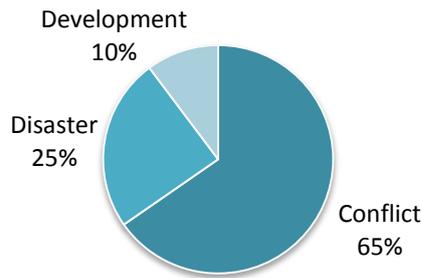
A study may have more than one cause of IDP in its dealing, for example a study of IDPs in Aceh after 2004 may be caused by the GAM separatist movement and tsunami; which means the pie chart above doesn't illustrate the amount of literature that has these causes, but how many times these causes are mentioned in literatures. Conflict is mentioned 32 times, disaster is mentioned 12 times and development is mentioned 5 times. Conflict is mentioned more times than the others, which means most of the studies on IDPs are focused on incidents caused by conflicts. This can be broken down to communal violence and separatist movements. The 1999 unrest in North Maluku and Ambon is caused by said inter-religious conflict between the Christians and Muslims. In early 2001, a conflict started in North and Central Sulawesi. In North Sulawesi, the unrest grew between the IDPs seeking refuge from previous unrest in Ambon located in Central Sulawesi which created a somewhat similar pattern of contained but unresolved inter-religious conflict to Maluku. However, in Maluku the balance of forces shifted by the arrival of Laskar Jihad. This increased difficulties in Maluku and shifted the focus to Poso. In the late 1990s conflict grew in Central Kalimantan where armed groups claiming to represent the Dayak majority-led sporadic attack on Madurese immigrant communities, leading to a mass exodus of Madurese residents to safe havens elsewhere. Until now, there are many speculations on how this conflict started, the tension between the Dayak and Madurese has existed ever since the 1930s Dutch transmigration program in Indonesia.

Separatist movements happened in three areas in Indonesia, Aceh, Papua and East Timor. Since East Timor is an independent country, there aren't many studies regarding this topic. Only one study mentions the displaced people in West Timor which was caused by the East Timor movement, while Aceh and Papua receive more attention for much of the literature written regarding this matter. This was written in the early to late 2000s which marked the peak of unrest caused by *Gerakan Aceh Merdeka dan Organisasi Papua Merdeka*. Perhaps the reason why the public eyes rest more in Aceh and Papua, other than it being more recent than East Timor is because Indonesia has an extreme nationalist ideology ('extreme' not least because of their obvious unpopularity among a population whose hostility to the Indonesian state had been clear to see in the preceding few years), and the underlying and unyielding belief that Aceh belongs in the Indonesian fold, come as no surprise when we peruse the post-independence history of Indonesia. (Kell, 2004), thus making Indonesia's standing stronger in the international arena. This is further the result of the international acceptance of Indonesian sovereignty over former colonial territories of the Dutch-Indies. The difference between Aceh and Papua movements are the motives. In Aceh the separatist movement is colored in religious motives.

Disaster means the IDPs were displaced due to natural occurrence, not because of other humans in the area. This includes major ones such as the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami to smaller ones such as the 2006 Jember flash flood. Half of the studies stem from the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami and are located in Aceh while one-third of the studies are rooted from the 2010 Merapi eruption. The rest are rooted

from the 2014 Kelud eruption, 2007 East Java mudflow and 2006 Jember flash flood. This makes half of the studies on IDPs and disasters originating from Aceh and the rest distributed in Java, but no studies regarding disaster IDPs in other locations in central to east Indonesia. Developments for IDP causes are only mentioned in 5 cases. Development for IDPs regarding eviction mentioned the 1988 Jabodetabek Urban Project, 2012-2013 KAI Eviction in Jakarta, and 2004 Mass Land Tilting in Bandung. There are also papers that examined the development in IDP camps caused by bigger occurrences like the Aceh conflict and 1976-1986 Transmigration Program. It is quite interesting to consider why there are not many studies on IDPs that happened due to eviction or other policies. There are many problems regarding eviction nowadays especially in bigger cities in Indonesia like Jakarta and Bandung.

5.3 Problems and Approaches of IDP in Indonesia

Among various factors contributing to negative assessments of relevance, are four that stand out, namely: the lack of access, inadequate funding, difficulties in the identification of IDPs and their needs and assistance not being sufficiently needs-driven. (Borton, 2005)

Access to Resources, displaced persons often have limited access to resources such as land, field, and areas to work. In Maluku, the Adat serves as a means of attaining access to resources. Successful attempts have been made to legally enforce expulsion through the formalization of an exclusive interpretation of customary Adat law, and the only legitimate owners of the land have been actively used to blocking processes of return or the reclaiming of lost property by non-indigenous, displaced communities. (Adam, 2009) The limitations held in the economy brings women to the forefront of their households in terms of income generation, which then incites a crisis in masculinity. Changes in gender roles also happened in Central Kalimantan, which women were forced to assume informal leadership roles while men were occupied with security issues. Women from the Madurese community played as peacebuilders and liaisons in effecting the return of Madurese refugees to the region. Their ability (and willingness) to be seen as "honest brokers" of peace and non-threatening members of the community is all the more impressive given their own vulnerability during the conflict. (Sukandar, 2007)

In Aceh, the struggle for land and property rights after a tsunami and decades of armed insurgency are different matters for its existence until the present day. Tensions between local communities and the local and central government, as a result of the long-standing conflict between Acehnese secessionists and Indonesian security forces causes significant mistrust between civil society organizations and government agencies (Fan, 2006). Most of the residents were relocated former renters or landowners who had lost their land during the tsunami. They were confronted with poor-quality houses and a few employment opportunities, but within just a few years they had created a lively neighborhood with many social activities. (Samuels, 2012) The Sidoarjo Mudflow incident in 2007, displaced victims that remained in the camp who were there because they had no documents to prove house or land ownership. They are in fact "stateless" and "homeless". (Schiller, 2008). In West Sumatra, social capital plays a very important role in its recovery (Pribadi et al 2014).

Welfare, involves rights for an adequate standard of living and health. In Indonesia also, most recovery programs are focused heavily on housing, health and restoring agrarian livelihoods (Birkmann, 2008). Food shortages occur in all cases. Other problems include the lack of sanitation and hygiene in camps. In Aceh, over half of all households have access to health services on-site, however the majority of facilities are non-permanent or mobile. (Mazzeo, 2005) Supplies are scarce during the first week due to the damaged infrastructure; airport and land routes to major

towns had been severely damaged. Supplies were transported via helicopter or offloaded by hand from boats. (Lee, 2005) In Indonesia, food distribution relies heavily on internal displacement camp systems. Water and food were stored on the ships and distributed regularly. Other than that, women's needs tend to be consistently overlooked, such as privacy. (Borton, 2005)

Different causes leads to different health problem. The most common illnesses that resulted from the 2010 Merapi eruption were respiratory tract diseases, hypertension, skin and subcutaneous tissue diseases from exposure to volcanic ash and gases. (Fuady, 2003) In general though, gastrointestinal diseases and tetanus are common. Mental health problem persists in every IDP camps despite their cause. This is the most serious flaws in most IDP camps; there is a lack of mental-health or counseling services for the population. In Aceh, where mental-health services were available; they tended to be inaccessible because of a lack of transportation options, or where they were physically attainable, their focus was limited to addressing shelter needs. (Stein, 2011) Women tend to suffer more anxiety and depression than men; women often experience more upsetting life events and are more vulnerable to abuse, which may be related to adverse living conditions, especially during the violence period. (Turnip, 2010) Turnip's findings are also found in Jember's flash flood IDP where people who were identified with mild depression were in the 26-60 years old age category. (Arista, 2007) The most commonly reported indicators of emotional stress for women were sadness, insomnia and boredom. For men they were sadness, anxiety and boredom. (Mazzeo, 2005). Pangalengan, Wimbardana and Sagala (2012) observed that the survivors of the 2009 West Java earthquake suffered trauma and panic for about two years after the disasters. IDPs often require counseling and help from psychologists to ease their trauma.

Security, is about making IDPs feel safe. Security could mean making sure the IDP community is safe from an outside threat such as a potential conflict with locals, or making sure people stay away from each other's throat. The provision of facilities for specific vulnerable groups, such as women during menstruation, was linked with the privacy and security issues that emerged during the disaster, and which were often neglected. (Fantoni, 2012) Gender based violence in the community is a lingering issue in Indonesian IDP. Other problems encountered in the IDP community are the widespread destruction of private property and looting while they are away from their home.

In terms of IDPs caused by separatist conflict such as Aceh and Papua, security might be more complicated than others due to the implementation of martial law. Martial law in Aceh created a new pattern of displacement for the civilian population as a deliberate strategy of war. This resulted in the failure of ensuring adequate provisions for protection and safety of IDPs during martial law. (Hedman, 2004) While the people who are moved to the camps by the military tend to stay in the camps for short periods, IDPs who leave their villages because of fear tend to stay longer. (Ramly, 2004) Intimidation by the Javanese had a substantial effect on outward migration. (Czaika, 2009) Said pattern could indicate that the military force provided by the central government to make people feel 'secure' turned out to be the one that made IDPs feel insecure enough to move in the first place. In the case of tsunami-affected villages, Desa Meunasah Kulam and Desa Meunasah Mon, 24 households are seeking new land as their own plots are being claimed by the military, who have an office, residences, and a clinic in the same area. (Fan, 2006) In Papua, problems regarding security aren't much different than Aceh. Implementation of martial law makes 'security' have a different meaning. While difficult to confirm, there are reports indicating further violations of international humanitarian and human rights law due to military operations underway in Papua. (Hedman, 2006) Checkpoints, roadblocks, and activities such as 'sweeping'—military personnel operate in local communities that have not distinguished themselves between ordinary

villagers and OPM activists and supporters. (Chauvell, 2006) The representation of West Papuans also affects the brewing of threats to security, the portrayal of West Papuans as inherently violent justifies a variety of state interventions. This silences the West Papuan voices. (Kirsch, 2006)

Management and Coordination inefficiencies in handling IDPs were identified as a result of lengthy management chains and organizations having to juggle the different program rationales and contractual and reporting requirements of the different donors. (Borton, 2005) The usual problem in bureaucracy and coordination tend to get in the way of people doing their job. Limited administrative capacity within donor, restriction or even prevention by local authorities, permits, and so on. In Indonesia, access by humanitarian agencies has been restricted as a result of a lack of security in some regions such as Aceh, Papua, North Sumatra and West Timor. In West Timor however, there is an example of former refugees who have languished in a state of legal non-status which makes UN agencies unable to respond and it being declared unsafe by UN security coordinator. In Aceh and Papua where martial law was implemented, NGOs had to obtain a recommendation letter from the government in order to operate and the letters were generally withheld from NGOs working in the human rights sector. (Borton, 2005) NGOs aren't always innocent in this problem; in post-tsunami Aceh, critics have said that there was a tendency in the humanitarian interventions to view the affected people as passive recipients of humanitarian assistance. Therefore, the sense of ownership of the process by the beneficiaries has been minimal. (Bauman, 2006)

Accusation of corruption by the local authorities also presents an issue for IDP. Insufficient coordination between departments and between levels of government and a lack of information on the options available regarding opportunities to return or resettlement, insufficient participation of target groups, poor coordination of responsibilities between agencies and some settlements lacking essential services etc. insufficient or inaccurate data collection, uneven distribution of assistance which has created resentment which in turn leads to accusations of corruption and demands for more transparency. (Sweeting, 2001)

Repatriation: the closing of IDP Camps does not always go as planned and displaced people need sustainable solutions to their lives following a disaster. Questions such as "where do we go from here?" were raised, and not many are answered. In December 2003 it declared the IDP emergency over and in January 2004, it withdrew IDP status from the remaining displaced persons in all regions (estimated to be 0.5 million people) with the result that they were shifted into the category of "vulnerable people" who were the responsibility of the provincial authorities. (Borton, 2005) Back then, in Maluku IDPs were given options before they were left to the provincial authority's responsibility by the central government: to return home, reintegrate, relocate and empower the IDPs. Each option brings various consequences and considerations.

- **Going home** is not as simple as it may appear to be. Further problems occurred in careless return practices, in Ternate, businessmen were paid to move IDPs for the number of families they returned, so they did not make efforts to ensure that the people they were "returning" were actually IDPs who were going home nor did they make any efforts to coordinate with regional officials. As a result, returnees would often arrive in North Maluku to find that no actions had been made to accommodate them in the new environment. (Duncan, 2000) Returning home may be an easy option, even though local government has adopted a policy of forgetting to avoid pitfalls of blame. However, it was evidently clear that for IDPs, forgetting simply isn't an option. Moreover, not returning home can potentially brew another conflict between IDPs and the host.

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- **Integration** can be considered if the relationship between IDPs and host communities are civil enough. The decision to integrate IDPs as local citizens has to be in mutual agreement with the locals. In North Sulawesi, the continuation of humanitarian aid and the existence of IDPS has angered locals because it serves as a constant reminder of what they perceive to be "entitlements". Violent conflicts occur around IDP camps or settlements. Once the boundary markers have been removed, it is likely that the social category of IDP will be viewed in a different light by locals. (Duncan, 2004)
- **Relocation** often means IDPs would take part in a transmigration project. Problems occurred in the new site manifest in conflicting land claims, poor planning and poor site selection.
- **Empowerment** sounds like an ideal solution, but like all ideal solutions, it makes sense in a world of ideas and sometimes it is not practical in the real world. Empowerment schemes to aid IDPs would be a better solution in the long term. Even so, back then empowerment was rarely discussed since local governments preferred the IDPs to leave. (Duncan, 2000)

In terms of natural disaster, IDPs tend to be less reluctant to go home compared to those IDPs resulting from conflicts. In the case of the 2010 Merapi eruption, villagers perceived the eruption in a positive manner based on the benefit that could be gained after the eruption. People experienced living in evacuation camps for more than 30 days and they consistently returned home while the eruption continued to feed their livestock. (Christian, 2012) Most people reject the idea of relocation due to the strong connection between history, the population and the spatial surroundings of the mountain as a place to live and as their "home". Natural disasters also provide an opportunity to rebuild better communities and infrastructure. Therefore, repatriation should be seen as part of a long term preparation approach (Sagala et al 2014).

However, evicted IDPs do not often receive as much attention as IDPs resulting from conflict or disaster. According to the 1988 Jabodetabek Urban Project, land acquisitions affect the dwellings and jobs of some 40.000 to 50.000 persons and disrupt immense economic activity. The plan had no full resettlement plan for the displaced people. The people displaced were only given cash compensation. Furthermore, the project authorities were not aware as to whether these people who received the cash had been able to reestablish themselves decently or not. Cash compensation for low grade housing is insufficient to build new dwellings. Thus, some displaced families remain homeless. Remedial measures were initiated in the post-appraisal/implementation stage and provisions to reduce the need for relocation which were adopted for the design and approach of the Second and Third Jabotabek projects. (Cernea, 1993) Evicted merchants at Pondok Cina Station caused students to be faced with hoodlums from the eviction. This procedural problem lead to violence inflicted on both students and vendors. The students had acted in conscience and solidarity to advocate the vendors,. (Nurjanatin, 2013)

6. Conclusions and recommendations

Studies of IDPs in Indonesia are primarily driven by conflict. This is proven by the number of IDP studies increasing after the conflict outbreak in 2000. Papua and Maluku regions tend to receive more attention compared to Kalimantan in terms of conflict-driven IDP studies, even though Kalimantan has the same root of conflict with Maluku and Sulawesi conflicts, which was the 1976-1986 Transmigration Programme. While in Java, IDPs are more likely to be driven by disaster and development.

There are also mistakes made in handling IDPs. For example, it needs to be remembered that different causes lead to different needs. Infrastructure plays a big role in the sustainability of IDPs, whether it is

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in transportation, sanitation, hygiene or medicine. Thus, improving the quality and range of infrastructure should be a priority. Vulnerable groups such as children, women, elders and disabled people should not be overlooked. The design and planning of IDP camps should not overlook such details; privacy is a privilege but in IDP camps it is the least we can provide. Mental health affects daily life as much as physical health but many disregard it as it is often not perceivable physically. A lack of mental health service may lead to the plummeting of morale. Female empowerment is inevitable whether it is facilitated or not. The problem is that the same change in discourse might not happen in men. Conflicts may be incited as a result of female empowerment due to a masculinity crisis in men. This is why the idea of gender equality should not only be imposed on women, but men also. This act is one step to prevent gender-based violence which links to greater domestic security.

There is external trouble such as potential conflicts between IDP and the host community that usually occur as a result of jealousy. The host community considers IDPs as 'entitled' for receiving aids without having to 'work for them'. Donors should be flexible in allowing aid agencies to help people other than the displaced and the government should be flexible in distributing funds. But in special cases like Aceh and Papua where martial law is implemented, problems come from the military itself. If this is the case, central government should commit to undertaking internal military reform.

In handling IDPs related to conflict, we should keep in mind that they are not victims of natural disaster. Natural disasters do not strike back by threatening your family or by throwing rocks at your windows. IDPs incurred by conflict cannot be forced to return as forcing them to return might diminish the relationship between IDPs and hosts even more. Solutions should pay attention to the most culturally appropriate approaches. There is also a need to teach local officials and NGO workers the foundations of what causes the IDP, especially if it is caused by social conflict. Lastly, a lack of reliable information leads people to jump to conclusions, then panic and prejudices.

Finally, there is a need for standardized guidelines on handling IDPs to ensure an adequate standard of wellbeing and living conditions for the IDPs especially in camps. Other research areas that can be explored is the relation of IDPs with concepts of resilience. Ultimately, IDPs are expected to have the capacity to deal with future disasters. Therefore, IDP preparation to disasters should be heightened Involving IDPs in rehabilitation and reconstruction management is important. Whilst it not only increases the IDP's capacity, it also aims to increase IDP participation in building community readiness to disasters.

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