1945

1945
Indonesia declares independence from the Netherlands, with Sukarno as President. After four years of hostilities, the Dutch acknowledge Indonesia in 1949.

1948
Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI) attempts to form an Indonesian Soviet Republic in the city of Madiun, East Java. The revolt is violently suppressed by Sukarno. The PKI reenters politics in the 1950s.

1949
The Darul Islam rebellion, led by Kartosuwiryo, declares an Islamic state. The rebellion gains significant territory and lasts for 13 years.

1957
Sukarno declares martial law and replaces Indonesia's parliamentary system with his authoritarian Guided Democracy.

1958
Rebellious military commanders declare a "revolutionary government" in several provinces. Sukarno suppresses the rebellion over the next three years.

1959
Aceh Province, where resentment over a lack of autonomy is growing, is granted special territorial status.

1962
Kartosuwirjo is captured and executed. Darul Islam is suppressed.

1965
Apparent coup by the September 30th Movement is suppressed, and General Suharto takes full control of the military. Suharto blames the PKI, triggering massacres that kill at least 500,000.

1967
Suharto becomes president. Sukarno's Guided Democracy is replaced by Suharto's New Order.

1969
Dutch cede Papua to Indonesia in controversial Act of Free Choice, sparking armed resistance. Government starts counterinsurgency, with Papua seeing conflict until the present.

1976
Hasan Tiro forms the Free Aceh Movement. The insurrection is decimated by 1979, but eventually escalates into subnational warfare by the early 2000s.

1997
Asian financial crisis severely affects Indonesia.

1998
After three months of student protests, and three days of rioting that kills 1,200, Suharto resigns. The next five years are the most violent since 1965.

1999
Referendum on independence in East Timor.

1999
Large-scale communal violence breaks out in Maluku, North Maluku, and West Kalimantan.

2000
Large-scale communal violence in Central Sulawesi.

2001
Large-scale communal violence in Central Kalimantan.

2001
Malino peace accord ends violence in Central Sulawesi.

2002
Malino II peace accord ends violence in Maluku.

2002
First Bali bombing by jihadi group Jemaah Islamiyah kills 202, 164 of them foreigners.

2003
Government declares martial law in Aceh as secessionist warfare intensifies.

2004
A tsunami strikes Aceh, killing almost 170,000.

2005
The Helsinki peace accord ends the war in Aceh. Since 1998, 10,613 have died.

2016
Group loyal to the Islamic State launches a suicide bombing in Jakarta.

2017
As Islamist ideas increasingly influence public debate, the Christian governor of Jakarta is jailed for blasphemy against Islam.

2017

Indonesia

At a glance

National civil war
Absent

National political conflict
Low

Transnational terrorism
Medium

Separatism and autonomy
Shifted from high to low

Communal/ideological conflict
Shifted from high to medium low

Local political and electoral conflict
Medium low

Local resource conflict
Medium

Urban crime and violence
Low

* Rankings are based on the last 15 years and are relative to other Asian countries.

Overview

Indonesia is regarded as a rare Asian example of a successful and enduring multicultural democracy. Yet today's relatively peaceful Indonesia is the product of a history of periodic violence. Following independence from the Dutch, political forces engaged in a struggle to define Indonesia's political and national identity, leading to the anticommunist massacres of 1965–66. The 1998 collapse of the New Order regime led to another period of violence, including large-scale ethnoreligious conflicts in several provinces and a surge in the civil war with separatist insurgents in Aceh. Democratization, decentralization, and a dynamic economy helped Indonesia overcome these challenges. Large-scale conflict has largely disappeared since 2005, but sporadic and localized forms of violence betray persistent issues with justice and governance, land, and natural resources management. The country's tradition of religious pluralism is also under stress, as fringe Islamic groups and ideas have gained a growing influence over mainstream politics.

National civil war

Indonesia has not experienced national civil war since the 1960s. The only current armed challenges to the authority of the state come from radical Islamist militants and a low-level separatist movement in Papua. Neither have the means to escalate violence beyond sporadic attacks.

Following independence in 1945, Indonesia experienced two decades of instability as the state struggled to extend its authority across the archipelago. The Netherlands, the colonial power, tried to regain Indonesia by force following the Japanese withdrawal after World War II. Under international pressure, the Dutch relented in 1949 and negotiated the transfer of the former Dutch East Indies to an independent Indonesia.

The main internal drivers of conflict in Indonesia's early years were ideology and regionalism. The most violent challenge came from Soekarmadji Maridjan Kartosuwiryo, an Islamic mystic from Central Java, who aimed to establish an Islamic state. In 1948, President Sukarno's government had in effect surrendered West Java to the Dutch by agreeing to withdraw the Indonesian army. In response, Kartosuwiryo established the Darul Islam movement. The revolt spread to Central Java, South Sulawesi, South Kalimantan, and Aceh, and lasted until Kartosuwiryo was captured and executed in 1962. The vision of an Indonesia founded on Islamic principles, and networks associated with Darul Islam, have had a long afterlife and remain crucial to understanding Indonesian Islamic extremism today.[1]

Another threat came from the left. An attempt to form an Indonesian Soviet Republic by the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) at Madiun was violently suppressed in September 1948. The PKI returned to mainstream politics in the 1950s. Sukarno used them as a foil for the military, whose leaders doubted civilian rule even as they shared the vision of a secular, modern Indonesia.[2] A violent challenge to Sukarno's government emerged from within the army's ranks in 1956–1957. Commanders in Sumatra, Sulawesi, Maluku, and Nusa Tenggara wrested power from governors in bloodless coups, accusing Sukarno of excessive bureaucracy, neglecting outlying regions, and being too close to the PKI. The rebels declared a revolutionary government in 1958. Sukarno eventually suppressed the rebellion.[3]

500
Indonesians
fighting in Iraq and Syria
in 2015

National political conflict

Under Indonesia's first president, Sukarno, relative peace was achieved by top-down means. He began to dismantle Indonesia's fledgling democracy in 1957, declaring martial law and replacing the parliamentary system with his authoritarian Guided Democracy. Parties were pushed to the margins, with the exception of the PKI, which remained allied with Sukarno. The only other major political force was the military, whose leadership was anticommunist. National politics were intensely polarized between the right and the left.

Stability crumbled as the contradictions in Sukarno's coalition unraveled. On September 30, 1965, six generals were killed in an apparent putsch by members of the military, seemingly in concert with the PKI. The following day, a group called the September 30th Movement announced that it had taken action to prevent a coup. By evening the mutiny had been crushed, and General Suharto, a high ranking officer who headed the army's strategic command, was in full control of the army.

Suharto whipped up anticommunist fervor in late 1965. A campaign of mass killing ensued, targeting PKI members and supporters, with the worst violence in Central and East Java, Bali, and North Sumatra. An estimated 500,000 people were killed.[4] By March 1966, Suharto had dismissed Sukarno's cabinet; he became president the following year.

National political competition was limited during Suharto's tenure. He stayed in power until 1998 by skillfully and selectively deploying violence against opponents, banning most political parties, and stage-managing elections. His New Order regime brought together military elites, technocrats, and civilian politicians in support of policies that stimulated foreign investment and kept growth rates high. However, Indonesia was severely affected by the 1997 Asian financial crisis, contributing to Suharto's downfall.

Suharto was forced to resign on May 21, 1998, handing over power to Vice President Habibie. His resignation was precipitated by three months of student protests, which garnered support from the middle class. Violence spiked following the killing of four students by the security forces during a protest in Jakarta. Over the next three days, widespread rioting in Jakarta and other cities targeted ethnic Chinese Indonesians and their businesses. An estimated 1,200 people were killed, and over 50 women were raped.[5]

Indonesia is now politically stable. Four peaceful presidential transitions have occurred since the 1998 fall of the authoritarian President Suharto. Dealmaking between elites has sometimes led to corruption and nepotism, but has also served to limit extreme or violent contestation.

National-level legislative and presidential elections in 1999, 2004, 2009, and 2014 have regularly been accompanied by shows of force and occasional incidents—usually involving youth fronts or thugs affiliated with political parties and candidates—but they have not led to significant violence.

Transnational terrorism

The New Order did not stamp out Islamist radicalism. Violent militants have extensive and longstanding ties with radical networks outside the country. Ties were forged during the New Order era when, due to repression by Suharto, extremists went abroad, to the Afghanistan-Pakistan border and to Malaysia, where exiled jihadis founded Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) in the early 1990s. The skills and networks forged abroad injected capacity into Indonesian extremist organizations, which perpetrated a series of lethal, high-profile attacks on Western targets beginning in the early 2000s, including the 2002 Bali bombings that killed 202 people, 164 of them foreigners, and further bombings in Jakarta and Bali.

Since then, the jihadi scene has evolved, with key personalities jailed or killed and alignments shifting due to theological and strategic disputes. With extensive foreign assistance, the government has been able to reduce the threat. The police counterterrorism unit Densus 88 has achieved considerable success in dismantling terrorist cells.[6] This led to a shift in homegrown Islamic terrorism: since 2010, most attacks have been small and poorly planned and executed, often by small groups with limited training and funding.[7]

The Syrian civil war and the declaration of the Islamic State (IS) in 2013 provided fresh momentum to Indonesian jihadi networks. In 2015, 500 Indonesians were fighting with IS in Irag and Syria[8] with a special military unit, Katibah Nusantara, established for Malay Indonesian speakers. Back home, jihadi clerics such as Abu Bakar Ba'asyir and Aman Abdurrahman have sworn allegiance to IS from their prison cells, with both involved in the creation of Jamaah Anshar Khilafah (JAK). JAK was responsible for a suicide bombing and shooting at a Starbucks cafe and a police station in Jakarta on January 14, 2016. Another group affiliated with IS, Mujahidin Indonesia Timur (MIT), has carried out numerous attacks on the police since 2012 from its hideout in Central Sulawesi. The Jakarta attack was a failure (it resulted in four deaths), and MIT's leader, Santoso, was killed by security forces on July 18, 2016. But observers fear that the return of IS-trained Indonesians may lead to better-organized attacks in the future.[9] Major weaknesses also remain in Indonesia's counterterrorism response. These include a lax and corrupt prison system that allows convicted jihadis to continue recruiting and plotting from their cells; poor monitoring of former convicts and Syria returnees; a lack of effective action against the spread of jihadi ideology via radical Islamic schools, websites, publications, and lectures; and outdated antiterrorism laws.[10]

Subnational level

Separatism and autonomy

Preserving the integrity of Indonesia has been a major concern of the state. Separatist movements developed in Aceh, Maluku, East Timor, and Papua. Sukarno and Suharto managed to control the centrifugal forces of separatism through military action, special autonomy arrangements, political patronage, and economic development. After the collapse of the New Order, decentralization reforms and special autonomy arrangements helped address regional calls for greater representation and inclusive growth.

Aceh. The Acehnese played an important role in the anticolonialist struggle, but discontent grew when promises that Aceh would become its own province were broken, leading many to join Darul Islam. The conflict was largely resolved in 1959, with Aceh given special territorial status. As the Indonesian central state gained strength, however, this became meaningless. In 1976, Hasan di Tiro declared the formation of the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) and independence. The insurgency was largely wiped out by 1979, but grew again after fighters trained in Libya returned in the late 1980s. In response, the military launched a decade-long campaign that killed thousands.[11] Following the New Order's demise, the conflict escalated into subnational war. The new political environment, and East Timor's independence referendum, led to calls for an independence plebiscite. GAM grew, gaining presence across the province. Two attempts at restoring peace—the Humanitarian Pause of September 2000, and the Cessation of Hostilities Agreements (CoHA) of December 2002—failed. The government declared martial law in 2003. Tens of thousands of additional troops were deployed.

On August 15, 2005—less than nine months after the December 2004 tsunami, which killed 167,000 people in Aceh—a peace deal (the MoU) was signed in Helsinki. The tsunami played a role: with tens of thousands of aid workers pouring in, offensives could not take place. Other

factors were also important. GAM had been decimated by martial law, and its leaders understood that international support for the independence of a small Muslim state on the Straits of Malacca was unlikely post-9/11. New Indonesian president Yudhoyono favored a political approach to Aceh. The MoU devolved considerable power to Aceh, granted the province a larger share of oil and gas revenues, and enabled former rebels to form a political party and run for local elections. It included provisions to disarm and reintegrate rebel forces. Over 30,000 Indonesian military and police left the province. An unarmed peace mission, the Aceh Monitoring Mission, was deployed by the EU and ASEAN to oversee the peace process. The impact of the conflict had been deep. From 1998 until the signing of the peace accord, an estimated 10,613 people lost their lives. Damages and losses from the conflict exceeded USD 10.7 billion, double the economic cost of the tsunami.[12]

Aceh is now at peace, and few predict that large-scale violence will reemerge. Former rebels have moved into governing roles, securing landslide victories in post-MoU local elections. Deaths dropped drastically after the accord, but the end of the war did not mean the end of all violence (figure 1). Crime increased sharply after the MoU. This was partly a result of leftover weapons from the conflict and the disappointment of former combatants at postwar economic opportunities. Elections have been marked by significant political violence. The 2009 legislative elections were the first in which Partai Aceh, the political party formed by GAM, fielded candidates for provincial and district parliaments. The 2012 election, for provincial governor and district heads, was marked by divisions between two GAM factions. Both elections saw widespread intimidation and violent incidents such as attacks—sometimes deadly—on party cadres: since 2005, 465 incidents of election-related violence have been recorded in Aceh, which led to 13 deaths.[13] However, the latest round of elections for governor and district heads, in October 2016, was peaceful.

Papua. Since integration into Indonesia in 1969, Papua[15] has seen a low-intensity but sustained separatist insurrection by the armed wing of the Free Papua Organization (TPN-OPM). Counterinsurgency campaigns by Indonesian armed forces led to severe human rights violations, including mass killings of civilians, with hundreds of thousands of deaths and displaced people.[16]
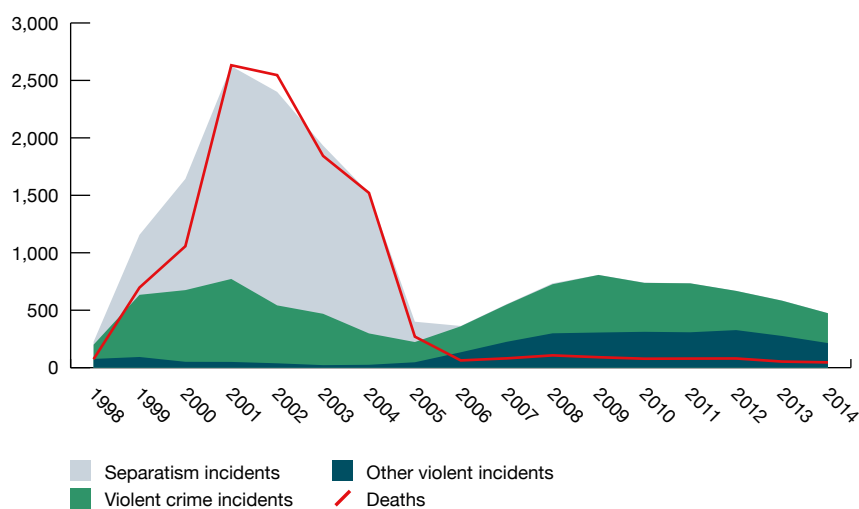

Figure 1. Violent deaths and incidents, by type, Aceh
Source: Indonesia's National Violence Monitoring System (NVMS),[14]
Indonesia's Coordinating Ministry for Human Development and Cultural Affairs, and World Bank

Economic impact of Aceh conflict **double** that of **the tsunami**

Since the end of the New Order, the intensity of the conflict has dramatically decreased, and it now involves only sporadic shootings between rebels and security forces. The frequency of incidents surged again sharply in recent years, however, leading to an average of 31 fatalities per year from 2011 to 2014 (figure 2).

Pro-independence sentiment is widespread among Papuans, rooted in historic political and socioeconomic grievances including the contested transfer of sovereignty from the Dutch to Indonesia via the 1969 Act of Free Choice. The Act was meant to meet Papuan demands for a plebiscite on independence. Although the vote's outcome was endorsed by the UN, it is broadly regarded as illegitimate by most Papuans.

Other grievances include a sense of marginalization and disenfranchisement of indigenous Papuans, the perception that the exploitation of Papua's natural resources does not benefit locals, and the presence and poor track record of security forces. Papua has seen a steady influx of migrants from other parts of Indonesia, as a result of both transmigration programs and spontaneous migration.[17] The proportion of nonindigenous people in Papua's population was 53.5 percent in 2009, and many Papuans fear becoming "a minority in their own land."[18] Extractive industries drive tensions. The Grasberg mine, the richest gold and copper deposit in the world, has been the target of frequent ambushes attributed to separatist groups, and is associated with other tensions and violence related to labor issues, environmental damage, and rivalries between security forces over protection rent. Investments have been made in natural gas (the BP plant in Bintuni Bay), forest exploitation, and oil palm. While these create revenues and jobs, they also frequently lead to conflict. Tensions over customary land rights and resettlement have pitted communities against companies, and have exacerbated tribal disputes over land borders and the distribution of benefits.[19] Finally, the police and military often use excessive force in response to peaceful demonstrations of support for independence. Human rights abuses go largely unpunished.[20]
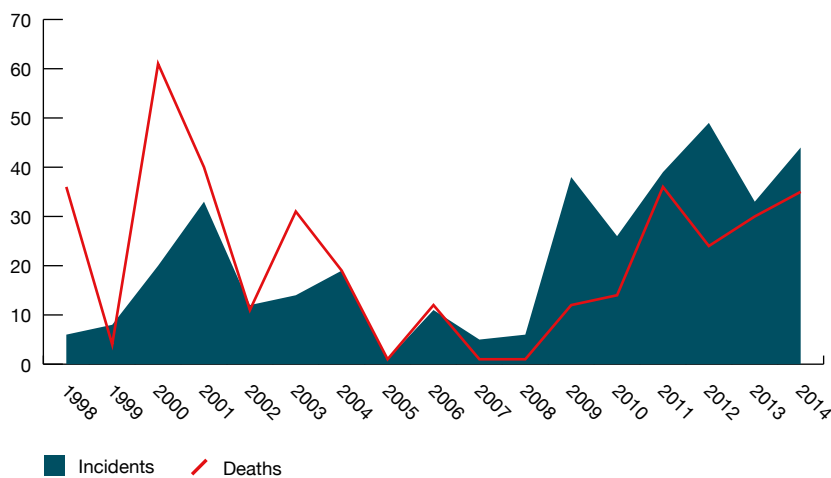

Figure 2. Separatism-related incidents and deaths, Papua and Papua Barat provinces
Source: NVMS, Coordinating Ministry for Human Development and Cultural Affairs, and World Bank

Jakarta's response to the "Papua problem" has combined ramped-up military action with efforts to accelerate the region's development. Papua was designated a special autonomous region in 1999, and Law 21/2001 on Special Autonomy (OTSUS) devolved considerable political and fiscal authority to local government, along with preferential access to civil service jobs for indigenous Papuans. However, OTSUS is broadly regarded in Jakarta and Papua as a failure. Over USD 5 billion in special autonomy funding flowed into Papua and West Papua provinces between 2002 and 2017, with little effect on development. The largest share of funds has been spent on a growing number of civil servants and government facilities resulting from the proliferation of new districts.[21] In 2016, Papua and West Papua provinces still ranked as the worst and second-worst Indonesian provinces on the Human Development Index.[22]

Under the Joko Widodo presidency, efforts have been made to improve development and provide the local population with a sense of justice. For example, fuel prices—historically very high in Papua because of the region's remoteness and difficult terrain—were brought down to levels more comparable with the rest of the archipelago; the price differential between urban and rural areas within Papua decreased. Fuel prices affect the price of other commodities, and high prices have been a major obstacle to Papua's economic development, especially in rural areas. Joko Widodo also ended state-sponsored transmigration, and he visits Papua and West Papua regularly.

Nonetheless, Papua remains the most violent region of Indonesia. In 2014, Papua's homicide rate was five per 100,000 people, five times the national Indonesian average. While separatist conflict accounted for 22.5 percent of fatalities that year, other violence, such as resource-related and identity-based conflict, is frequent.

Large-scale communal and ideological conflicts

The five years following the collapse of the New Order regime were a period of major political and socioeconomic change. The years 1998–2004 saw the highest levels of violence since the 1965 anticommunist killings, with communal conflicts erupting in five Indonesian provinces.

In West and Central Kalimantan, the violence pitted indigenous Dayak and ethnic Malays against migrant Madurese populations; in Central Sulawesi and Maluku, the cleavage was primarily religious (Muslims versus Christians); in North Maluku, ethnic violence morphed into interconfessional battles. Violence in each place started with small-scale clashes between community groups, but then escalated into much larger armed confrontations. Fatalities were high (table 1), violence was organized, government services halted, and clashes spread over large geographic areas.[23]

Table 1. Extended intercommunal violence, by province, in transitioning Indonesia

Province	Period of extended violence	Deaths	Injuries	Buildings damaged
North Maluku	August '99 through June '00	3,257	2,635	15,004
Maluku	January '99 through February '02	2,793	5,057	13,843
West Kalimantan	January '97 through February '97 February '99 through April '99	1,103	646	3,830
Central Kalimantan	February '01 through April '01	1,031	77	1,998
Central Sulawesi	April '00 through December '01	517	579	6,004

Source: NVMS, Coordinating Ministry for Human Development and Cultural Affairs, and World Bank

By 2002, these episodes had ended, in part as a result of local peace deals such as the 2001 Malino Declaration for Central Sulawesi and the 2002 Malino II agreement for Maluku. Communal violence dropped sharply in Indonesia: related deaths in the five most affected provinces fell from 3,624 in 1999 to an average of 17 per year from 2003–2014. However, in Maluku, segregation along communal lines remains, and tensions continue to lead to regular violence. Central Sulawesi continues to serve as a base for violent Islamist militants, such as Mujahidin Indonesia Timur (MIT). Data for 16 provinces[24] shows a significant increase in incidents related to identity since 2010 (figure 3): incidents were more than three times more frequent during the 2010–2014 period than during 2005–2009, and fatalities were 67 percent higher (65 identity-related deaths per year in 2010–2014, compared with 39 in 2005–2009). A quarter of these deaths resulted from attacks on minority Muslim sects and minority religions by Sunni militant groups.
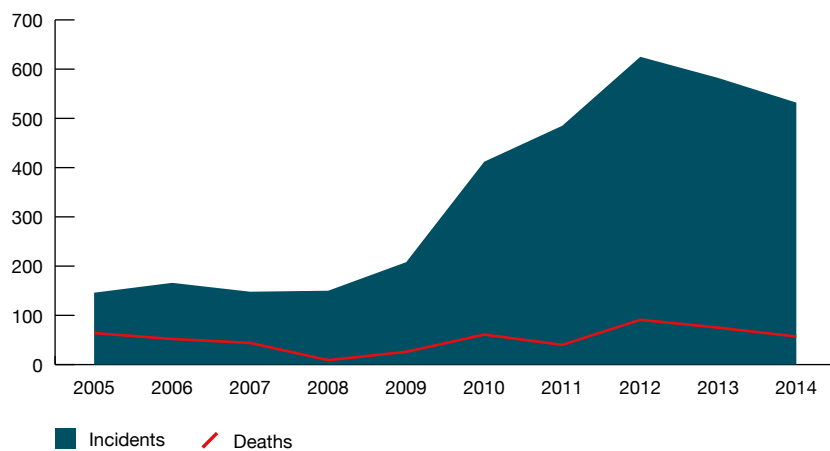

Figure 3. Identity-related incidents and deaths per year, 16 Indonesian provinces (2005–2014)
Source: NVMS, Coordinating Ministry for Human Development and Cultural Affairs, and World Bank

Over the past few years, fringe radical Islamic groups have also acquired a growing influence over mainstream politics, using shows of force and blasphemy accusations to capture the attention of the media and shape public debate. A recent example was the 2017 election for the governor of Jakarta, where the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI), a vigilante group mainly known for using violence to extort payments from nightclubs and gambling dens, spearheaded mobilization against the incumbent governor, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama ("Ahok"), an ethnic Chinese, over allegations of insulting the Quran. With the support of opposing political forces, FPI's agitation led to massive street protests and likely played a crucial role in Ahok's defeat in the second round of the elections in April.

Local level

The large-scale conflicts that followed the collapse of the New Order were largely over by mid-2005. Democratic reforms and decentralization were starting to show benefits, while the economy was rapidly recovering. Violence has dropped, and its nature has shifted to more sporadic, localized incidents (figure 4). While violence is now far less deadly, it shows persistent issues related to law enforcement, community access to justice, land and natural resources management, political representation, and minority rights.[25]

There has been a dramatic drop in fatalities since 2002 (red line in figure 4). As deaths dropped, the nature of violence changed. From 1999 to 2001, identity-related violence accounted for up to 80 percent of all reported deaths in the nine provinces. From 2002 to 2004, as communal conflicts receded and civil war escalated in Aceh, separatism became the main driver of deadly violence. After 2005, the violence assumed a more typical, peace-time model, with crime the main issue (on average accounting for 60 percent of deaths annually from 2005 to 2014). The second main driver of fatalities was domestic violence (15 percent of deaths in the period). Focusing on collective violence, mob justice—in reaction to criminal, moral, or personal offenses—was the deadliest type.
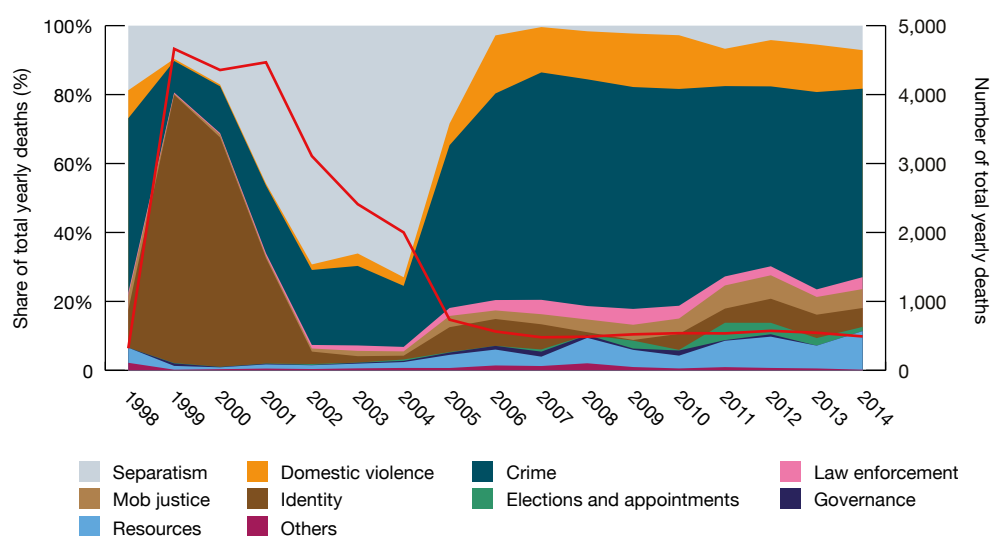

Figure 4. Share of yearly deaths, by type of violence, for nine provinces (1998–2014)
Source: NVMS, Coordinating Ministry for Human Development and Cultural Affairs, and World Bank

Papua's homicide rate

5 times
higher than the national average in 2014

Local political conflict and electoral violence

A large democracy with nearly 200 million registered voters, Indonesia has 34 governors and 514 district heads and mayors, all of whom are elected directly, and as many provincial and district parliaments. Local political competition sometimes plays out violently: contenders mobilize thugs for shows of force that occasionally lead to clashes and street violence. This has led to calls to cancel direct local elections and revert to the previous system where governors and district heads were chosen by parliaments. However, subnational elections have not led to major unrest. From 2005 to 2014, just 98 of a total of nearly 2,500 violent deaths were related to elections or other forms of political competition. Violence has mainly been concentrated in remote regions such as Papua's highlands (where district politics often map onto clan-based tensions), or in regions formerly affected by large-scale conflict, such as Aceh.

Local conflict over resources and community rights

Land and natural resources conflicts lead to more deaths. Annual violent incidents have increased steadily during the past five years. Between 2010 and 2014, incidents increased by 40 percent, and deaths more than doubled, from 34 to 72. Resource-related violence represents only a small share of all violence in Indonesia (2–3 percent), but it is comparatively more likely to lead to fatalities than other types of violence.[26]

The vast majority of these incidents result from contestation over land. These typically pit local communities against agribusiness companies or extractive industries granted concessions by the state, but they also map onto communal lines of opposition between different ethnic groups, or between indigenous populations and migrants. Many large cases, such as the Mesuji and Jambi land disputes, defy simple narratives. They involve overlapping claims by customary (*adat*) communities, migrants, and private interests, and are further complicated by the intervention of political actors and land speculators trying to take advantage of the dispute.[27]

Multiple factors explain the prevalence of land conflicts in Indonesia, many of which can be traced back to the colonial era and policies under the authoritarian New Order regime. These include the 1967 Forestry Law, which placed the state in control of 70 percent of Indonesia's land.[28] This opened the way for the massive conversion of rainforest into timber and plantation agriculture concessions, with little regard for customary rights, environmental damage, or sustainability.[29] Contradictory laws and regulations, and overlapping lines of bureaucratic authority across ministries and between central and local government, have led to a lack of clarity in land classification and ownership rights. Other factors include the excessive application of the state's power of eminent domain; the lack of safeguards to enforce the right of local communities to free,

prior, and informed consent; poor maps and cadastral records; and corrupt courts.[30] Claimants, and civil society organizations acting on their behalf, often have little choice but to use shows of force to secure public attention and pressure government into addressing their grievances. On the other side, heavy-handed responses by police and private security forces contribute to the escalation of disputes into lethal violence. In 2014, institutional mechanisms for the adjudication of land disputes were established from national to district level. Whether they will be effective remains to be seen.

Urban crime and violence

Violent crime is the main source of violent deaths today, with 1,744 deaths in 2014, or 58 percent of all homicides that year. Since the 1970s, Indonesia has undergone rapid urbanization. Fifty-three percent of the population, 134 million Indonesians, lived in cities in 2014. One-fifth were poor or close to the poverty line. The third main cause of deadly violence in Indonesia—mob justice—is also related to crime, as it is in large part a response to it. Lynchings killed over 300 people in 2014; two-thirds were petty thieves. The prevalence of mob justice incidents in Indonesia reflects a pervasive lack of trust in the police and the justice system, especially among poor and rural Indonesians.

Domestic and gender-based violence

Domestic violence is currently the second-highest cause of violent death in Indonesia. It killed 449 persons in 2014, or 15 percent of all violent deaths. However, the number of reported domestic violence incidents, as well as the number of female homicide and sexual assault victims, has been declining over the past decade (figure 5).
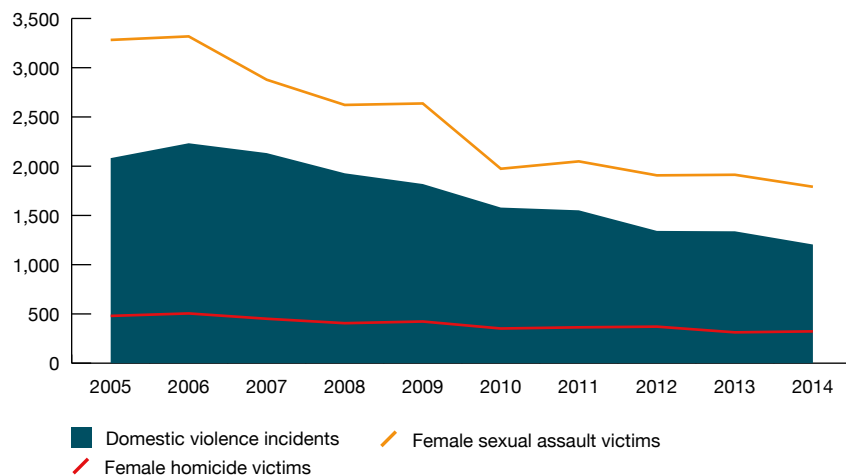

Figure 5. Domestic violence incidents and female victims of sexual assault and homicide, 16 provinces
Source: NVMS, Coordinating Ministry for Human Development and Cultural Affairs, and World Bank

Notes

1 Quinton Temby, "Imagining an Islamic state in Indonesia: From Darul Islam to Jemaah Islamiyah," *Indonesia* 89 (April 2010).

2 Ruth McVey, "The Post-Revolutionary Transformation of the Indonesian Army," *Indonesia* 11 (April 1971).

3 Herbert Feith and Daniel S. Lev, "The End of the Indonesian Rebellion," *Pacific Affairs* 36, no. 1 (1963): 32–46.

4 Robert Cribb, ed., *The Indonesian Killings 1965–1966: Studies from Java and Bali* (Clayton, Australia: Monash University, 1990).

5 The Habibie government convened a commission that concluded that 300–1,200 people were killed and 52 women were raped. See International Crisis Group (ICG), *Indonesia: Impunity versus Accountability*, Asia Report No. 12 (Jakarta and Brussels: ICG, 2001), https://www.crisisgroup.org/asia/south-east-asia/indonesia/indonesia-impunity-versus-accountability.

6 Densus 88 has a reputation for abusive force: many suspects were killed during arrest, and at least 121 died in custody, 2007–2016. See Eko Prasetyo, "Police Negligence Admission only Tip of the Iceberg: Amnesty International," *Jakarta Globe*, April 22, 2016, http://jakartaglobe.beritasatu.com/news/police-negligence-admission-tip-iceberg-amnesty-international/.

7 Since the Bali bombing, 120 have been killed in terror attacks, but the 2009 bomb attacks on the JW Marriott and Ritz Carlton hotels in Jakarta were the last to kill more than five.

8 The Soufan Group (TSG), *Foreign Fighters: An Updated Assessment of the Flow of Foreign Fighters into Syria and Iraq* (TSG, December 2015), http://soufangroup.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/TSG_ForeignFightersUpdate3.pdf.

9 See Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (IPAC), *Disunity Among Indonesian ISIS Supporters and the Risk of More Violence*, IPAC Report No.25 (IPAC, February 1, 2016), http://file.understandingconflict.org/file/2016/02/IPAC_25.pdf.

10 For example, joining a foreign terrorist organization such as ISIS is not considered a crime in Indonesia. See IPAC, *Disunity Among Indonesian ISIS Supporters.*

11 Edward Aspinall, *Islam and Nation: Separatist Rebellion in Aceh, Indonesia* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2009).

12 World Bank, *Multi-Stakeholder Review of Post-Conflict Programming in Aceh: Identifying the Foundations for Sustainable Peace and Development in Aceh* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2009), http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/716601468259763959/Full-report.

13 International Crisis Group (ICG), *Aceh: Post-Conflict Complications*, Asia Report No. 139 (ICG, 2007); ICG, *Indonesia: Pre-Election Anxieties in Aceh*, Asia Briefing No. 81 (ICG, 2008); ICG, *Indonesia: Deep Distrust in Aceh as Elections Approach*, Asia Briefing No. 90 (ICG, 2009); ICG, *Indonesia: Averting Election Violence in Aceh*, Asia Briefing No. 135 (ICG, 2012).

14 NVMS was implemented by the World Bank on behalf of the Government of Indonesia, and in partnership with The Habibie Center, a think tank. It contains data on every violent incident reported by local newspapers in Indonesia from 1998 to 2014. Data can be accessed via http://snpk.kemenkopmk.go.id.

15 Throughout this chapter, unless specified otherwise, *Papua* is used to refer to both Papua and West Papua province.

16 Estimates of fatalities range from 100,000 to 500,000. See the government-issued report, Muridan S. Widjojo et al., *Papua Road Map: Negotiating the Past, Improving the Present and Securing the Future*, (Jakarta: The Indonesian Institute of Science, 2008).

17 The transmigration program (*transmigrasi*) was an initiative of the Dutch colonial government, later continued by the Indonesian government, to move landless people from Java and other densely populated areas of Indonesia to less populous areas of the country. President Joko Widodo ended transmigration to Papua in 2015.

18 Estimates from Widjojo et al., *Papua Road Map*.

19 For a case study on local disputes related to resource extraction in Boven Digoel, see International Crisis Group (ICG) *Papua: A Local Perspective on the Conflict*, Asia Briefing No. 66 (ICG, 2007).

20 Human Rights Watch, "World Report 2016: Indonesia," Human Rights Watch website, https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2016/country-chapters/indonesia.

21 In 1999, Papua was a single province with ten districts. By 2013, it had become two provinces with 42 districts, and proposals for 33 more divisions awaited parliamentary consideration. See Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (IPAC), *Carving up Papua: More Districts, More Problems*, IPAC Report No. 3 (Jakarta: IPAC, 2013), http://www.understandingconflict.org/en/conflict/read/8/Carving-Up-Papua-More-Districts-More-Problems.

22 "Indonesia Database for Policy and Economic Research (INDO-DAPOER)," World Bank DataBank, accessed October 2016, http://databank.worldbank.org/data/reports.aspx?source=indo~dapoer-(indonesia-database-for-policy-and-economic-research).

23 Gerry van Klinken, *Communal Violence and Democratization in Indonesia: Small Town Wars* (London and New York, Routledge, 2007); John T. Sidel, *Riots, Pogroms, Jihad: Religious Violence in Indonesia* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2006); Jacques Bertrand, *Nationalism and Ethnic Violence in Indonesia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Dave McRae, "The Escalation and Decline of Violent Conflict in Poso, Central Sulawesi, 1998–2007" (PhD diss., Australian National University, 2008); Chris Wilson, *Ethno-Religious Violence in Indonesia: From Soil to God* (Routledge, 2008).

24 These 16 provinces represent all major island groups and account for about 53 percent of the country's population.

25 The figure is based on NVMS data for a sample of nine provinces that includes all six provinces most affected by these conflicts: Aceh, Maluku, North Maluku, Central Sulawesi, Central Kalimantan, and West Kalimantan (see note 14).

26 In 2014, the NVMS dataset counted one death for every five resource-related incidents; the average ratio for all violence types recorded by NVMS is one death for every ten incidents (see note 14).

27 Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (IPAC), *Mesuji: Anatomy of an Indonesian Land Conflict*, IPAC Report No. 1 (Jakarta: IPAV, 2013), http://file.understand ingconflict.org/file/2013/09/Mesuji_FINAL.pdf; and IPAC, *Indigenous Rights vs. Agrarian Reform in Indonesia: A Case Study from Jambi*, IPAC Report No. 9 (IPAC, 2014), http://file.understandingconflict.org/ file/2014/04/IPAC_Report_9_Case_Study_from_ Jambi_web.pdf.

28 A 2013 Constitutional Court decision to remove customary forests from state control was an important victory for indigenous rights activists, but implementation remains a long way off. See IPAC, *Indigenous Rights*.

29 For example, Indonesia had 120,000 ha of land under oil palm cultivation in 1968; in 2014, it had over 10 million ha, with more than 600,000 ha added each year. See IPAC, *Indigenous Rights*.

30 Shivakumar Srinivas et al., *Towards Indonesian Land Reforms: Challenges and Opportunities* (Jakarta: World Bank, 2014).