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The most effective Social Protection measures for building resilience in children in the face of natural disasters in the Cianjur District

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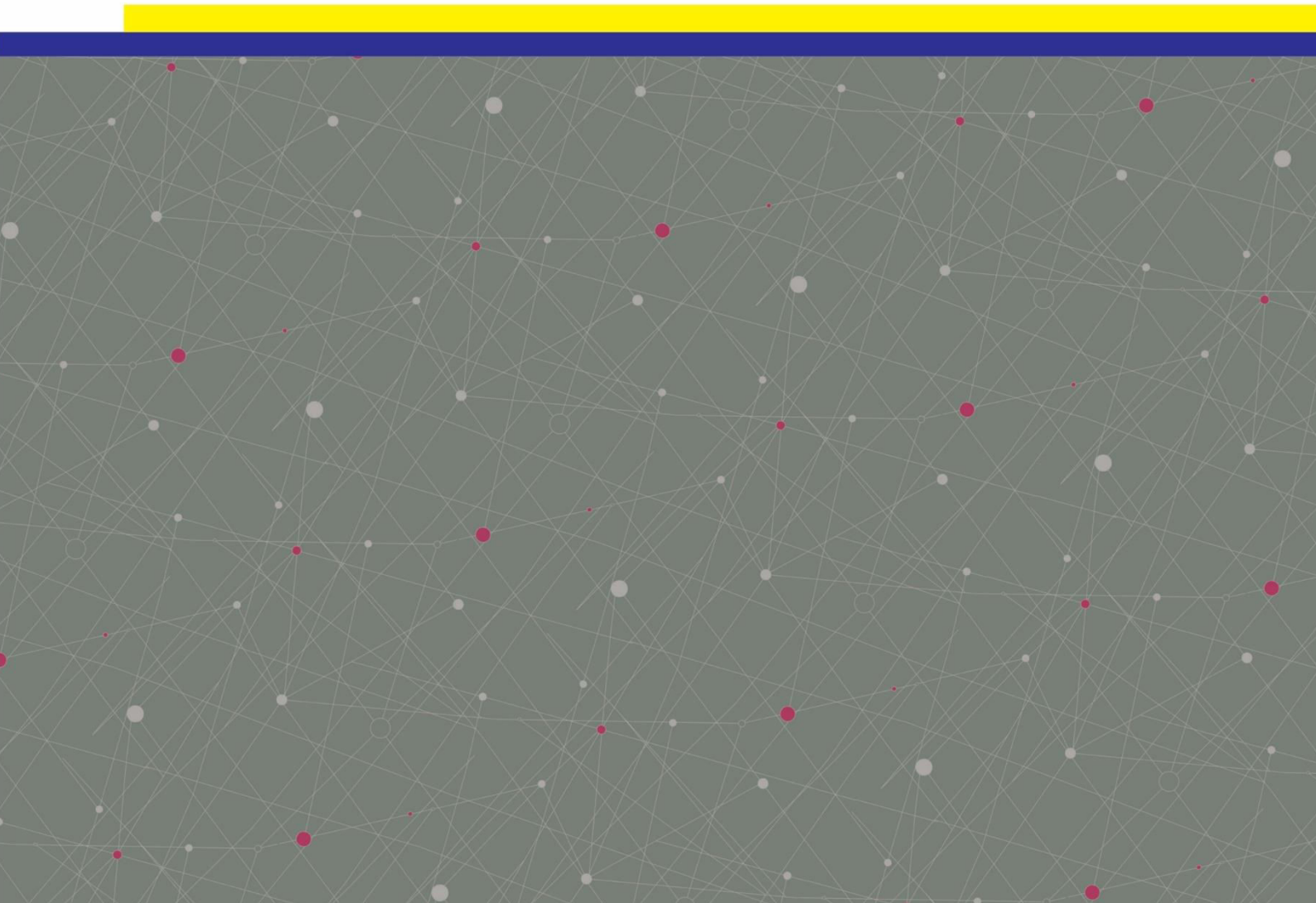
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The most effective Social Protection measures for building resilience in children in the face of Natural Disasters in the Cianjur District

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Abstract

In the face of constant and destructive natural disasters the district of Cianjur in West Java is in need of effective social protection measures which can protect some of the most vulnerable within the community. Children are one such vulnerable group within the community who are very susceptible to disasters that occur throughout their lives. Some children however are more capable of overcoming these challenges than others. This is termed 'resilience' in the academic and development world. This paper will explore what social protection measures can best build resilience in children within the district of Cianjur. The focus will be placed on the effectiveness of current government funded social protection schemes within Cianjur and suggestions will be made for future projects.

Keywords: Resilience; children; social protection; natural disasters; Cianjur

1. Introduction

There is no better time than now to stress the urgency of re-evaluating current social protection government schemes in Indonesia. The Indonesian government has taken great strides in the last few decades, after the Asian financial crisis, to alleviate poverty throughout the country. Thus, social protection schemes are taking shape in Indonesia and this emphasise on more effective programs can be optimised to provide for the needs of children. Unlike other groups within the community post disaster, children need support catered specifically for them in order to reduce the physical and mental ongoing effects of trauma (Gibbs et al, 2015). While there are many social protection measures that benefit children without explicitly targeting them, specific consideration for the needs of children in the design of such programs would be better able to protect the wellbeing of children (D et al, 2009). Child-sensitive social protection considers the different dimensions of children's wellbeing by focusing on the specific vulnerabilities and risks that children are faced with (D et al, 2009). There are currently three key clusters of social protection programs implemented by the Indonesian government. These three clusters are family based integrated social assistance programs, community empowerment program and the development of micro and small enterprises. This report discusses the role that these clusters can play in being able to provide resilience to the children in Cianjur.

2. Research Methodology

This paper is based on the review of observations made in the Cianjur regency. These observations took place in Karang Tnegah sub-district, Campaka sub-district, Cikalongkulon sub-district and Cibinong sub-district. Data was also obtained from literature review on the topic. The analytical method in this research was qualitative, carried out through thorough analysis of the literature and observations. The four districts under observation had both rural and urban living conditions, thus giving a wide analysis of different living situations in the Cianjur area.

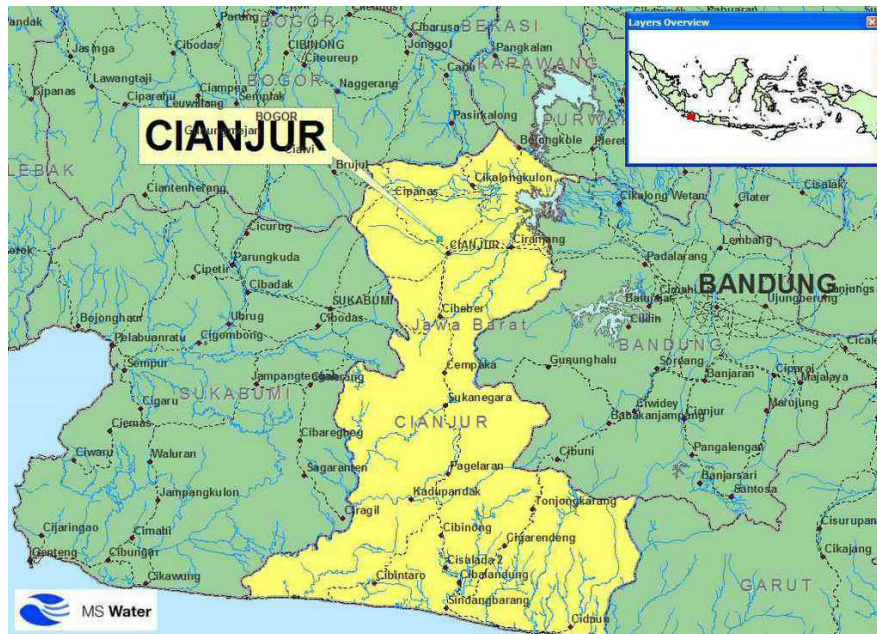


Figure 1: Map of Cianjur within the West Java area
(as cited in http://westjavawater.blogspot.co.id/2005_01_01_archive.html)

3. Cianjur Regency

Cianjur is located in West Java, Indonesia. It is home to an estimated 2.5 million people. Approaches to building resilience in communities has to be assessed according to the community under study (Editorial, 2015). This report is written in order to provide information on the best way to assist children to build resilience within the context of Cianjur, a district of West Java that pertains to its own particular struggles and issues. These struggles became apparent through observations conducted there.

3.1 Natural Hazards

Cianjur suffers from constant disasters, which range from volcano, geology, climate and environmental disasters (Parvati et al, 2008). In 2016, the Regional Disaster Management Agency (BPBD) noted that there have been 63 natural disasters occurred in Cianjur, from January to August 2016, which consists of 28 cases of floods, 27 landslides and 8 cases of strong wind¹. Natural disasters can have a huge impact on people's lives through the disruption it causes, the destruction of infrastructure and livestock and the potential sickness and death it causes. In combination with the rising sea levels and increasingly intensified disasters due to climate change, the impact of natural disasters poses a large challenge for Indonesia (Haynes, Lassa & Towers, 2010). Furthermore, it is the consensus of the scientific community that climate change and the consequential events (such as

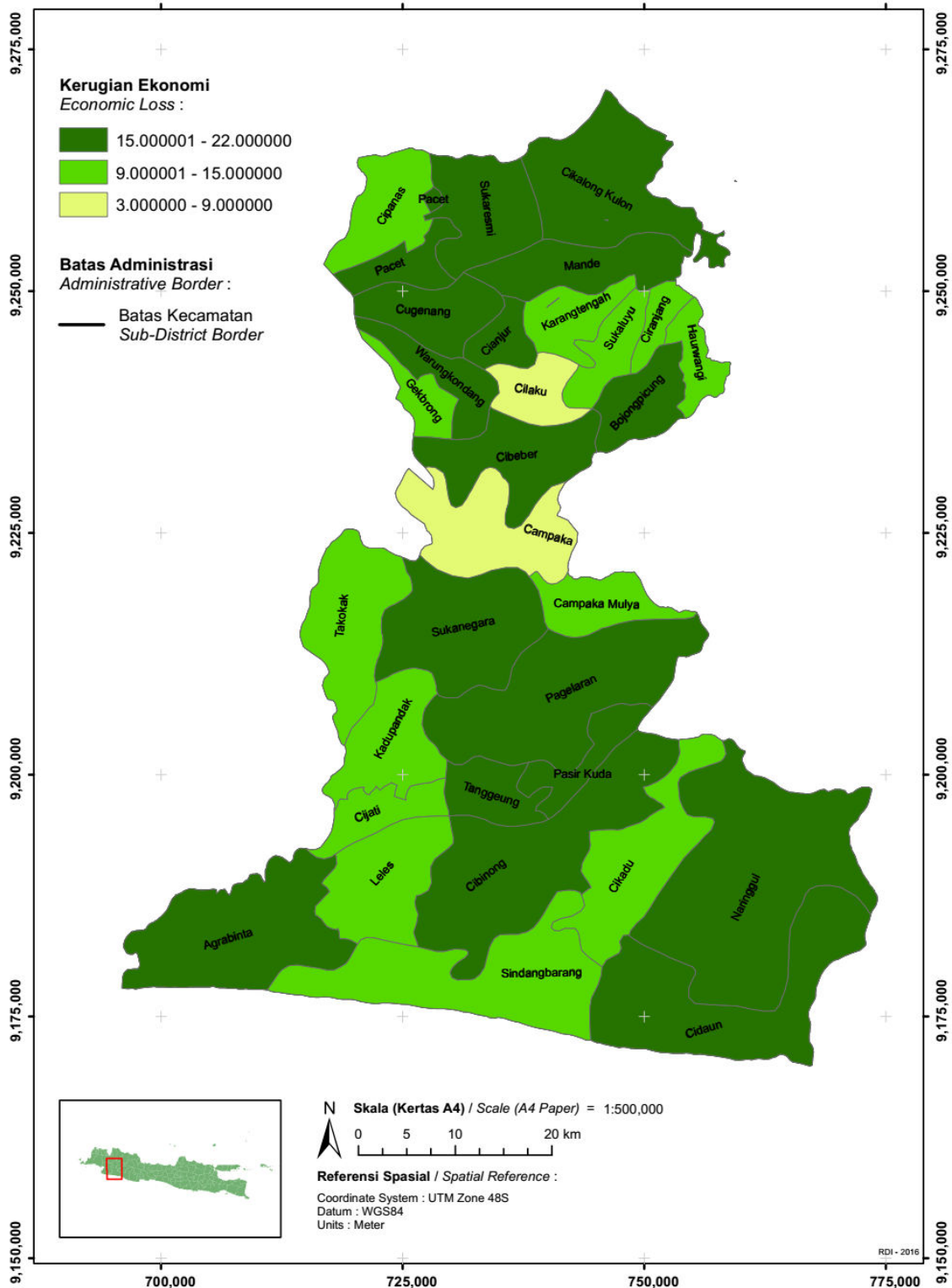
¹ Humas BPBD Cianjur, Dedi Heryana in BPBD. AntaraNews.com, 26 April 2016

floods, storms, droughts) will continue to escalate in harshness and number (Austin & McKinney, 2016).

From January 2012 to August 2016, there has been 429 disasters in Cianjur district; 90 flood cases, 179 landslides, 51 tornados, 5 droughts, 4 earthquakes, and 41 fires. The most common disasters in Cianjur are landslides, fire and floods. In general disaster frequency in Cianjur are going up, especially landslide and flood, presumably related to climate change and increase of rainfall. In 2015 and 2014 there are no records of fire, either there was no fire in Cianjur or they were not recorded.

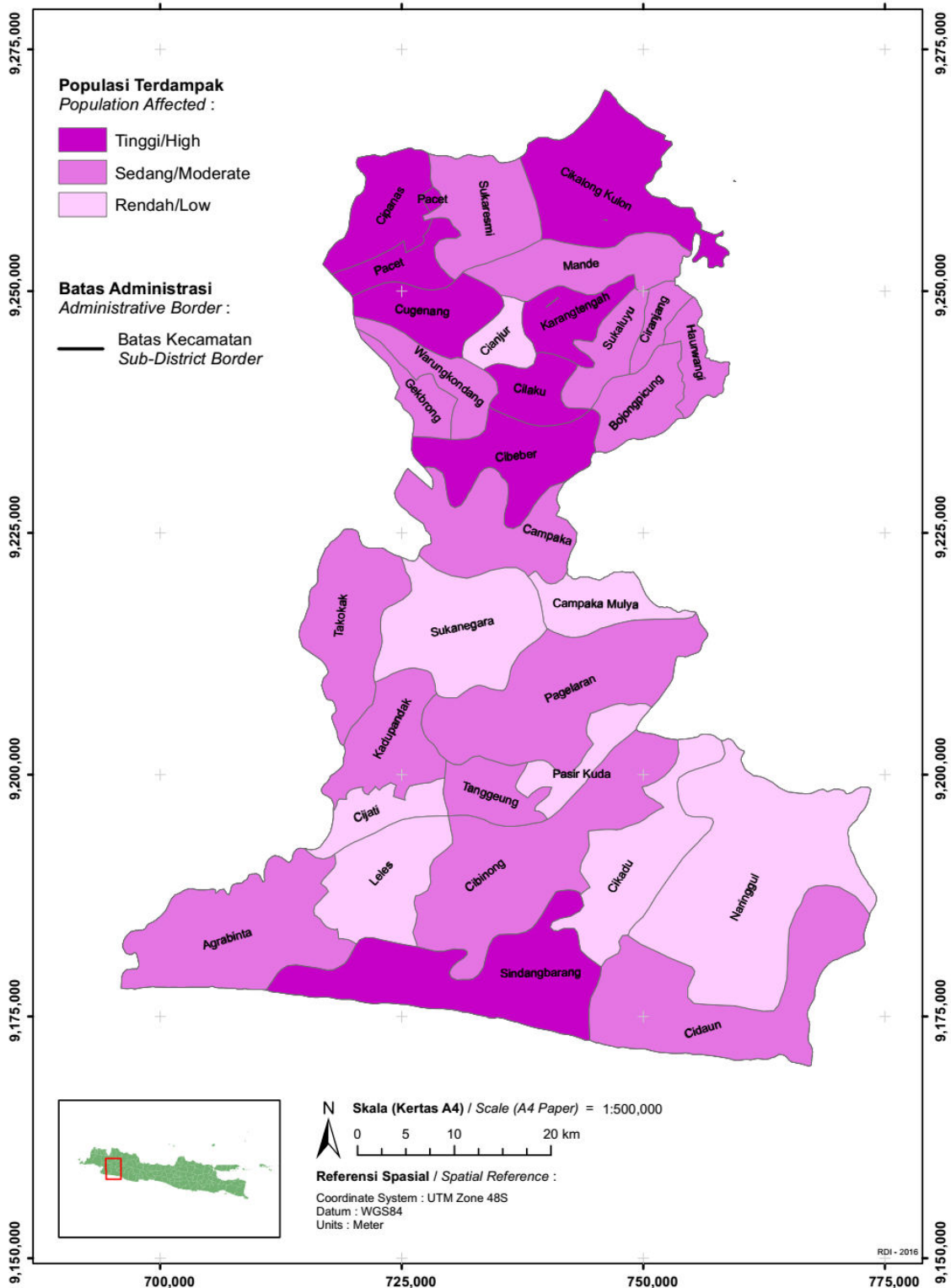
Peta Kerugian Ekonomi di Cianjur pada 2010-2016

Economic Loss Map in Cianjur District in 2010-2016



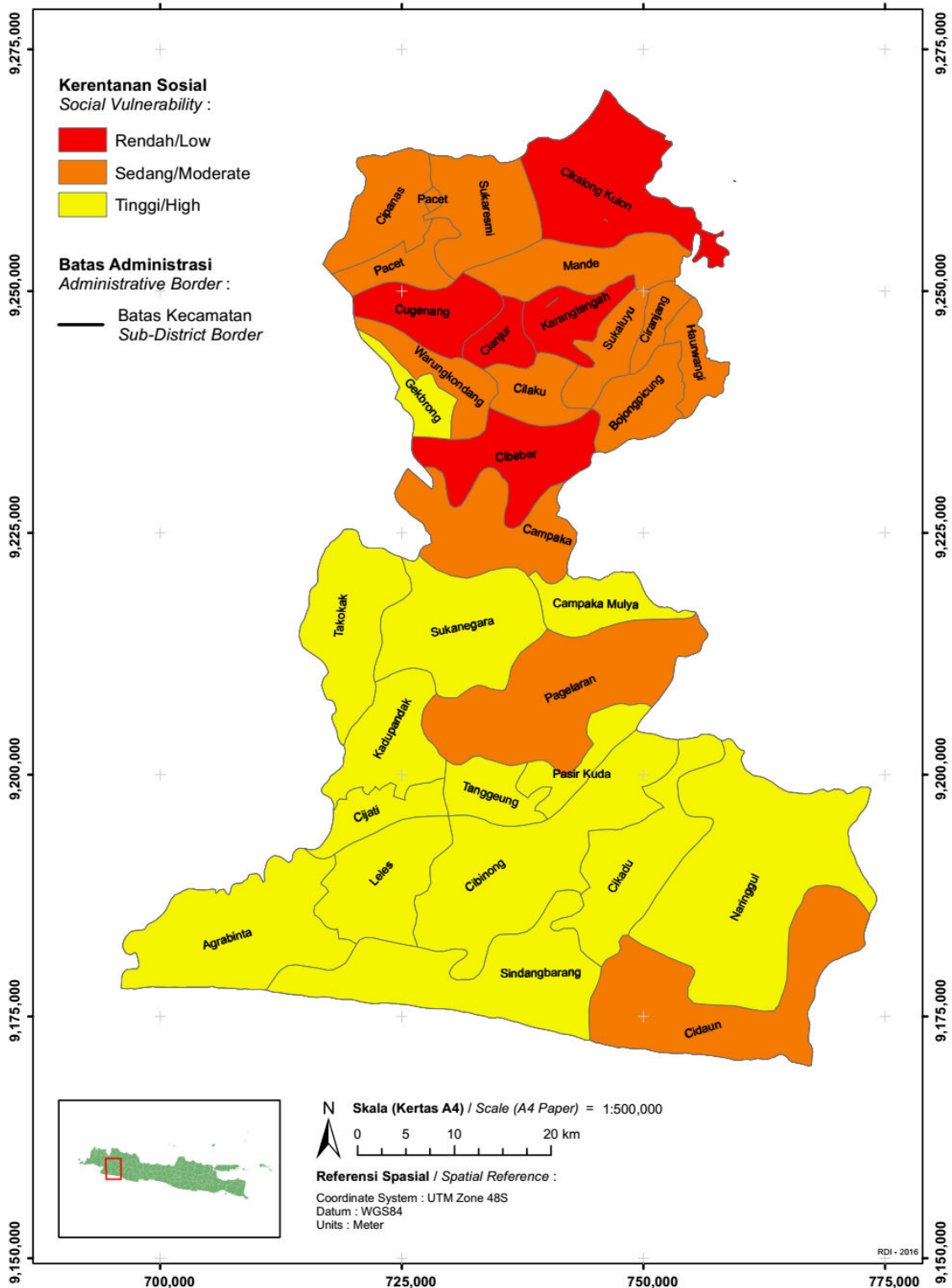
Populasi Terdampak Bencana di Kabupaten Cianjur Tahun 2010-2016

Population Affected by Disaster in Cianjur District in 2010-2016



Peta Kerentanan Sosial di Kabupaten Cianjur

Social Vulnerability Map in Cianjur District



3.1.1. Floods

Flash floods and overflowing rivers due to floods are common in Cianjur. Floods have ongoing negative effects well after a flood has hit a community due to the illness and sometimes famine it causes (Wisner et al, 1994). Mortality is not necessarily always high but disease and health problems are inflated (Wisner et al, 1994).

3.1.2. Landslides

Cianjur is very susceptible to hazardous landslides. Landslides can have devastating effects on infrastructure and has the potential to destroy one's source of livelihood.

3.2. Social problems

The social vulnerability is defined as “partially the product of social inequalities—those social factors that influence or shape the susceptibility of various groups to harm and that also govern their ability to respond”, which “also includes place inequalities—those characteristics of communities and the built environment, such as the level of urbanization, growth rates, and economic vitality, that contribute to the social vulnerability of places” (Cutter et al., 2006). The indicators considered to assess social vulnerability are special needs population (i.e chronic illness, disability) (Morrow, 1999; Tobin and Ollenburger, 1992), education (i.e drop out rate) (III, 2000), infrastructure and lifelines (i.e electricity and sanitation availability) (ibid, Platt, 1991). There was found to be many issues that Cianjur faces that impact on a child's ability to prosper. These social problems include child neglect, street children, beggars, human trafficking, sexual violence, malnourishment and child marriage. The following two social problems are particularly pertinent within Cianjur.

3.2.1 Forced Migration

One particularly issue is the lack of parental supervision that takes place in the district, leading to child neglect and abuse. Due to a lack of job opportunities within the Cianjur district, many parents and caregivers of children are forced to look elsewhere for work, leaving their children behind to either a spouse or grandparent. Within Cianjur there is a culture of respect for the local religious leaders. When parents are forced to leave their children, it is often the case that these religious leaders try and fill these absent roles.

3.2.2. Sexual abuse

Sexual abuse and child exploitation in the district has been increasingly high for years. Sexual harassment and rape cases are the dominant type of violent cases found in Cianjur. This was observed to have happened due to a lack of supervision from caregivers and a lack of family resilience.

4. Social Protection

The editor of ‘Social Development’ (2016) Julia Drolet, wrote of the positive impact that social protection has on people's lives. Social Protection is the transfer of cash or in kind with the goals of addressing vulnerability, equality and poverty. Social protection is a universal human right as well as an economic and social requirement (Drolet, 2016). Such programs are aimed at assisting individuals and groups with overcoming any challenges they may face by reducing vulnerability whilst also building resilience. Recent years has seen national and international government policy recognise that social protection is a means by which the impact of natural disasters can be mitigated (Gabel, 2012).

As a part of the post 2015 United Nations' global development agenda social protection was identified as a practical way of achieving development. With the UN recognition of using social protection floor initiatives in 2015 there is a greater focus on countries taking a closer look at existing social protection as a human right. Countries with social protection systems in place are better able to protect its people from the impacts of disasters. The presence of social protection in a country assists

with preventing people from falling deeper into poverty (Drolet, 2016). Further to that, on an individual and community level social protection has been identified as being able to foster resilience (Drolet, 2016). In fact, for children, social protection is of particular great benefit. It has been found that children tend to be the main benefiting group from social welfare whether it is targeting them or not (chronic poverty, 2011).

4.1 Preparation not reactive

Social Protection is a reflection of the transition in developmental thinking that in order to best ensure the most effective mitigation of disasters then measures need to be focused on preparation rather than reactive (Drolet, 2016). International organisations, such as Save the Children, have learnt that effectively planning and preparing before disasters occur is one of the best ways to mitigate the impact of a disaster. This transition of thinking is evident in Indonesian legislation. The National Law No. 24 (2007) switched the focus to disaster risk reduction. The Indonesian National Disaster Management Agency (BNPB) was set up shortly after the law and its goal is to build a resilient country in the face of disasters (Hiwasaki et al, 2014). Furthermore, the policies aimed at building resilience in children need to echo this change in thinking if they want to best achieve their goals.

4.2 Criticisms of social protection

Hindering the implementation of Social protection policies in the past has been the belief that rather than enable for community development, protection policies will just lead to recipients becoming dependant on handouts (chronic poverty, 2011). This is known as the ‘dependency syndrome.’ It is believed that social assistance enables for laziness in recipients (chronic poverty, 2011). In reality, however, evidence has shown that social protection not only prevents people from going into poverty but also interrupts the intergenerational transmission of poverty (chronic poverty, 2011). Recipients have been shown to make rational choices and use the money to improve their circumstances, resulting in a reduction in dependency in the long term (chronic poverty, 2011). However, the particular fears of cash programs should be taken into account in the design, transparency and monitoring of a program (Oxfam skills and practice, 2006).

5. Resilience In Children

Resilience is a fairly new term in the disaster literature. The use of the term resilience in this project is defined by the United Nations International Strategy for Disaster Reduction (UNISDR) as “the ability of a system, community or society exposed to hazards to resist, absorb, accommodate to and recover from the effects of a hazard in a timely and efficient manner, including through the preservation and restoration of its essential basic structures and functions” (Terminology, 2007). There are three key types of resilience relevant to this discussion; individual/child resilience, family resilience and disaster resilience.

5.1 Individual resilience

Individual resilience can be understood as an individual’s tendency to cope with stress and adversity in their lives (Ayyub, 2014). It has been the study of many as to how individuals are disproportionately affected by traumatic experiences.

5.2 Family resilience

Family resilience involves the ability of individuals or families to restore the functions of the family as before in the face of challenges and crises (McCoy, 1995).

5.3 Disaster resilience

Disaster resilience describes the ability to bounce back to a pre-disaster state after a disaster strikes (Edwards, 2015). This form of resilience developed in recognition that human populations are affected by disasters to different degrees (Edwards, 2015).

6. Vulnerability Of Children

It is well documented that the most vulnerable people within the community suffer the most from climate change and disasters. This includes the old age population, children, people with disabilities and women (Wu & Drolet, 2016). Children, due to their dependence on adults are particularly vulnerable (Gabel, 2012). When fewer social protection measures are in place the more vulnerable children are (Gabel, 2012). In a joint statement titled *Advancing Child-Sensitive Social Protection* the benefits of social protection schemes designed per the vulnerabilities of children was stressed (D et al, 2009).

6.1 Risk Factors

A risk factor is that which increases a person's vulnerability. It is believed that the following factors increase a child's vulnerability; poverty, lack of educational and livelihood opportunities, dysfunctional families, domestic violence and/or abuse of alcohol and drugs (Kusumaningrum et al, 2011). Furthermore, children are particularly susceptible to disasters due to their dependency on caregivers to support and look after them (Kusumaningrum et al, 2011). This means that a parent/caregiver being forced to leave their child is a big risk for children (D & et al, 2009). A child's health is threatened and disrupted after disasters strike, in both the immediate aftermath and in the long term due to the ongoing mental and physical effects (chronic poverty, 2011).

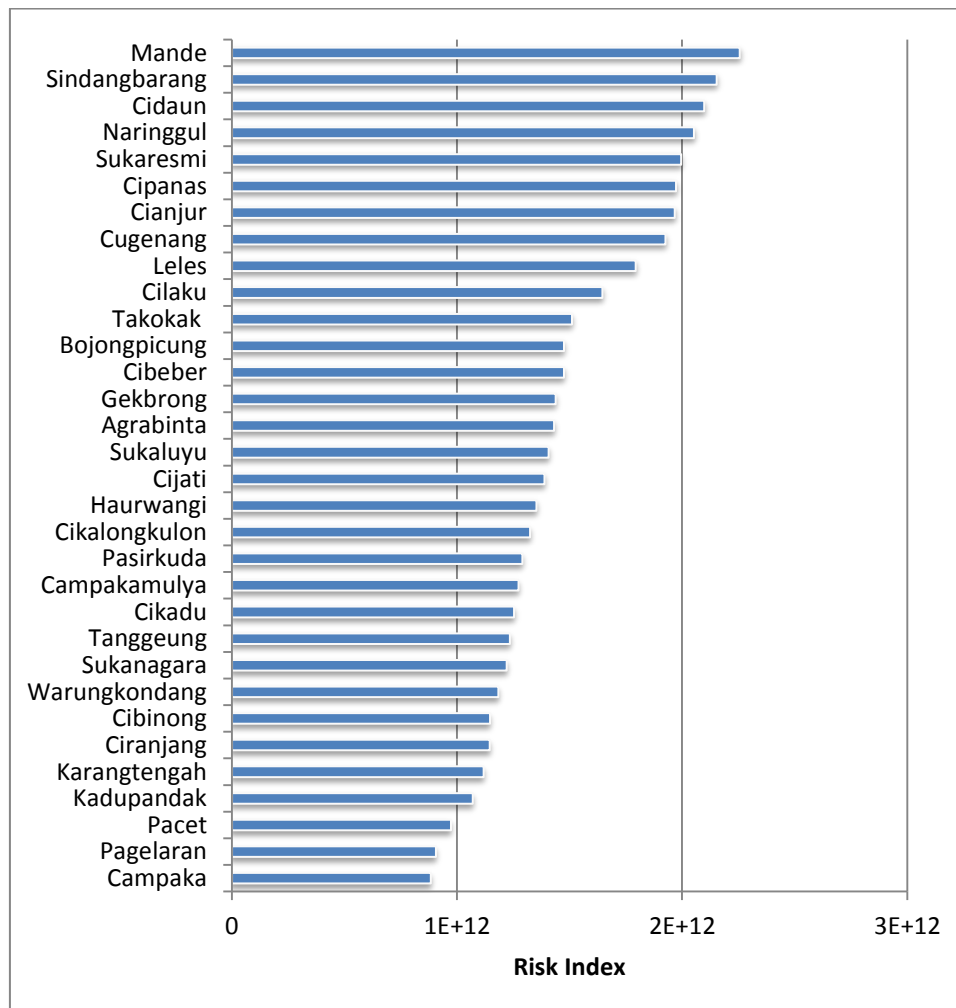


Figure 1 The risk factor of subdistricts in Cianjur

The full list of risk index in Cianjur subdistricts can be seen in [Figure xx](#). It depicts that Cibeber subdistricts has the highest risk index, followed by Cikalongkulong, Cugenang, Karangtengah and Cianjur subdistricts. These subdistricts have high both natural hazard and social vulnerability. Cibeber was affected mostly by earthquake, drought, landslide and extreme weather which incurred 448,183 of its population and 2.26 trillion IDR (GBP 135.5 million) from 2010 to 2016.

6.2 Protective factors

Factors that affect a child’s resilience are their individual characteristics, their family, their neighbourhood and institutional surroundings (Madrid, Grant, Reilly & Redlener, 2006). There are a few protective factors that have been identified as enhancing an individual’s resilience. Gibbs et al (2015) found that there are five essential elements that are required for short term post disaster psychological recovery; restoration of safety, Calming, Sense of self and collective efficacy, Connectedness and Hope.

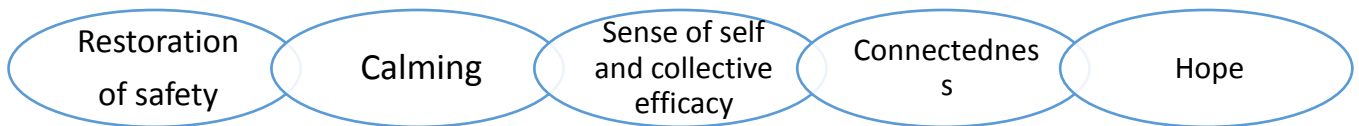


Figure 3: Five elements required for post disaster recovery (Source: Gibbs et al, 2015)

It has been found that a child’s wellbeing is dependent on a sense of safety and stability (Gibbs et al, 2015). The concept of safety and stability is defined by Gaffney (2006) as pertaining to more than just a physical state, but also requires psychological, social and behavioural safety. A child needs to know that they will be secure within their environment in any circumstance (Gaffney, 2006). It is through disasters that a child’s sense of safety is challenged in the short term and in the long term through prolonged dislocation post hazard (Gibbs et al, 2015). It is human nature for people to make assumptions about life, such as a community’s safety, and when these assumptions are disrupted by an unexpected catastrophic event, there is a need to restore order to one’s life (Walsh, 2007). The lack of stability and safety in children’s lives post a disaster therefore becomes a source of stress as they are unable to come to terms with what has happened (Gibbs et al., 2015).

A child’s need for safety and stability is recognised on the international level, having been enshrined in the UN convention on the rights of the child. Research has shown that some of the best means to supporting a child’s resilience is through the reinstating of routines and providing mechanisms by which to process the event (Editorial, 2015). Research looking at the impact of the 2009 bushfires in Australia on children’s lives found that across the board familiar people and routines was continually suggested by children as factors that helped them recover (L et al., 2015). Gibbs (2015) suggested the need for the re-establishment of familiar settings and routines. This includes surrounding oneself with familiar people. Thus, the social problem that Cianjur faces in the form of key caregivers leaving children to find work overseas is a key contribution to instability for children. It has also been observed that the absence of parents/key caregivers in children’s lives has led to instances of child neglect and abuse in Cianjur, such as the rise in sexual assault cases. Therefore, creating programs that result in parents remaining with their children and being a constant support network for them is crucial to building resilience in children within Cianjur.

7. Current Programs

Due to the continual nature of natural disaster conflicts in Cianjur, any protection schemes need to be focused on year round application rather than periodic or only implemented during post disaster periods. This will best ensure constant protection for children and they will also be able to know that they are constantly supported rather than only supported at the most emergent times. The social protection programs may become more pertinent during the post disaster period; however, the

strength of programs that are for extended periods of time should not be underestimated. Furthermore, due to the unexpected nature of disasters, the community will be unable to know for certain when an incident will occur and always need to be prepared for providing support for children. The school and home setting have been identified as locations that provide such stability for children. Thus, social programs that look at getting children to school and providing a stable family unit will be the focus. Social protection schemes are designed to not only result in recipients being able to cope with misfortune but to overcome it for the future (Drolet, 2016).

7.1. Resilience Through Education Programs

School is one of the places where children can find stability, and therefore a source of normalcy, second to home. Thus, school can be a strategic place for a program to be installed which is related to children resilience. The return to routine exercises is crucial for children to build resilience. Schooling is a regular commitment for children and is able to get them active every day, occupying their time whilst teaching them skills that will help them greatly in the future. Not only does education have long term positive impacts it also becomes a safe haven in times of disaster. Education programs can protect children in a number of ways during emergency contexts (Thompson, 2014) It is often the case that staff at school become key supporter networks for children during the post-disaster period (Gibbs et al, 2015). Education is a sector of the community that is worth great investment from a community development perspective. By investing in getting children to schools there is a great potential for this to return to the economy in the next generation as these children go into the labor market with a greater knowledge span (Chronic poverty research centre, 2011).

For Cianjur in particular there is a desire among the people, especially from the children themselves, to attend school more regularly. In Campaka and Sukajadi sub-district, enhancement of the education system is desired by the community. However, the cost of senior high school is considered to be too high to some. Thus, more incentive needs to be provided for the disadvantaged families who would otherwise be unable to send their children to school.

There are currently a number of programs in place for trying to get children to school and improving the schooling system as a whole. The majority of these come in the form of conditional cash transfers. Social protection in the form of conditional cash transfers have taken hold around the world as an effective means of providing short and long term development. In the last two decades the use of conditional cash transfers has increased, especially in the developing world (Gabel, 2012). They are designed so that the transfer of money is dependent on a certain level of school attendance, immunisations or other means specific to that program. Cash transfer programs for education aims have been shown to also be able to positively affect other sectors of society, namely in lowering sexual exploitation. For example, in a World Bank funded Zomba Cash Transfer Program in southern Malawi, the cash transfer program, by being able to increase school attendance, had a flow on effect and led to a reduction in transactional sex which also reduced the presence of HIV in the community (Thompson, 2014). This can therefore also tackle Cianjurs social problem of the high rates of sexual exploitation. Conditional cash transfers are focused on three key areas; consumption, health and education. For this paper the discussion of CCT will be placed solely on the impact of CCT on the education sector. CCT's have the potential to protect children's education (Adato & Bassett, 2009).

7.1.1 PKH

In the Indonesian context CCT's have taken form in many ways. Perhaps the most well known is the Program Keluarga Harapan (PKH). This program was piloted in 2005, starting in 7 provinces and now present in over 13 provinces. The PKH has a multitude of goals, in the long term it hopes to lower the hours of child labor as well as increasing the test scores for students. In the short term PKH aims to increase higher enrolment for children in primary and junior school. However, the pilot program had

no impact on drawing more children into school (Nazara & Rahayu, 2013). This result has been consistent of all the research conducted on the effectiveness of PKH in the education sector in Indonesia so far.

The lack of success of PKH in achieving education aims is largely connected to challenges with the design of the program (Alatas, 2011) PKH cash is allocated on a quarterly basis and these payments do not coincide with the school year (Nazara & Rahayu, 2013) . This means that parents do not receive the funds when they most need it. Poor households are also prone to spending cash benefits quickly on their emergent needs and don't save for the school semester (Alatas, 2011) The amount received is also not sufficient to cover the fees required. Another criticism of PKH is that it does not lead to a decrease in child labor in the area of its implementation due to the lack of incentive it provides for children to choose school over work. This may also be the choice of the household, rather than the child, that it is worth more for the child to be working rather than in school. A positive of the design of PKH is how it only gives payment to the women of the household. PKH targets the women because women are more likely to make spending choices that positively affect the child's well being (Creti & Jaspars, 2006). Despite these few positive design elements, in its current state, PKH is not an affective social protection program for improving the education levels of children. It is only with reform that the program could be as successful in education as it is in its other aims.

7.1.2 KIP

The remaining programs that target education in Cianjur are BOS, BSM and KIP. These programmes aim to improve education by financially assisting disadvantaged families with school aged children in order for the children to complete high school or vocational school. BOS and BSM are programs that are no longer implemented in Cianjur, and have been combined in the KIP programme (Smart Indonesia Card). KIP recipients receive a card that allows them access to the program. It is targeted at poor school children and poor unschooled children, so that they will return to school. Recipients have to provide a certificate for the poor before receiving a card. KIP aims to ensure that children are able to attend school all the way up to senior secondary school level. This program has only been in place since 2014 which means there is limited analyses of its effectiveness so far. However, the number of card distributed escalated from 160,000 in 2014 to 20.3 million in 2015. And as of September 30, 2016 another 17 million had been distributed (Firmanto, 2016). This shows just how well the programme was received in its implementation so far with so many people registering to be a part of the programme. There have been some setbacks, however. This includes being behind schedule in the card's distribution and some cards having been received by the wrong people.

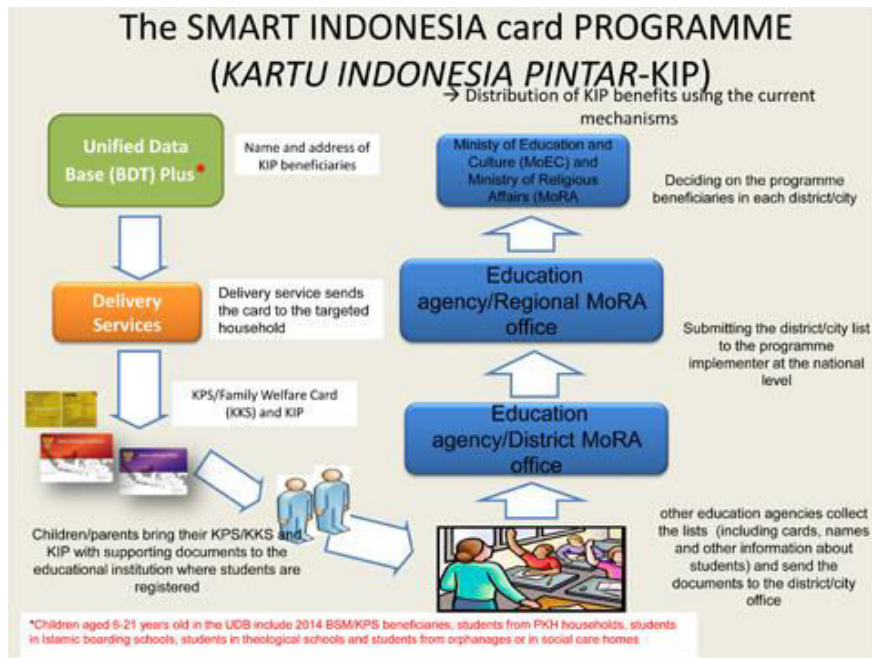


Figure 4: A flow chart of the KIP programme
(Source: Mekanisme Penggunaan Kartu Indonesia Pintar, n.d.)

7.2 Microcredit Programs

Research conducted of children after the 2009 bushfires in Australia found that children rely on the family unit to provide support and reassurance (Gibbs et al., 2015). The observations made of Cianjur makes it apparent that for children to feel supported and for their own physical safety they need their key guardians at home with them and they need to know that their presence will be constant despite any disasters that may occur. Furthermore, there needs to be effective projects aimed at encouraging the parents to stay in Cianjur rather than travel away in order to be able to provide for the welfare and development of the child. This can potentially be achieved through the third cluster of social protection schemes that the Indonesian government focuses on; micro-enterprise empowerment. The goal of this cluster is to improve working opportunities and skill development. Indonesia has a history that shows its adoption of micro-credit programs for the poor.

The positive effects of extra money/innovative practices for adults will also be able to trickle down to children due to the natural relationship between parents and children. It is not just through direct payment to education and health that children benefit from social programs. It is also through increased income that a household will be able to satisfy basic needs as well as make investments beyond just consumption needs. All of this has the ability to have a positive impact on children (Gore & Patel, 2006). Due to children's dependence on adults to protect them, the loss of family care is a significant risk for them (D & et al, 2009). Thus, the key priority needs to be building systems whereby parents/caregivers remain as constant support for children. The impact of caregivers being able to remain present with their children will also be able to assist in other concerning areas, such as the high number of sexual abuse cases.

7.2.1 KUBE

KUBE (Collective Business Group) is a micro-credit program that is currently present in areas of Cianjur that have chosen to implement it into the community. KUBE entails the creation of a small group made up of local people who implement a business plan. KUBE is also altered according to the urban or rural setting. In urban areas KUBE will be targeted at commercial opportunities while in the

rural setting the local resources will be used. Thus, local knowledge is automatically taken into account when forming such a program, which becomes a great strength of the program. The government makes a suggestion for the program and then the community will assess these suggestions. The local consideration means that the program is able to cater to the historical, religious and cultural context of the community.

However, sometimes KUBE programs can still have limited success due to local challenges they face, such as the case in Cianjur. There was one community where goats were provided to each family as a source of livelihood. This was an initiative brought about by key leaders in the community; thus, factored in local knowledge. However, in the end this program had to stop due to the way the program targeted women and put them in charge of the enterprise. The KUBE program was targeted at the women in order to promote gender equality within the community but actually resulted in the men of the community feeling undermined by the increased role of women in this program.

The strengths of KUBE is that the people are able to elect whether they want to implement such a program, the people therefore have a greater role in the decision making of the program and can feel more connected and invested in its implementation. Those affected by disasters, which includes children, need to be observed as active survivors, and thus need a voice in decision making and in building better responses in preparation for the future (Gibbs et al, 2015). KUBE means that small businesses are able to be created in the community which can lead to regular and permanent work for the local community. This also means that further skills can be developed for the locals which will also mean they are more equipped to work in the future. For children's resilience, this all means that parents will be able to stay at home and provide stability to the family unit.

7.3 Emergency relief

It would be negligible not to acknowledge the importance of short term relief after a disaster occurs in being able to provide stability to children in the immediate aftermath of a disaster. It is during this time that children are most stressed due to their post disaster emotional status. Individuals and households are also prone to take on damaging coping strategies which can alter the everyday life of children, such as selling key commodities (Creti and Jaspars, 2006). Emergency relief should therefore be targeted at avoiding drastic change to a family's everyday life.

7.3.1 Unconditional cash transfers

If the situation is dire enough, cash transfers without any conditions may be best suited to alleviate the harshness of life in the months following a disaster (Creti and Jaspars, 2006). Conditional cash transfers are more appropriate for medium to long term development rather than as immediate relief due to the large amount of administration required for such a program. Thus, for immediate relief and providing stability to families and the community as a whole, unconditional cash transfers are best suited for this role. This is the transfer of money to recipients who meet particular criteria where no conditions are placed on the money. Furthermore, the advantages of cash transfers over vouchers for specific commodities or services, or conditional transfers, is the freedom to choose that recipients receive. During the immediate aftermath of a disaster the populations may need to receive cash in order to avoid undertaking in damaging activities, such as selling assets or migrating for work. There are fears with this form of social program however, with criticisms that this leads to money being spent on materials that are outside of the aid objectives. However, in reality these claims are not backed by evidence; thus, making unconditional cash transfers appropriate for immediate relief. Furthermore, research has indicated that when caregivers are worried about economic survival this results in elevated distress levels for children (Thompson, 2014). Cash transfers are able to reduce the stress of caregivers and therefore improve children's wellbeing by reducing the physical and verbal punishment they would receive (Thompson, 2014).

7.3.2 Raskin

Raskin is also a social protection program targeted at addressing food insecurity that is able to boost resilience in children. In kind transfer is another form of social protection. It entails the provision of additional resources to households and communities (such as food and schooling resources). In Indonesia this is the Raskin program (Rice for the Poor). Raskin is an important form of ongoing social protection in Indonesia due to its focus on food security and large funding. Despite the criticisms it receives for its practical implementations, Raskin provides access to food to those who are otherwise unable to. Food security is not only needed for stability in children's lives but is also a basic right of all people. Furthermore, observations of Cianjur found that malnutrition was also a problem within the community and so Raskin can assist with addressing this also. Thus, Raskin needs to continue alongside any other programs.



Figure 5: Women collecting their rice as a part of the Raskin program
(Source: Wicaksono, 2014)

7.3.3 Cash for work programmes

Cash for work programs is a short term response to disasters. In this program, payment is given in return for labor provided. Cash for work programs help a community in two fold; they assist the people with meeting their basic needs whilst also improving the community's infrastructure. This program is particularly appropriate for communities where infrastructure or services have been severely impacted. A previous case study of Amhara, Ethiopia, conducted by Save the Children (2005) found that the cash for work programme within the community was able to reduce those having to migrate for work. Thus, a cash for work program would be affective in providing work for the locals within Cianjur after a disaster strikes and at the same time would mean that public works were being developed. The 2005 evaluation further found that because the family unit was intact, more time was being spent caring for the children, which was able to improve the children's wellbeing. This would be able to provide resilience for children due to the stability it would provide to them because their parents would be able to stay at home during the immediate aftermath of the disaster. It is particularly after a disaster that people migrate to find work, and therefore more work opportunities need to be made available during this post disaster period. Furthermore, any cash for work programs would need to ensure that the wage was higher than the payment one could receive working in another area/overseas. For Cianjur and the social problems it faces, a cash for work programme will be able to encourage for parents to remain with their children immediately after a hazard.

8. Suggestions For The Future

8.1 Education

CCTs can be an effective method of social protection but need to ensure that it is designed in a way that targets children who have a high probability of not enrolling in school without a conditional placed on a cash transfer. CCTs appear to offer the ideal mechanism for assisting the most poorest. It has the potential to protect children's education through the incentive for children to attend school. Nonetheless, CCTs are most effective in achieving strong attendance in school when there is the requirement of 85% attendance rate for grants (Adato & Bassett, 2009). The PKH program has been effective in the area of consumption and health but not in education, largely due to the issues surrounding its implementation (the timing of the transfers and the amount). With design adjustments this program has great potential to have positive affects for the education sector. For example, the payments should be provided before school fees are due and of sufficient amount that will allow for the recipient to pay for their school fees. This should continue alongside the KIP program which seems to be an effective social protection program so far due to the continued increase in recipients. However, the implementation challenges also need to be addressed.

It is important to note that CCTs are not entirely impactful when the program is for a short period of time or just established for emergency response. In Pakistan, for example, after the 2010 floods a cash transfer program was set up to ensure children's attendance in school in the immediate aftermath; however, when the transfers stopped the children stopped attending school (Ashburn & Waner, 2010). Thus, for long term attendance of children in school it is important that families are able to support their children throughout their entire journey through high school. This is a strength of PKH and KIP which aim to provide for children throughout their entire high school experience. Hence the recommendation of continuing the use of KIP and PKH programmes, with design changes, to support child resilience.

Furthermore, in order to address the prevailing social problem within Cianjur of the high rates at which children are sexual abused, students need to be taught on sexuality and reproduction. Thus, any education program would need to include this into the curriculum. It is through sex education that correct information can be disseminated to children rather than the internet becoming the source of information for children.

8.2 Disaster Education Schemes

Disaster risk reduction is the process of reducing risks through activities in order to reduce the effects of disasters and to mitigate any contributing factors of disasters (Sagala, Yamin & Rianawati, 2016). Haynes et al (2010) concluded that in villages where disaster risk reduction programmes exist in the informal or formal sector, the children involved adopted active roles within the community. It is vital that the creation of disaster protection programmes from a community are guided by children's perspectives (Haynes, Lassa & Towers, 2010). Children acting as active agents will also enhance their own skills and lead to stronger long term resilience within the wider community (Tatebe & Mutch, 2015). In particular, a child's capability for disaster risk reduction is dependent on the routines they are accustomed to within their community (Haynes, Lassa & Towers, 2010). Thus, the creation of disaster education schemes that are integrated into a forum where children are most in attendance, namely school, would ensure greater personal and community resilience. School based DRR programs aim to raise awareness and knowledge about DRR activities (Tatebe & Mutch, 2015). Children would then have a forum in which to express their perspectives and experiences during times of disaster. Furthermore, Haynes et al (2010) concluded that children are capable of taking on an advocacy role within their communities and partake in disaster risk reduction activities. This would also support the discourse which advocates for children to be active participant within the community

rather than be treated as passive victims (Gibbs et al, 2015). Thus, a DRR programme could enhance a child's ability to build resilience (Tatebe & Mutch, 2015).

8.3 *Microcredit*

KUBE is an affective form of a micro-credit program despite its struggles in Cianjur in the past. KUBE has the potential to be effective in creating jobs in Cianjur; however, it needs to be suited to the needs of Cianjur. Drawing on past experiences, this means altering the recipients of the program to both men and women to ensure that both genders feel accepted in the program and no one feels left out. Further to that, both mothers and fathers suffer from lack of employment opportunities in Cianjur so all micro-credit programs should be targeted at creating work for both genders rather than targeting one specific gender. There needs to be extra consideration as to the local context when KUBE programs are debated so as to ensure their complete effectiveness so that the case with the husbands feeling undermined does not occur again. The Indonesian government should be encouraging the implementation and continuation of KUBE due to the large benefits it provides to not just adults but also to children in communities.

8.4 *Emergency relief*

There needs to be an interplay between regular social protection programs and emergency relief when disasters strike and the people are most vulnerable. This is where unconditional cash transfers, cash for work and Raskin are able to have a positive contribution to providing the basic necessities and work in the most desperate times.

8.5 *Community based initiatives*

There also needs to be a greater awareness within the communities themselves about a transition from post disaster recovery to preparation thinking. Disaster risk reduction education through formal and informal channels would be able to inform the community about how best to prepare and respond to a disaster. The involvement of a community in designing programs not only creates ownership but also means that the initiatives are reflective of individual needs (Haynes, Lassa & Towers, 2010). Unfortunately, the make of community based group is dominated by adults, namely men, leaving children's voices underrepresented in decision making forums (Haynes, Lassa & Towers, 2010). This means that the capacity of children to communicate risk issues has been largely under studied (Haynes, Lassa & Towers, 2010). Children's involvement in any such program is crucial as it would provide the platform for children to initiate activities that are catered specifically for their needs. For example, through Save the Children programs, children have taken part in drawing hazard maps, contributing to contingency plans, learning about evacuation and creating awareness materials for the wider community (Benson & Bugge, 2007). Community based disaster risk management programs (CBDRM) are often manifested within education systems, which, as discussed above, would allow children to learn about disaster preparation (Heijmans & Sagala, 2013). It is vital that the creation of disaster protection programmes from a community are guided by children's perspectives (Haynes, Lassa & Towers, 2010). As has previously been mentioned, respect for religious leaders in Cianjur is also integral to the make up of the community and so the involvement of these key leaders would be crucial to strengthen a community's resilience. Community based initiatives are not social protection schemes in themselves but can be resourced on a local government level.

9. Conclusion

With the growing international recognition of social protection, there is an unparalleled opportunity in modern society to prioritise social protection as a key means of developing a community and providing protection for the most vulnerable (Fiszbien et al, 2014) This paper has explored what protection schemes would be best suited for Cianjur's particular social problems in creating greater stability for children. Social protection schemes catered to children's specific needs will mean that

they are better equipped to address any kind of situation before them. By taking into account the local context of Cianjur, it was found that getting parents to remain with the children and to re-establish education as a constant routine, were top priorities for social protection schemes within this regency. The restoration and continuation of familiar settings is crucial during times of anxiety (Gibbs et al, 2015). It is through the establishment of regular routines in the education and family sphere of a child's life that they are best able to build resilience. Safety and stability goals need to be included in any social protection policies. However, it should be acknowledged that the wellbeing of children is dependent on a multitude of factors and thus any such policies need to be in parallel with other motivations at the same time. The public support warranted for children's wellbeing is policy coordination and the integration of multiple services that address different concerns but ultimately aim to provide for children (Some thoughts on social protection ,2012). And of course, any programs that are created or maintained needs to have built in mechanisms for ensuring accountability (Thompson, 2014). Children should also be able to provide feedback on the programs to ensure that the programs can be catered to their positive and negative experiences to best optimise the outcome (Thompson, 2014). It is imperative that children are included in all levels of decision making for disaster risk reduction (Haynes, Lassa & Towers, 2010).

This paper suggests a number of improvements that can be made to assist children in Cianjur build resilience and these take form in short, middle and long term goals. As short term goals, RASKIN can provide immediate food security and cash for work programmes in the immediate aftermath of a disaster will be able to ensure that at the time when children are most vulnerable, their primary caregivers are there to support them and don't have to migrate elsewhere. As middle and long term goals KUBE and PKH in combination with KBI will be able to target the lack of work opportunities and further incentivise families to invest in children attending school. Furthermore, the creation of disaster risk education programs within the school system will be able to lead to overall community resilience as well as individual resilience. This would be able to break the intergenerational poverty whilst at the same time assisting children with building resilience by targeting two key areas of their lives that can bring stability and safety back into their lives.

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