

THE DANI CHURCH OF IRIAN JAYA
AND
THE CHALLENGES IT IS FACING TODAY

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I, Jennifer Bensley, hereby declare that this thesis contains no material that has previously been accepted for any other degree or diploma awarded by any other University. To the best of my knowledge and belief neither does this paper contain any material previously published or written by any other person except where duly referenced within the thesis.

Signed

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SUMMARY

In dealing with the topic of the Dani church in Irian Jaya and the challenges it is facing today, this thesis will address various aspects. Initially a brief history of Irian Jaya, and in particular of the Dani people, is given together with the advent of the Christian missionaries into their homeland. Leading on from there the thesis discusses development that has occurred and is occurring in Irian Jaya. This chapter is used to set the scene for later chapters in which the Dani reactions to rapid and various changes are discussed. Chapter three focuses in on the Dani church in the North Baliem Valley, its establishment and organisation. The background information provided on the church will be useful in discussing the nature of the present problems it is facing. The following two chapters attempt to deal with a number of issues that the Dani church and its community are facing at present. These have been collected under one of the two headings of "modernisation" and "Islamisation". This division was largely dependent on the responses I received from my Dani informants, who were obliging enough to be either interviewed by myself or complete a questionnaire for me. Their perception of whether certain issues were related to Islam or to "modernity" was the main criterion for issues being in one group or the other. The issues discussed are those which were portrayed by my respondents as challenging the Dani church over the July to August 1994 period. I conclude the thesis with an overview of its contents, and focus on the problems the Dani church is facing, together with its reaction to them.

INTRODUCTION

"The Dani church in Irian Jaya and the challenges it is facing today." For the uninitiated this title may conjure up ideas of a religious sect that has deviated from mainstream Christian beliefs, but for those who have heard of, or who know, the Danis it evokes images of a different kind.

The term Dani refers to a group of people who inhabit the highlands of Irian Jaya, the region now referred to as Jayawijaya, and who speak the Dani language. This language group is divided into two subgroups, Grand Valley and Western Dani. According to the linguist and missionary Myron Bromley, Western Dani is a "fairly homogenous group of mutually intelligible dialects" while "Grand Valley Dani is a chain of dialects each intelligible with the next ... the opposite ends of the chain are mutually unintelligible dialects".¹ The Western and Grand Valley Danis form the largest single ethnic and linguistic group within Irian Jaya although the Western Danis are the more homogenous. They are also noticeably the larger of the two language groups, numbering almost three times as many as the Grand Valley Dani.² The term Dani was first recorded in 1926 during a Netherlands-American expedition into the highlands of Irian Jaya led by M.W.Stirling.³ The party apparently were in contact with the Moni tribe who referred to the people of the Baliem Valley as Ndani or Dani. Those we now call Western Danis, previously did not have a term to distinguish themselves as a cultural group. In their contact with other highland inhabitants they would use the term "Lani" to distinguish themselves linguistically from the other groups around them.⁴ The Grand Valley inhabitants continue to be referred to as Danis while the Western Danis go by either Dani or Lani. In this paper the *Dani Barat* or Western Danis will be referred to as Danis unless a distinction is being made between them and the Grand Valley Dani.

¹ M.Bromley "Ethnic Groups in Irian Jaya" in *Irian Bulletin of Irian Jaya Development*, UNCEN, 1973, Vol.II No.3, p.6

² D.Hayward *The Dani of Irian Jaya Before and After Conversion*, (Regions Press, 1980), p.11

³ *Ibid.*, p.114 & J.A.Godschalk & A.E.Dumatubun *Bangunan Baru dan Fondasi Tua: Suatu Studi Kasus Tentang Kargoisme di Dani Barat*, (UNCEN/Bapeda Tingkat I Irian Jaya, 1989), p.3

⁴ G.Larson *The Structure and Demography of the Cycle of warfare Among the Ilaga Dani of Irian Jaya*, (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, 1987), p.28

We have already noted the magnitude of the Western Dani population and from the figure below we can see that they also inhabit a number of valleys constituting a wide area. Since the distribution of the Western Dani is so extensive, a geographical restriction will be made to focus on those who reside in the North Baliem Valley and coming down as far east as the district of Asologaima, to Pyramid where the Western Dani district borders on the Grand Valley Dani.⁵ (See Maps 2 & 3)

Figure 1

<u>The Western Dani Population</u>	
<u>Overall Population</u>	150,000
55,000	North Baliem around Tiom, Makki and in the Grand Baliem around Pyramid (Kecamatan Asologaima)
15,000	Hablifura Valley (Kelila and Bokondini)
45,000	Swart Valley (Karubaga)
30,000	Yamo River Valley (Ilu, Mulia and Sinak)
5,000	Kecamatan Ilaga (where the Dani has integrated with the Damal)
from J.Godschalk & A.Dumatubun <i>Bangunan Baru dan Fondasi Tua: Suatu Studi Kasus Tentang Kargoisme di Dani Barat</i> , (UNCEN/Bapeda Tingkat I Irian Jaya, 1989), p.1	

The Dani people while distinctly Melanesian, have become citizens of the Austronesian Republic of Indonesia. Unlike the majority of Indonesian citizens, most of the members of the Western Dani community adhere to the religion of Protestant Christianity. Yet less than forty years ago the beliefs of the entire Dani community were animistic. Their former beliefs centred around the belief in the power of the spirits and the damage they could wreak in every aspect of an individual's life. This belief system led to the establishment of rituals, ceremonies and offerings. The connections a man had with the spirit world also played a part in his position of power in the community. Those who possessed spiritual power were considered to be of great social importance.⁶ The people were governed by the spirits which they feared. This fear was evident in their daily living, one example being their aversion to venturing outside their living quarters after dusk. This was

⁵ *Ibid.*, p.12

⁶ Hayward *The Dani of Irian Jaya*, pp.86-89

all to change when in the late 1950s they were confronted by, and had their first significant contact with, foreigners. These foreigners were Christian missionaries from Australia and America. In the years following the appearance of these missionaries and their families there was a move from an animistic to a Christian belief system by a large majority of the Western Dani community. The Grand Valley Danis were not so accepting of the new message.

While the Danis generally have accepted Protestant Christianity, those in the North Baliem Valley are predominantly of the Baptist denomination as it was the Australian Baptist Missionary Society or ABMS that took Christianity to these Danis. One exception is the area around Pyramid station which was established by Americans from the Christian and Missionary Alliance or CAMA. While there is a major input into the thesis from, and regarding the Baptist denomination, other Protestant denominations have also been represented both through written material and fieldwork. The widespread acceptance of Christianity has resulted in the establishment of a substantial Dani church that will be the focus of this paper. The term 'church' will refer to both the organisation and the individuals who constitute it unless otherwise specified.

My initial interest in the Dani people and the church is not academic but rather stems from my childhood when I lived amongst the Danis in a village called Makki, with my family. Both my parents were involved in mission work amongst the Dani people. My father was a minister, a Bible teacher and a translator. My mother also taught at the Bible school in Makki and applied her pharmacy training by fulfilling the tasks of a pharmacist, nurse and doctor according to the circumstances. Meanwhile my brother and I were given Dani names and spent our childhood years growing up in the village, speaking Dani. It was an idyllic childhood. We had no notion that we were in the midst of an active rebellion against Indonesian rule, which some members of the Dani community around Makki were involved in. We came back to Australia for furlough at the beginning of 1980 with the firm belief that we would be returning to Makki, but instead we lost our visa and despite efforts made to secure work permits, have been unable to return. It was not until July this year that I returned to Irian Jaya and to Makki, but I have always considered it to be my home and

have wanted to learn more about it as an adult. I have been able to keep up with developments within Irian Jaya through continued contact.

The focus on the church and its members is also a result of my Christian upbringing and beliefs. I have a real interest in the church, particularly the Dani church and its survival. Also my family's contact with members and leaders of the Dani church, as well as missionaries working in Irian Jaya, made this topic fairly accessible to me and facilitated the undertaking of fieldwork in Irian Jaya.

This paper will explore the situation in Irian Jaya, amongst the Dani Christians following societal and structural changes which have increasingly impacted upon the Danis over the last few years. A specific impetus to undertake this topic came from various reports from Irian Jaya. Initially, accounts from members of a youth tour to Irian Jaya⁷ raised my interest and concern over the changes taking place in the highlands in particular. On their return to Australia in February 1990, members of the youth tour described a number of issues the Danis, especially the young people, were facing. The most prominent issue presented by them was the introduction and spread of STDs, Sexually Transmitted Diseases, including AIDS, in the urban area of Wamena. Through personal contacts with people working and living in the highlands of Irian Jaya I was able to remain informed, although somewhat spasmodically, of various new developments.

The Dani community is undergoing numerous changes and as the majority of the people are Christians, these are impacting the church. The Dani Christians faced many challenges when the church was first established in the early 1960s and yet the church managed to remain firm. Today the problems seem to be of a different nature and it is the second generation Christians, the young people, who are being directly challenged by the emerging issues. As second generation Christians they have been brought up with a different outlook and some apparently tend to take Christianity for granted.⁸ While there are some positive aspects emerging from these new developments, according to the Dani Christians, both young and old, the negative aspects are overwhelmingly predominant.

⁷ Goba Youth Mission Irian Jaya, January 1990. Those involved in this tour were young people from a few churches in Geelong. They went to Irian Jaya with the aim of learning about it and the mission field over there. This tour was led by a former missionary Rod Bensley.

⁸ N.&S.Draper *Daring to Believe*, (ABMS, 1990), p.230 quoting Miyaawarak

Earlier this year, with the assistance of certain members of the staff at Monash University, I made the decision to research and report my findings on the situation in Irian Jaya and the issues faced by the Dani church.

I chose to address the contemporary situation of the Danis, about which there is very little written, in an attempt to determine how they are handling the changing circumstances and lifestyle and how the church is dealing with the numerous issues that have surfaced. Much is written on the traditional culture of the Dani people and their initial conversion to Christianity. There are numerous mission accounts of the conversion of the Danis and other tribal groups in Irian Jaya which are valuable in the piecing together of the history of mission work in the highlands, but do not provide any information on the contemporary situation. I was also well aware of the mission perspective of these accounts, making them inspirational for Christian or sympathetic readers, but requiring them to be treated with discretion in an academic study.

Other sources, while written by missionaries, provided a more scholarly view of the Dani people. A couple of examples are *The Dani of Irian Jaya Before and After Conversion* by Douglas Hayward⁹ and the doctoral dissertation by Gordon Larson on *The Structure and Demography of the Cycle of Warfare Among the Ilaga Dani of Irian Jaya*.¹⁰ An earlier source *Baliem Beginnings*¹¹ is a collection of accounts supplied by a number of ABMS missionaries and is a mixture of personal and historic accounts of the history of Irian Jaya and the missionaries amongst the Danis. Norm and Sheila Draper compiled *Daring to Believe* and had it published in 1990.¹² While the first section deals with Papua New Guinea, the second section deals with the Danis of the North Baliem Valley, and provides translated personal accounts of Danis who lived through the transition period from the animistic tradition to Christianity. These sources were useful in providing background information required in approaching this topic. Apart from the mission publications, written information on the Dani people is largely restricted to Dani linguistics and anthropological studies of the traditional Dani lifestyle which centred on spirits. Other

⁹ (Regions Press, 1980)

¹⁰ (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, 1987)

¹¹ (Camden Baptist Church, 1976)

¹² (ABMS, 1990)

English sources deal with the political position of Irian Jaya and have nothing specific to say on the Danis. *Religious Tolerance and the Christian Faith*¹³ is written by an Indonesian about the general situation in Indonesia. Another more recent Indonesian source by Godschalk and Dumatubun is *Bangunan Baru dan Fondasi Tua* which referred specifically to the Western Danis and the issue of Cargo Cults.¹⁴

As has already been mentioned, I travelled to Irian Jaya in July and undertook fieldwork from the 15th of July until the 22nd of August. This fieldwork was central to this thesis, as I could not have dealt with this topic without it. It provided me with individual Dani perceptions of the present situation, as Dani Christians completed questionnaires and were interviewed. I was also able to access historical and anthropological material, as well as contemporary material written largely by Danis. This latter resource was a major advantage and consisted of various unpublished theses. Their value lay not only in the factual information they provided but also, being written by Danis they offered a Dani perspective of the issues the church has been and is facing. These theses tended to concentrate on one particular district or village in the North Baliem Valley and as such provided a useful picture of specific churches. They provided a great deal of information, that could be used to present a wider view of the Dani church. I also gained access to pamphlets and books written and published by church organisations and local publications that are only available in Irian Jaya.

My fieldwork involved the distribution of about 70 questionnaires, of which 47 were completed and returned. I also interviewed 11 members of the Dani community in order to obtain a more detailed idea of the general views reflected in the completed questionnaires. Those who were involved in my fieldwork were from the North Baliem Valley. This, and the requirement that they be church members and speak Indonesian, were the only criteria for selection. Church leaders, students completing their theological training and lay members of the church were included in the fieldwork. Danis studying and working in Jayapura were included, as were Danis who had never left the village, both male and female, young and old. Then there were those who had studied in Jayapura and had

¹³ Dr.W.Bonar Sidjabat (BPK Gunung Mulia, Jakarta, 1982)

¹⁴ (UNCEN/Bapeda Tingkat I Irian Jaya, 1989)

returned to their village to live and work. With some minor variations, the views reflected were unified, despite differences of education level, gender or social status. Gaining the trust of my respondents did not prove to be a problem particularly in the North Baliem. Even on the coast people were relatively uninhibited, particularly as most of my respondents knew my parents. One young man I interviewed on the coast remembered my parents well because they were the first white people he saw. I also interviewed a few Dani young people whom I had grown up with in the village and a Dani couple who had known me since I was born. The position I was in allowed the respondents and myself to be quite open about the issues under discussion. I was more than just an observer of the people and their reactions to the issues they were discussing, I was empathetic and shared their concern for the community and the survival of the church.

I faced few problems in being able to use the sources that were made available to me, particularly as there was no language barrier. The written sources on the Dani people are in either English or Indonesian, while my contacts all spoke Indonesian.

My relationship with a number of the Danis and my empathy will have coloured my research to some extent as a researcher's "'interest' ... will determine his discoveries, his selection, his pattern-making and his exposition. This is unavoidable...".¹⁵ The researcher's "personal experiences, especially those of participation and empathy, are recognised as central to the research process, but they are firmly restrained by the impersonal standards of observation and 'objective' distance."¹⁶

This thesis is written from a Christian perspective by someone who grew up amongst the Dani people. Not only is the subject the Christian church but my respondents are Christians as is the author. I hope that this will not deter the reader but that my interest in this topic will make it interesting for the readers, approaching it from their own perspective and bias.

While I will be attempting to represent the Dani perspective of the issues that are challenging them and the Dani church as a whole, I also realise that in the final analysis their

¹⁵ J.Barzun & H.Graff *The Modern Researcher*, (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1985) Fourth Edition, p.198

¹⁶ J.Clifford "Introduction: Partial Truths" in J.Clifford & G.Marcus(eds.) *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, (University of California Press, 1986), p.13

views will be seen through the eyes of someone outside their own culture and as such will provide an etic view. It is unavoidable for me to process and relate their statements from my point of view, despite my attempts to do otherwise. I am also aware that the situation as it represented itself to me while I was with the Danis is not static as any culture or situation is continually moving and changing.¹⁷

While the main focus of this paper will be the contemporary situation of the Dani church, this discussion will be preceded by a brief profile of Irian Jaya with regard to politics, culture, geography, pre-Christian beliefs and the history of Christianity, particularly amongst the Danis. This background knowledge will supply a framework within which to view the issues that are to be discussed, and will be of particular importance given that many people know very little about Irian Jaya. Knowledge is generally restricted to particular issues such as the Indonesian *transmigrasi* (transmigration) programme, the "Act of Free Choice" that was carried out in 1969 and which resulted in Irian Jaya becoming an official Indonesian province,¹⁸ and the rebel group OPM (*Operasi Papua Merdeka*) or the Free Papua Movement that is fighting to free West Papua of Indonesian rule.¹⁹ The awareness of people regarding these aspects has resulted from the considerable press coverage they received until interest waned. Yet there is a great deal more to Irian Jaya and it is in fact necessary to understand a little of the region's background if we are to attempt to understand its present.

Chapter one will outline the process of contact and the opening up of Irian Jaya to the outside world. The exploration of the highlands and discovery of the Danis will be discussed as will the advent of Protestant Christian missionaries amongst the Danis, particularly those in the North Baliem Valley, and their move towards Christianity. The second chapter will deal with the general development that has taken place both informally and as a result of various developmental projects that have been undertaken. The role that missionaries, the Indonesian Government and non-government organisations have played in the overall development of the Dani people will be discussed. The Dani church organisation

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.10

¹⁸ The Provincial Government of Irian Jaya *Irian Jaya: A New Frontier for Trade, Investment and Tourism*, (1993) p.5

¹⁹ e.g. J.McBeth "At Loggerheads" in *Far Eastern Economic Review*, March 10, 1994, p.52

as it is today, including aspects such as its structure and administration, will be the focus of the third chapter while the final two chapters will be based on the information and views expressed in the interviews and questionnaires from my fieldwork and will deal with the challenges that the Dani Christians perceive the church to be facing. These will be discussed under the two headings of modernisation and Islamisation. Those who were willing to assist me in my research will be quoted but they will not be named as they prefer to remain anonymous. On many issues there was a consensus among the majority of my informants, as will be made clear in the discussion.

CHAPTER ONE - Irian Jaya and its People

This chapter will provide background information on the culture and way of life of the Dani people of Irian Jaya. The history of Western contact with Irian Jaya generally, leading up to missionary contact and the situation of the early national church, will be discussed as it provides a context in which to place the experience of the Western Dani. The information provided in this chapter is intended to acquaint the reader with certain aspects of Irian Jaya's history that will assist in the understanding of other topics to be discussed throughout this thesis.

Cultural Background

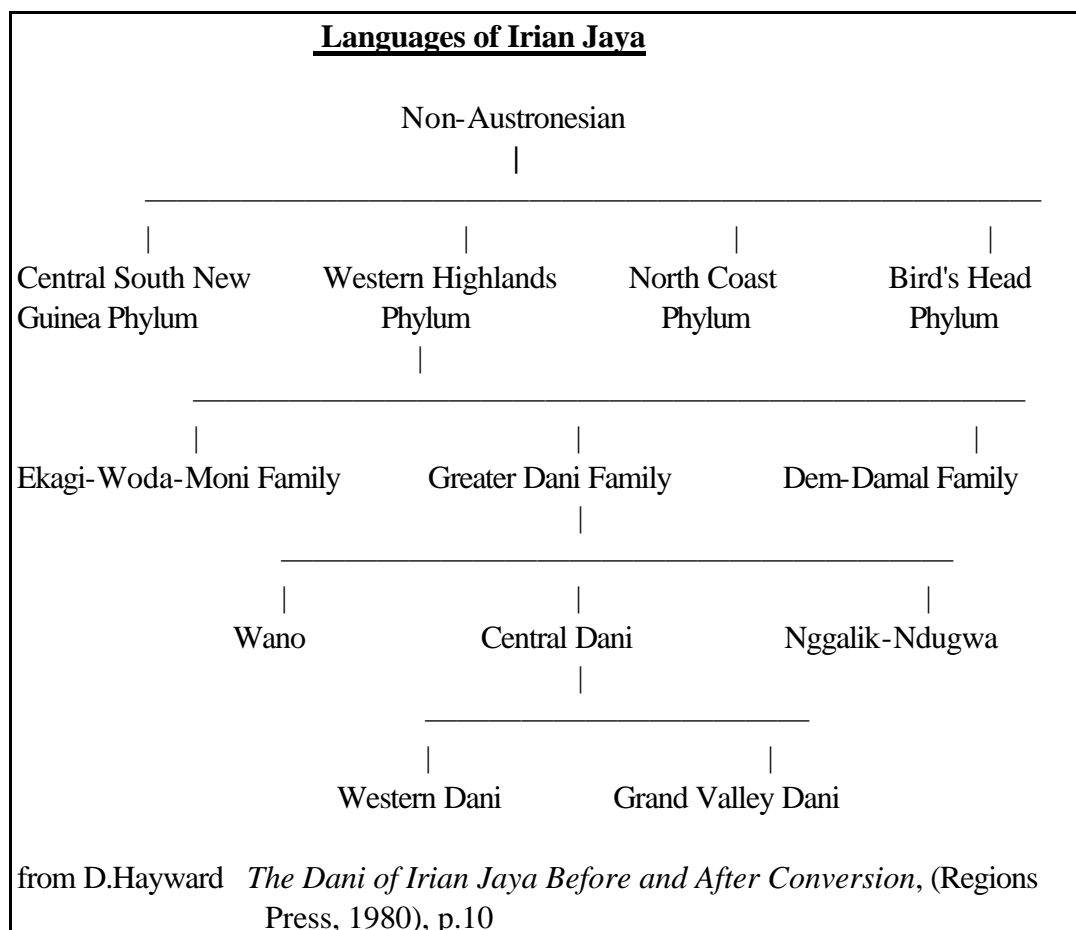
The most striking aspects of Irian Jaya are the physical contrasts between the low and highlands and the cultural diversity of the inhabitants. Officially there are at least 250 different ethnic groups in Irian Jaya,²⁰ of which three are found in the Baliem Valley. The cultural, linguistic, geographical and climatic differences between the coastal lands and the highlands, and also within these areas themselves, are immense. Even amongst the Dani there is a distinct contrast between the Grand Valley Dani and the Western Dani. They differ from each other in a number of ways, one being in their attitudes. The Western Dani have the reputation of being more friendly and accepting, while the Grand Baliem Dani are said to be more aggressive and defensive. The Western Danis over time have moved from the Grand Valley up the North Baliem probably as a result of conflict and in search of new land for gardens, in an attempt to better their lives. In this way they tended to move away from the main centre of warring and also to have contact with other cultural groups such as the Uhundi or Damal groups. Hayward ascribes to the Western Dani a pioneering spirit, as a people who are not afraid of change, while those in the Grand Valley are conservative upholders of tradition.²¹ The "aggressive" approach of the Grand Baliem in contrast to the Western Dani, the "friendly" mountain people, noted by numerous pioneer missionaries, is seen to have been a determining factor in the reluctance of the Grand Valley Dani to

²⁰ Provincial Government of Irian Jaya *Irian Jaya: A New Frontier for Trade, Investment and Tourism*, (1993), p.23

²¹ D.Hayward *The Dani Of Irian Jaya Before and After Conversion*, (Regions Press, 1980), pp.105-106 & D.Scovill *The Dani World View*, (Unpublished Paper, 1984), p.8 & D.Pickell(ed.) *Indonesian New Guinea: Irian Jaya*, (Periplus Editions, 1994) p.48

respond positively to missionaries or any other newcomers.²² Language is another distinguishing factor, with distinct Western and Grand Valley dialects. (See Figure 2) There are also variations in such areas as clothing and rituals.

Figure 2



The former beliefs and world view of the Dani people are quite complicated but will be mentioned briefly. The Dani world, the Baliem Valley, is believed to have been created by the now inactive deity Mbok whose steps formed the valleys and the mountains out of flat ground. An imprint in the shape of a human foot on a rock at Tiom is seen as one of his footprints. Mbok also created the great rivers that run through the valleys but had nothing to do with his creation and played no part in the appearance of the world's inhabitants.²³ Rather, two men and two women emerged from a hole in the ground and

²² N.Draper "ABFM Becomes Involved" in *Baliem Beginnings* (Camden Baptist Church, 1976), p.27

²³ E.Wendaneby *Penyembahan Roh Orang Mati dalam Kepercayaan Tradisional Suku Lani*, (Unpublished Paper, 1993), p.33 & D. Scovill *The Dani World View*, p.64

from there moved westwards.²⁴ The story of the coupling of these men and women also illustrates the necessity of what are called *moiety* groups amongst the Dani.²⁵ There are two main patrilineal groups, *Wenda* and *Kogoya*, and numerous clan names are collected under one or the other of the two streams. (See Figure 3) Marriage within a single moiety would be incest in the eyes of the Danis and as such punishable by death.²⁶ So a man of the *Wenda* moiety can only marry a girl of the *Kogoya* moiety and vice-versa.

Figure 3

<u>Moieties and a selection of clan names</u>	
<u>WENDA</u>	<u>KOGOYA</u>
Yigibalom	Tabuni
Wakerkwa	Wanimbo
Murip (Morip)	Telenggen
Wenerengga	Yoman Nenda
Wanena	Kulua
Kiwo	Yugu Tabuni
Yanengga	Wandik
Enumbi	Nggoma
Nggena	Weya
Yikwa	Nggire
Nggumbo	Towolam
Yanuno	Wogobera

from Weripen Wenda *Suatu Tinjauan Alkitabiah Terhadap Tradisi Pemilihan Pasangan Hidup Dalam Kebudayaan Suku Lani*, (Unpublished paper, 1993), p.11
& Hayward *The Dani of Irian Jaya Before and After Conversion*, (Regions Press, 1980), p.43
*Enos Wendaneby states that altogether there are 58 clans under the Wenda moiety and 54 clans under the Kogoya moiety. *Penyembahan Roh Orang Mati Dalam Kepercayaan Tradisional Suku Lani*, (Unpublished paper, 1993), p.21

The Dani world view does not distinguish between spiritual and secular, but rather everything is determined by the spirits who are all potentially evil and as such need to be placated and worshipped.²⁷ This is not an act of devotion, but rather a system of averting

²⁴ Wendaneby *Penyembahan Roh*, pp.8, 67 & Hayward *The Dani of Irian Jaya*, p.41

²⁵ Hayward *The Dani of Irian Jaya*, pp.41-42

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.50 & R.Pangendahen *Suatu Analisa Teologis Alkitabiah Terhadap Persembahan Korban Dalam Kepercayaan Tradisional Suku Dani di Irian Jaya*, (Institut Alkitab Tiramis, 1988)

²⁷ Hayward *The Dani of Irian Jaya*, p.100 & I.Gruber "A Personal Account" in *Baliem Beginnings*, p.60

disaster and manipulating the spirits in order to achieve or obtain what you want, personally or for your community.²⁸ The Danis are extremely community minded as their personal wants are generally in keeping with the good of the community.²⁹ There are two main types of spirits, those of recently departed ancestors and the nature spirits who inhabit the trees, rocks and rivers.³⁰ Spirits were constantly feared as they were thought to cause death through eating the liver, the essence of the human being.³¹ Deaths could also be initiated by a spirit specialist on behalf of an enemy.³² For the Dani there is no life after death, they do not consider spirits to be alive as they cannot experience or take part in life.³³ Accordingly, death was a time of extreme grieving, expressed by wailing, covering themselves in mud and mutilation that consisted of the amputation of finger joints mainly among girls, as the boys needed them to use a bow and arrow properly, and the splitting of ear lobes following the death of a male relative. With numerous relatives dying, girls could end up with no good fingers.³⁴

Wars and battles were an important part of Dani culture and seem to have happened quite regularly, mainly over the issues of loss of life, pigs, women or land. They were undertaken to get revenge against a village, not the actual individual, who had murdered one of their own, stolen a pig or a wife or disgraced a woman of the village.³⁵ The Danis were, and are, subsistence farmers, their staple food being sweet potato. The pigs, which were rarely eaten except at their large feasts, were important economically and ritually.³⁶ The women tended the gardens and the pigs as well as providing children.³⁷ It is understandable then, why these were the causes of conflict amongst the Danis. The

²⁸ Wendaneby *Penyembahan Roh*, p.75 & Pangendahen *Suatu Analisa*, p.58

²⁹ Hayward *The Dani of Irian Jaya*, pp.131, 176

³⁰ J.Godschalk & A.Dumatubun *Bangunan Baru dan Fondasi Tua: Suatu Studi Kasus Tentang Kargoisme di Dani Barat*, (UNCEN/Bapeda Tingkat I Irian Jaya, 1989), p.16 & Wendaneby *Penyembahan Roh*, pp.33-38

³¹ Personal communication with Makki inhabitants. There may be variations on this aspect as Hayward, who was in Mulia, speaks of the heart being the essence.

³² Hayward *The Dani of Irian Jaya*, p.74

³³ Wendaneby *Penyembahan Roh*, p.55

³⁴ I.Mattinson *The Word of God and Wholistic Ministry to the Dani of Irian Jaya*, (Perth Bible College, 1988), p.31

³⁵ G.Larson *The Structure and Demography of the Cycle of Warfare Among the Ilaga Dani of Irian Jaya*, (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, 1984), p.176 & N.Melzer "Notes on Dani Culture" in *Baliem Beginnings*, pp.73-74

³⁶ Pangendahen *Suatu Analisa*, p.31

³⁷ N.& S.Draper *Daring to Believe*, (ABMS, 1990), p.227 quoting Miyaawarak

regularity of these battles allowed the victims to let off steam and to get revenge, evening up the situation before the tensions could develop into a full scale, potentially disastrous and furious war.³⁸ While there were wounded from these battles there were few deaths, and when deaths did occur, it resulted in a courting party being held for the young people from both sides.³⁹ This meant that the young people whose villages had been involved in a battle would gather together over the dead body and proceed to pair off, with the result that a number of wedding preparations would be made, once the parents' consent had been obtained.

Pre-marital relations were accepted, but were rare amongst the Danis given the fact that the marrying age of girls was about twelve years old. The men got married at about the age of twenty. The difference in age basically resulted from the need for the man to earn and collect the high bride price.⁴⁰ Polygamy was also allowed in Dani society but was rare as a result of the expense of paying for more than one bride and providing each with a house and garden to tend to. Then there was the problem of being able to maintain peace between the co-wives. Officially there was no limit to the number of wives a man could take, but for practical reasons polygamous marriages were generally limited to two wives and only entered into by rich, powerful men, leaders of the community.⁴¹

Leadership amongst the Dani was not hereditary but rather depended upon individual attributes including wealth, ability in battle and charisma.⁴² There were also spiritual leaders, including the shaman, healer, sorcerer and sorceress. The shaman and the healer were respected as they used their powers for the good of the community, while the other two groups were feared as their activities encompassed causing harm to others. The shaman, who was always male, looked after all the ritual requirements of the community. He was seen to have the most intimate contact with the spirit world and to intercede with the spirits on behalf of the community by ensuring the rituals were carried out correctly. The healer was generally a woman. Sickness was believed to be a result of the spirits eating the

³⁸ Larson *The Structure and Demography*, p.318

³⁹ Draper *Daring*, p.213 quoting Amonen

⁴⁰ Hayward *The Dani of Irian Jaya*, pp.53, 56

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p.52

⁴² Pangendahen *Suatu Analisa*, pp.24-25 & Y.Yanengga *Kepemimpinan Suku Lani Sebelum Masuknya Injil di Daerah Makki*, (Unpublished Paper, 1993), p.57

essence of a person and so those who were able to heal were believed to hold special, spiritual powers. Sorcerers were a select group of men who could be approached in order to put a curse on, or initiate the death of, an enemy. Sorceresses were potentially very numerous as every woman was believed to have the capability to become a sorceress.⁴³ As such, women were feared to some extent by men and excluded from the spiritual aspects of village life. In the North Baliem, this led to regular witch hunts.⁴⁴

Discovery of Irian Jaya

Irian Jaya, as it is now called, is situated directly north of Australia and constitutes half of the New Guinea island, the other half of which is Papua New Guinea. At the western end, the island sweeps up towards the Indonesian archipelago, and its shape has earned it the name of the "Bird's Head". (See Map 1) The people of Irian Jaya and Papua New Guinea are ethnically Melanesian but are divided by an artificial border that was established last century and has led to dramatically different political situations in Papua New Guinea and Irian Jaya.⁴⁵ Unlike many of the other Melanesian cultures, the Irianese have had relatively little contact with the outside world. Even those on the coast who were most accessible have only really had substantial contact in recent years.

The most obvious reason for the lack of attention paid to Irian Jaya is that it offered no alluring spices or exotic produce.⁴⁶ With the famed Spice Islands that are now a part of the Indonesian Republic as neighbours, it is not surprising that the island of New Guinea was by-passed by the early explorers. The coast was discovered in 1511 by two Portuguese, Antonio d'Abreu and Francesco Serrano who were searching for the Spice Islands.⁴⁷ Numerous explorers made incidental sightings of New Guinea, including Jan Carstenz whose name links him to events that were to take place in the Baliem Valley. He was the first to sight the equatorial snow-capped mountain and it is after him that the "highest peak in New Guinea, Mt. Carstenz is named."⁴⁸

⁴³ Hayward *The Dani of Irian Jaya*, p.86

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.57, 100 & Draper *Daring*, p.227 quoting Miyaawarak

⁴⁵ Hayward *The Dani of Irian Jaya*, p.4

⁴⁶ D.Brown "History of Irian Jaya" in *Baliem Beginnings*, p.2

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* & Provincial Government of Irian Jaya *Irian Jaya: A New Frontier*, p.8

⁴⁸ Brown "History of Irian Jaya", p.2

Those who did visit the island with ideas of trade, exploration or possibly colonisation were soon repelled by the malarial, swampy coastal lands and so never ventured inland to the forbidding mountains.⁴⁹ Some coastal groups did have some contact with Tidore as they were in a vassal relationship with its Sultan, but this relationship was fairly superficial. In the age of colonisation, it seems inevitable, from our point of view, that New Guinea itself would one day be colonised, despite the natural barriers that, to a large degree, had served to shield it from the outside world. Finally in 1714 part of the island was included in the Dutch colonial lands, inherited from the Sultan of Tidore.⁵⁰ While this part of the island was supposedly under Dutch rule, the Dutch in fact had very little to do with Netherlands New Guinea and did not even establish a post, most probably because of the unfriendly environment and the apparent lack of economic potential.⁵¹

In 1826 an official proclamation was made by Holland regarding its position on the island of New Guinea. Yet it was not until 1883-1884 that Holland established "factual control" of Netherlands New Guinea, with a treaty in 1895 officially dividing the island in half along the 141st east longitude.⁵² (See Map 2) Posts were set up at Manokwari and Fak-Fak in 1898, and four years later at Merauke.⁵³ Hollandia, the present day capital, Jayapura, was established in 1910.⁵⁴ Considering the amount of land that the Dutch claimed to be governing with four posts, it is obvious that little contact was made with the people as a whole and only minimal contact with the coastal people living in the immediate area of the Dutch government posts. So, until recently, contact with the outside world was either non-existent or fairly restricted for the inhabitants of Irian Jaya.

Discovery and Exploration of the Baliem Valley

The first substantial contact with foreigners for those on the coast was through Dutch missionaries who arrived on the coast at Doreh Bay on February 5, 1855, forty-three years before the first Dutch government post was set up. In 1872 the missionaries

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p.1

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p.3

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.* & Mattinson *The Word of God*, p.24

⁵³ Brown "History of Irian Jaya", p.4

⁵⁴ Provincial Government of Irian Jaya *Irian Jaya: A New Frontier*, p.9

established their main station at Manokwari.⁵⁵ Their work initially bore little fruit and it was not until more than fifty years later that the efforts and convictions of the first missionaries showed in the large numbers of coastal people converting to Christianity.⁵⁶ This was happening around the same time that the interior was first entered by explorers whose aim was to reach the summit of the snow capped mountains. The first attempt, made in 1907 by a party headed by H.A.Lorentz, failed as a result of illness and native hostility. In 1910 attempts were made by both Lorentz and a British party to reach the summits of Mt.Wilhelmina and Mt.Carstenz respectively. The British party failed while the Lorentz party managed to reach the snowline of Wilhelmina at an altitude of 14,786 feet.⁵⁷ Several more attempts were made before Captain Herderche managed to reach the summit of Wilhelmina in 1913. Meanwhile it was 1962 before Carstenz was successfully climbed.⁵⁸ An expedition led by Captain Van Overeem 1920-21 was the first to meet the Dani whom they described as being "proud, arrogant, warlike people".⁵⁹

The following year another expedition was made to the Baliem Valley, this time led by Captain Kremer, a surveyor who had been a member of Van Overeem's party. Van Overeem had encouraged Kremer to lead a party through the Swart Valley to the summit of Mt Wilhelmina for the purpose of scientific research. The significance of this expedition lies in the negative impact it had on the people by exposing the Danis to bacillary dysentery, resulting in widespread sickness and death through the valley.⁶⁰ While the Danis were no strangers to dysentery, bacillary dysentery was something they had not yet encountered. These initial expeditions to the snow capped mountains had minimal contact with the people, in whom the explorers had little interest. Any meetings were incidental and lasted a couple of days at the most.⁶¹ The Dani first received this title as a result of the 1926

⁵⁵ Brown "History of Irian Jaya", p.6

⁵⁶ Hayward *The Dani of Irian Jaya*, p.114

⁵⁷ Brown "History of Irian Jaya", p.6

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.7-8

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p.8

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.8-9 & Draper *Daring*, p.215 quoting Amonen

⁶¹ Hayward *The Dani of Irian Jaya*, p.114

Stirling expedition, which had contact with the Moni people who referred to the inhabitants of the Baliem as the Ndani.⁶²

Missionaries from the American Christian and Missionary Alliance and Holland, had been at Enarotali, on the outer edges of the highlands since 1933, but had not yet managed to enter the Baliem or have contact with its inhabitants.⁶³ The first major exploration of the Baliem was undertaken by a team led by the American, Richard Archbold in 1938-39. Archbold spent a year in the Baliem exploring and studying the valley and its inhabitants. In 1941, following his expedition, he had an article published in National Geographic, which brought the Grand Baliem Valley and its isolated inhabitants to the attention of much of the world.⁶⁴ For the duration of the second World War, any further exploration or research of the Grand Baliem and the Dani people, was suspended.

In 1942 the Japanese had occupied Ambon, cutting Netherlands New Guinea off from the Indies and in 1943, because of the Japanese presence in Western New Guinea, the CAMA missionaries from the Wissell Lakes area at Enarotali were evacuated.⁶⁵ Finally in 1944 the Allies overcame the Japanese in Dutch New Guinea and established themselves near Hollandia.⁶⁶ While here a pilot, sighting the Baliem Valley, gave it the mythical name "Shangri-La" and the Shangri-La Society was established. Flights were conducted for those who wanted to see Shangri-la and its inhabitants from the air.⁶⁷ The next bout of publicity that Netherlands New Guinea received resulted from the tragic crash of one of these joy flights on Sunday the 13th of May 1945.⁶⁸ Two members survived the crash and huge rescue operations were undertaken to retrieve them from the valley. Once again the Baliem Valley had managed to attract the attention and imagination of the world.⁶⁹

Political History

⁶² *Ibid.*, refers to K.Heider *The Dugum Dani*, (Wenner-Gren Foundation, 1970) p.303 & M.Bromley "Ethnic Groups in Irian Jaya" in *Irian Bulletin of Irian Jaya Development*, UNCEN, 1973, Vol.2 No.3 p.3

⁶³ Provincial Government of Irian Jaya *Irian Jaya: A New Frontier*, p.9

⁶⁴ Hayward *The Dani of Irian Jaya*, pp.115-116

⁶⁵ Brown "Chronology - Irian Jaya" p.16

⁶⁶ Provincial Government of Irian Jaya *Irian Jaya: A New Frontier*, p.9

⁶⁷ Hayward *The Dani of Irian Jaya*, p.116 refers to G.Souter *New Guinea: The Last Unknown*, (Angus, 1964), p.195

⁶⁸ Brown "History of Irian Jaya" p.12

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.12-13 & Hayward *The Dani of Irian Jaya*, pp.116-117

Following the war, as the independent Indonesian nation was established, Holland lost its sovereignty over most of the former Dutch East Indies. The proclamation of independence was made on the 17 August 1945, but was not realised until 1949 as Holland struggled during the intervening years to retain its colony. Following this four year struggle Holland finally agreed to grant official independence to the area that had formed the Dutch East Indies, with the exception of West New Guinea, whose future was to be determined at a later date. With the newly independent Indonesian nation setting its sights on it as well, the Dutch became more active in Netherlands New Guinea, with the aim of preparing the people for self determination.⁷⁰ Unfortunately, with the possible exception of Mohammad Hatta, the leadership of Indonesia, employing the slogan "from Sabang to Merauke", was determined to take Netherlands New Guinea from the Dutch.⁷¹ The reasons the Dutch gave for their belief that it would be inappropriate for the western half of the island to become part of Indonesia included the obvious ethnic, and as such cultural, differences between the Melanesians of Dutch New Guinea and the Austronesians who inhabited the Indonesian archipelago. The Dutch also showed concern over the ability of the young Indonesian nation to incorporate and rule another country, a country that as a result of isolation was *masih terbelakang* or still backward in its way of life.⁷²

Despite Holland's determination to retain West Papua, Indonesia was not discouraged and countered Dutch arguments of the incompatibility of Indonesia and Netherlands New Guinea with accusations of the obvious colonialist position of Holland in West Papua,⁷³ when colonialist regimes were being brought to an end throughout the world. The irony of this argument is apparent when it is realised that Indonesia itself was placing itself in a colonialist position, as an Austronesian nation aiming to take over and administer a group of Melanesian people with whom there was no unity or affinity.⁷⁴ Other

⁷⁰ R.Z.Leirissa et al. *Sejarah Proses Integrasi Irian Jaya*, (Depdikbud, 1992), p.27

⁷¹ K.Lagerberg *West Irian and Jakarta Imperialism*, (C.Hurst & Co., 1979), p.21 & R.Osborne *Indonesia's Secret War*, (Allen & Unwin, 1985), Ch.3 especially p.13 Hatta was one member of the minority group that voted against the inclusion of West Papua, and who claimed that those who voted otherwise were being "expansionist and imperialistic". Sabang is situated in Sumatra and Merauke in Irian Jaya and they represent the two extreme points of the land Indonesia believed should be in its possession.

⁷² Leirissa et al. *Sejarah Proses Integrasi*, pp.7, 15

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p.15

⁷⁴ see Lagerberg *Jakarta Imperialism & Osborne Secret War*, p.13

arguments used by Indonesia to show the validity of the incorporation of West Papua included the supposed historical link with the area as part of the famous Javanese Majapahit kingdom and more recently of the Sultanate of Tidore, which was now itself a part of Indonesia.⁷⁵ In both these cases only a small section of West Irian, which takes its present form in any case because of Dutch colonisation, had had contact with Java or Tidore. Indonesia also claimed the existence of emotional links between Indonesia and Irian through Tidore⁷⁶ which is unlikely from what has already been stated. At this time Indonesia was preparing to obtain West Irian through diplomacy 'backed by military power' and in the process obtained artillery supplies from Russia.⁷⁷

Finally after much public discussion and debate, largely initiated and fuelled by Indonesia, a secret meeting was arranged by J.F.Kennedy, who had supported Indonesia in its campaign since he became President of the United States in 1960. The meeting was held in America in 1962. It began in March and was concluded on the 15 August in the form of the New York Agreement.⁷⁸ In the final negotiations, each nation had a criterion that had to be fulfilled by the other. Indonesia's was that the Dutch hand over West Irian, and as the Dutch could do little else, they agreed to do so on the condition that it was to be the will of the people of Irian to become Indonesian citizens. This was to be determined, after an interim period, by consulting the people themselves. On the 1 October 1962 the administration of West Irian was handed over to UNTEA, the United Nations Temporary Authority, with Indonesia's trial period starting on the 1 May 1963. The "Act of Free Choice" or *Pepera* that Indonesia was obligated to carry out was done in 1969, supposedly under the watchful eye of the United Nations delegate Fernando Ortiz Sanz.⁷⁹ This resulted in a final, unanimous vote, which has been seen by many as being fixed, that welcomed the Indonesian government and resulted in West Irian becoming the twenty-sixth province of Indonesia.⁸⁰ The Act of Free Choice has become known among critics and

⁷⁵ Leirissa et al. *Sejarah Proses Integrasi*, p.8

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p.9

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.23, 26

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.34, 54

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.54-58 & Provincial Government of Irian Jaya *Irian Jaya: A New Frontier*, p.5

⁸⁰ Leirissa et al. *Sejarah Proses Integrasi*, pp.60-65

cynics as the "Act of No Choice".⁸¹ Since then, Indonesia has been attempting to stabilise its position through the increased presence of military and civilian Austronesians.

Missionaries in the Baliem

Amidst all this rapid change that was taking place in Irian Jaya, the missionaries acted as a cultural buffer.⁸² They had been active in Irian Jaya since 1855 on the coast, as has already been mentioned, and since 1954 in the highlands of the Baliem Valley. After the war, attempts were made by several mission organisations to enter the Baliem and set up mission stations. A number of exploratory treks were made. On one of these treks in 1952, Rose and Titaheluw, accompanied by two Dutch government officials, arrived at a ridge overlooking the Grand Baliem Valley, but were not able to enter the valley as the Dutch Government had forbidden anyone to enter the area. So the group had to turn back.⁸³

Finally in 1954 the Dutch government, in contrast to the Australian government regulations in East New Guinea, granted mission organisations permission to enter and establish stations in areas where there were as yet no government posts or protection for those entering.⁸⁴ As a result of this situation in the Baliem, the Protestant missionaries brought the first substantial contact any Danis had with the outside world. The first missionaries in the Baliem Valley amongst the Dani people were from the Christian and Missionary Alliance or CAMA who entered the Baliem Valley in 1954.⁸⁵ Following CAMA, APCM or the Australia-Pacific Christian Mission made an exploratory trek from the CAMA base in the Baliem Valley to Lake Archbold.⁸⁶ In 1955 members of the Australian Baptist Missionary Society - ABMS, Regions Beyond Missionary Union - RBMU⁸⁷ and APCM formed a team which was taken to Lake Archbold by Dave Steiger, a pilot for the newly opened branch of MAF or Mission Aviation Fellowship. From here they trekked for four hard days to a possible airstrip site, which was relatively level, that

⁸¹ Lagerberg *Jakarta Imperialism*, p.3, 118

⁸² Pickell *Indonesian New Guinea*, p.50 & J.McBeth "Mission Impossible" in *FEER*, 17 February 1994, p.26

⁸³ Hayward *The Dani of Irian Jaya*, p.120

⁸⁴ Draper "ABFM Becomes Involved", p.22

⁸⁵ GIII *Sejarah Gereja dari Gereja Injili Irian Jaya*, (Recent pamphlet put out by GIII), p.2

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ "Regions Beyond" Missionary Union. An interdenominational mission society that focuses on regions beyond the already established mission fields.

had been spotted from the air.⁸⁸ They stopped here to make the airstrip of what became the APCM station of Bokondini. The respective mission groups had agreed that each should develop a designated area and so, after completing the airstrip, they went their separate ways. (See Figure 4) RBMU moved to the Swart Valley to the west, while the ABMS members went south to the Grand Baliem Valley, to Pyramid Mountain, where, together with CAMA, they established another airstrip.⁸⁹ Pyramid, a CAMA station, is at the entrance to the North Baliem and is home to Western Danis, although bordering on the Grand Valley Dani.⁹⁰ Those who were in Pyramid have noted that the word '*mbabi*', meaning enemy, was constantly on the lips of the people who were always on the lookout for enemies and were often fighting with the Grand Valley Danis.⁹¹

Figure 4 (a & b)

<u>Designated Areas of Each Mission</u>
ABMS - Upper regions of the North Baliem
APCM - North slopes of the Hablifloerie River system
RBMU - Swart Valley Area
UFM - Upper regions of the Rouffaer/Nogolo region
CAMA - Central and South Baliem Valley, Ilaga Valley and Sinak Valley

⁸⁸ Draper "ABFM Becomes Involved", p.23

⁸⁹ Draper *Daring*, p.202

⁹⁰ Larson *The Structure and Demography*, p.12 & Pangendahen *Suatu Analisa*, p.15

⁹¹ Gruber "A Personal Account", p.64

<u>Mission Stations Established in the Baliem from 1954-60</u>					
	CAMA	APCM	UFM	RBMU	ABMS
1954	*Hetigima				
1955		Lake Archbold			
1956	Ilaga Pyramid	Bokondini			Tiom
1957	*Tulem *Seinma	Wolo		Karubaga	Makki
1958	*Pugima *Ibele		Mulia		Yugwa
1959	Sinak	Kelila			
1960	*Sinatma		Ilu	Kanggime Mamit	
*Baliem Dani in contrast to Western Dani Stations Figure a & b from D.Hayward <i>The Dani of Irian Jaya before and after Conversion</i> , (Regions Press, 1980), pp.123-124					

After the establishment of the Pyramid airstrip, the ABMS missionaries made an aerial evaluation of the North Baliem in an attempt to find a possible airstrip site. One was selected at Tiom, which was to become the first Baptist mission station.⁹² Norm Draper, Ian Gruber, Hein Noordyk and Myron Bromley, the linguist and missionary, made the initial trek to Tiom, with the first three members returning on a second trek to make the airstrip and finally by November 1956 ABMS was established in Tiom.⁹³ From here ABMS was to open stations at Makki and Yugwa or Danime and Pit River or Pirime.⁹⁴ Other Baptist outstations opened later included Kwiyawagi, which, at an altitude of 9,000 feet, is the coldest inhabited area in the highlands. In general the Danis live between 4,000-7,000 feet.⁹⁵ (See Map 3)

⁹² Draper "ABFM Becomes Involved", p.35

⁹³ O.Kogoya *Perkembangan Gereja-Gereja Baptis di Wilayah Tiom*, (Unpublished paper, 1993), pp.7-9

⁹⁴ B.Kogoya *Suatu Penilaian Terhadap Perkembangan Gereja-Gereja Baptis di Wilayah Danime*, (Unpublished paper, 1992), p.1

⁹⁵ Hayward *The Dani of Irian Jaya*, p.6

This initial period was a tense time for the missionaries and the people until they got used to each other. The missionaries were still grappling with the language as well as dealing with suspicion, thefts and the constant mention of either '*mbabi*' - enemy, or '*kugi*' - spirits. There was a mixture of attitudes towards the missionaries, as some welcomed them willingly, while others plotted to kill them. The spiritual leaders of certain communities created difficulties for the missionaries as they saw their position in society being threatened by their presence.⁹⁶ Missionaries were well aware of the dangers they faced and a few of them were murdered by hostile groups.⁹⁷

Meanwhile the Danis were also attempting to deal with the situation. They had been isolated by the mountains and also by the continual warfare which restricted movements outside their own communities.⁹⁸ It was with this restricted world view that the Danis confronted the white missionaries, who were initially considered to be ancestral spirits. As such they were much feared, as in Dani culture all spirits were essentially and potentially evil.⁹⁹ Fear also stemmed from the legacy of the Kremer expedition, a belief that white men brought death with them. This legend almost cost missionaries their lives. They were saved, however, because of the inconsistency between the legend and the actions of these white men who were now curing people with their 'magic', their penicillin shots.¹⁰⁰ In some areas, like Tiom, there was a mixture of fear and acceptance where the people regarded these newcomers as spirits who had come to enforce peace. This belief resulted from the initial flight made into the North Baliem Valley when the pilot buzzed a battle that was taking place. The people took this as a sign from the spirits to stop their fighting, which they did immediately.¹⁰¹

Another aspect of Western Dani culture that led to the acceptance of the white skinned missionaries was the myth relating how the Danis lost the secret of eternal life or '*nabelan-kabelan*'. It centred around a small black bird and a snake. The snake's knowledge of the secret of eternal life enables it to change its skin. In various versions of

⁹⁶ Draper "ABFM Becomes Involved", pp.31-32 & *Daring*, p.203

⁹⁷ S.Dale *The Valley and the Vision*, (RBMU, 1969), p.36 & Hayward *The Dani of Irian Jaya*, p.125

⁹⁸ Draper *Daring*, p.250 quoting Yakya/Yambonep

⁹⁹ Gruber "A Personal Account", p.60 & Melzer "Notes on Dani Culture", p.70

¹⁰⁰ Draper *Daring*, p.203

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* & O.Kogoya *Perkembangan Gereja-Gereja Baptis*, p.2

this legend, the Danis lose their chance at eternal life either through the bird scaring the snake off when it was about to divulge the secret,¹⁰² or deciding to believe the bird's lie that eternal life could be obtained through smearing yourself with mud. Danis claim that this was why at funerals they smeared themselves with mud as they remembered how they chose unwisely and in doing so chose death.¹⁰³ The essential message is the same - the snake had the secret but because of the part played by the bird it was lost to the Danis. Apparently this legend justified Dani children catching these small, black birds and torturing them to death in reprisal for their offence against the Danis.¹⁰⁴ There was also an aspect of hope in this legend as the people waited expectantly for someone to come, bringing the secret of eternal life with them. The missionaries' white skin led to the belief that, like the snake, they had discovered the secret to eternal life and had been able to shed their black skin. This belief seemed to be confirmed in their teachings about eternal life.¹⁰⁵

The awareness of this teaching on eternal life had filtered through the Baliem Valley from the CAMA mission station at Ilaga, which was ten days trek from Tiom.¹⁰⁶ This led to the acceptance of the missionaries but also to some problems. The Dani expectation of eternal life was of eternal life on earth, a golden age free of all fear and sickness, while the message the missionaries brought taught eternal life in the hereafter.¹⁰⁷ Confusion over this aspect led to the emergence of certain millenarian or Cargo Cults, as those who had heard the missionary message retold it with certain alterations that resulted, in most instances, from a lack of understanding and the mixing of the missionary message with their cultural understandings of eternal life.

One of these messengers, Yakya, also known as Yambonep, is today a highly respected leader and preacher. He had heard of what was happening in Ilaga and so decided to make the dangerous journey there, through areas that were at war. Upon arriving he stayed a few days and heard some of the teaching through friends in the village and Gordon Larson. The effect of the gospel on the people in Ilaga and the message he

¹⁰² Wendaneby *Penyembahan Roh*, p.79

¹⁰³ Hayward *The Dani of Irian Jaya*, p.103

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ O.Kogoya *Perkembangan Gereja-Gereja Baptis*, p.11

¹⁰⁶ Draper *Daring*, pp.203-205

¹⁰⁷ Godschalk *Bangunan Baru dan Fondasi Tua*, p.63 & Hayward "Time and Society in Dani Culture" in *Irian Bulletin of Irian Jaya Development*, UNCEN, 1983, Vol.XI, No.2-3, p.42

heard impressed him greatly. On his return to Makki, he proclaimed what he had heard and continued on to Pyramid, doing the same there. As a charismatic leader and speaker, many followed his teachings.¹⁰⁸ This resulted in missionaries having to take the situation in hand and explain clearly the distortions that had emerged, to both Yakya and the people. These corrections were accepted by some of the people and the leaders, like Yakya, who retained their enthusiasm for the Christian message, while others found they could use the distortion of stories to their own advantage.¹⁰⁹ These cults incorporated the belief that with this new life would come all sorts of material goods, like those of the missionaries, which would be brought in by the planes. They did not understand that the supplies had to be paid for but believed they arrived as a result of secret knowledge on the part of the missionaries.¹¹⁰ This confusion worried the missionaries as many Danis were claiming to be Christians and were burning the fetishes of their animistic past, while in fact they had not yet understood the Christian message. In the North Baliem these fetish burnings were discouraged by the missionaries who did not feel that it was achieving anything for the people or themselves. Yet the people felt that they needed to be rid of them and so a compromise was reached where the fetishes - items such as stones, spears, bows and arrows which were believed to possess magical powers - were tied up in anticipation of burnings being held. After gaining a greater understanding of the gospel the people were then encouraged by the missionaries to burn their fetishes.¹¹¹ The missionaries did not want the Danis to destroy all they had in case they did not accept the gospel, which they did fairly rapidly. They felt the people needed more teaching on the nature of Christianity.

This led to the establishment of literacy and witness schools.¹¹² Here men who had been selected by their villages to represent them, men of influence, attended the schools run by the missionaries during the week. They were mainly sorcerers, shamans or apprentice shamans who were eager to learn the white man's magic.¹¹³ They would learn specific Bible stories and then would return to their villages towards the end of the week in order to

¹⁰⁸ G.Larson & R.Bensley Unpublished interview with Yakya/Yambonep Wanyambo, November 1976

¹⁰⁹ Draper *Daring*, p.205

¹¹⁰ Godschalk *Bangunan Baru dan Fondasi Tua*, p.32 & Melzer "Notes on Dani Culture", p.72

¹¹¹ Hayward *The Dani of Irian Jaya*, p.133

¹¹² J.Burt *On His Majesty's Service*, (RBMU, 1993), p.25

¹¹³ Draper *Daring*, p.203 & P.Worsley *The Trumpet Shall Sound*, (Paladin, 1970), p.249

relate the stories, which they had learnt through repetition and with great care in order that no distortions would emerge.¹¹⁴ At this stage there had been the initial people movements. This was where whole villages and clans professed to be Christian and it was through the witness schools that a second mass movement was initiated in the hearts of the people as they gained a deeper understanding of the Christian message.¹¹⁵ At the school in Tiom a man by the name of Nawimban was to become the first Christian. As he was returning to his village at the end of the witness school week he suddenly realised what they had actually been taught and so he returned to Tiom to tell the missionaries that Jesus had turned his heart around "*An Yesus ninikme aber aret abuk lagi o*", a Dani saying meaning to have totally changed.¹¹⁶ The missionaries were encouraged, while many of his class mates jeered when he related it to them. But he was just the beginning of the chain reaction as villagers and other witness school members had their hearts turned around as well.¹¹⁷ Baptisms followed when the missionaries felt that the gospel was finally being understood.¹¹⁸ (See Figure 5) Yet amongst those who did not yet understand there was still confusion over what was actually happening as rumours circulated that those who were baptised would emerge with white skin or be made young again.¹¹⁹ These heresies were quickly attended to by the missionaries and did not last long.¹²⁰ Those who were baptised became ministers of numerous churches that were being established and attended Bible school.¹²¹

Figure 5

¹¹⁴ O.Kogoya *Perkembangan Gereja-Gereja Baptis*, p.4

¹¹⁵ E.Smith *God's Miracles: Indonesian Church Growth*, (William Carey Library, 1970), pp.115-116

¹¹⁶ O.Kogoya *Perkembangan Gereja-Gereja Baptis*, pp.4-5

¹¹⁷ Melzer "Notes on Dani Culture", pp.77-78

¹¹⁸ K.Wakerkwa *Pertumbuhan Gereja Baptis di Wilayah Pirime*, (Unpublished paper, 1992), p.6

¹¹⁹ Hayward *The Dani of Irian Jaya*, p.141

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.151

¹²¹ Wakerkwa *Pertumbuhan Gereja Baptis*, p.6

<u>Period of Instruction Between Burnings and Baptisms</u>				
		First Burning	First Baptism	Time Elapsed
Pyramid	CAMA	February 1960	April 1961	14 months
Tiom	ABMS	February 1960	13 May 1962	27 months
Makki	ABMS	February 1960	6 May 1962	27 months

CAMA had the shortest periods of instruction while ABMS as well as APCM, RBMU and UFM (not shown here) had policies that required a longer period of instruction.

From D.Hayward *The Dani of Irian Jaya Before and After Conversion*, (Regions Press, 1980), p.146

The initial period of conversions and baptisms caused some confusion especially for those who had not become Christians and who wanted to retain their animistic beliefs. As a result the first Christians were persecuted by neighbouring non-Christian communities. The largest incident of this sort took place in Makki in September of 1962, when a group of unbelievers declared war on the believers, resulting in the death of thirty Christians. As these people movements towards Christianity continued, wars almost ceased as people no longer wanted to take revenge, and a general feeling of unity prevailed amongst communities that had formerly been enemies.¹²² While not all the communities had converted to Christianity, the system of revenge that the battles were based on disintegrated as the Christian communities increasingly refused to take revenge. This resulted in battles not taking place as the chain of revenge was broken.

There was one period of unrest during the 1970s. It was a tense time, not because of unrest between communities, but as a result of Irian Jaya being incorporated into Indonesia. The rebel movement in Irian Jaya, which the native church took a strong stand against, had spread into the highlands, inciting the people, generally non-Christians, to fight. The church and the missionaries took a neutral position as they neither supported the rebels or the military. Apart from this period of unrest which resulted in a war of rebellion in 1977

¹²² S.Horne *An Hour to the Stone Age*, (Moody Press, 1973), p.99 This dramatic change that occurred is corroborated by the Danis' own reports of the pre-Christian period.

in the Baliem, life has been much more peaceful for the Danis.¹²³ The movement by the missionaries between stations and villages also helped to bring the communities together, with more substantial tracks being made and communication increasing.¹²⁴ In the years to come, the isolation of the Western Dani was to become increasingly a thing of the past and their world view was to be substantially widened.

¹²³ Burt *On His Majesty's Service*, p.108 & J.Dekker *Torches of Joy*, (Crossway Books, 1985), pp.165-171

¹²⁴ Melzer "Notes on Dani Culture", p.80

CHAPTER TWO - Development in Irian Jaya

The development of Irian Jaya, from the mid 1950s until the present day, will be the focus of this chapter. Programmes carried out by missionaries, non-government organisations as well as the Indonesian government are discussed under the headings of social, political and economic development. Some areas of development involved only missionaries, but as the Indonesian presence in the region increased so too did the government's involvement in development. At times it undertook its own development projects but there was much co-operation between the government, missionaries and non-government organisations such as WVI or World Vision Indonesia. Development has widened the horizons and expanded the world view of the people of the Baliem Valley. By 1962 every Western Dani was within one days walk of a mission station or government post. Locals became aware, through their contact with the missionaries, that the world extended beyond the boundaries of the Baliem.¹²⁵ Despite this the Danis were still surprised when confronted by the outside world as Hayward states that it was much larger than they ever expected.¹²⁶ The Dani people have become increasingly aware of the world and the people beyond the mountains, with whom they are having greater contact as more "foreigners" enter the formerly isolated world of the Danis, attempting to develop and exploit it.

Social Development

Official development programmes, under the direction of the Indonesian government and at times in conjunction with WVI, were not begun amongst the Western Danis until 1971. Yet informal development had already been undertaken by the missionaries as early as 1955.¹²⁷ While the main purpose of the missionaries was to bring the Christian message to the Danis, they were also aware of the physical needs of the Danis

¹²⁵ G.Larson *The Structure and Demography of the Cycle of Warfare Among the Ilaga Dani of Irian Jaya*, (Unpublished doctoral thesis, 1984), p.33

¹²⁶ D.Hayward *The Dani of Irian Jaya Before and After Conversion*, (Regions Press, 1980), p.203

¹²⁷ J.A.Godschalk & A.E.Dumatubun *Bangunan Baru dan Fondasi Tua: Suatu Studi Kasus Tentang Kargoisme di Dani Barat*, (UNCEN/Bapeda Tingkat I Irian Jaya, 1989), p.34 & Provincial Government of Irian Jaya *Irian Jaya: A New Frontier*, (1993), p.35

and strove to fulfil these needs while attempting to maintain a balance between their material and spiritual involvement.

Health

Medicine was the first modern development that the Dani people were introduced to in the mid 1950s, as they received treatment from the pioneer missionaries. The effects of penicillin injections and aspirin gained the missionaries a certain degree of trust as well as saving their lives in certain instances, as was mentioned in the previous chapter.¹²⁸

As they were increasingly accepted in the late fifties and early sixties, the missionaries also attempted to improve the hygiene of the Danis. The value that the Dani society placed on pigs was one area of concern. As has already been mentioned, pigs were valuable economically, ritually and with regard to status, and as such were a prime target for theft. As a preventative measure against theft, the pigs were kept in the huts, *honai*, with the women and children at night while during the day they roamed free under the watchful eyes of the villagers.¹²⁹ The missionaries encouraged the Danis to keep the pigs outside the houses and today they are housed in established pig pens situated immediately behind the huts. While pigs continue to be housed in a *honai* at night, the sleeping quarters of the Danis are situated in separate huts.

In the late 1950s, missionaries were also successful in encouraging regular bathing amongst the Danis in order to decrease the cases of yaws and other skin problems. Their initial success was due to the belief that by washing with soap, the secret to eternal life would be found and they would be able to change their skin, as the missionaries had, but later while these misconceptions disappeared, the Danis maintained their hygiene as they had seen the benefits. Soap became a prized possession amongst the Danis and was a valuable bartering item.¹³⁰ Greater hygiene was also attained by men cutting their long hair. The men traditionally kept their hair long, greased with pig fat and soot, and decorated. It was an object of pride and vanity. Initially a couple of men cut and washed their hair of their own volition, following their conversion to Christianity. Their reason for doing this was

¹²⁸ N.Draper *Daring to Believe*, (ABMS, 1990), p.203

¹²⁹ H.Manning *To Perish for Their Saving*, (Victory Press, 1969), p.42 & Awu Yigibalom *Suatu Analisa Sumber Pendapatan Gereja-Gereja Baptis di Wilayah Tiom*, (Unpublished paper, 1992), p.1

¹³⁰ Hayward *The Dani of Irian Jaya*, p.198 & D.Mountford "Report on Dani Thinking" in *Baliem Beginnings*, (Camden Baptist Church, 1976), p.88

that, as an object of pride and vanity, they felt that their long hair and all it stood for was inconsistent with their new beliefs.¹³¹ While these changes initially involved only a few, the result was a mass adult involvement in improved hygiene.¹³²

The Indonesian government attempted, following the official addition of Irian Jaya to the Republic in 1969, to move the Dani people from their *honai* into what have been termed *rumah sehat* or healthy houses as it began its official development of the region.¹³³ Few have actually involved themselves in this development. Those who have, have only done so in the past few years and use the *rumah sehat* during the day for activities such as receiving guests, but retain a *honai* as their kitchen as well as their sleeping and private quarters. So in actuality this programme has not changed their living conditions greatly.

The developments that took place in the area of hygiene, together with the ability of the Danis to keep their water supplies clean, led to cleanliness becoming an outstanding trait of the Danis.¹³⁴ Today there is a general disgust amongst the Dani people regarding the hygiene of Austronesian Indonesians, who spit freely and defecate publicly along the side of the road in gutters, or in the rivers and streams, fouling up the water supplies for both the Danis and themselves, whether it be in the highlands or the townships. Apart from the general cleanliness issue, there was also the overall medical development, as opposed to the basic introduction of medication, that took place in the North Baliem Valley, initially under the missionaries and later under other non-government organisations and the Indonesian government.

Following the introduction of penicillin and aspirin into the North Baliem Valley in 1955, missionary doctors and nurses entered the North Baliem to serve the Dani people in 1959. Clinics and first aid stations were established as basic medical facilities in an attempt to deal with the large numbers seeking medical attention, both preventative and as treatment for their illnesses. In order to have a greater ability to treat the people, and having as an aim the self sufficiency of the Danis in running the clinics, the missionaries began

¹³¹ J.Dekker *Torches of Joy*, (Crossway Books, 1985), p.88

¹³² Larson *The Structure and Demography*, p.33

¹³³ D.Djopari "Proyek Perinitis Untuk Membangun Masyarakat Desa di Irian Jaya" in Kasiepo et al.(eds), *Pembangunan Masyarakat Pedalaman Irian Jaya*, (Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 1987), p.98

¹³⁴ Hayward *The Dani of Irian Jaya*, p.198

training and educating Danis about medication and in medical skills.¹³⁵ Today there are no medical missionaries amongst the Danis, who now run the clinics themselves. In the early 1970s the government also became involved in the medical sphere as it helped to establish a *Puskesmas* (*Pusat Kesehatan Masyarakat*), a people's health centre in every *kecamatan* or subdistrict and at every station, while WVI or World Vision Indonesia has involved itself in the establishment of a *poliklinik* in every village.¹³⁶ There has also been a general upgrading of the mission clinics.¹³⁷ While medics are present at the clinics, there is still a need for doctors and this need, which can no longer be filled by mission doctors is being filled by Indonesian doctors from Java. In fact the North Baliem has just received, with great enthusiasm, two fully qualified doctors, a married couple. The difficulty in getting qualified doctors to work in the highlands arises from the preconceived idea of the primitive and dangerous surroundings. One problem that has been faced by all those involved in the development of medical assistance in the North Baliem, has been the supply of medication, which is still very limited¹³⁸ and it has been left up to the missionaries in the North Baliem to organise and provide medicine for the clinics.

The development in the area of health has been worthwhile and accepted wholeheartedly by the Danis. Malnutrition, while having decreased greatly, still proves to be a problem in some areas.¹³⁹ Infant mortality has decreased dramatically with the availability of medication and training in midwifery as well as the education that is now available to new mothers regarding the care of their children. This, together with the absence of inter-tribal wars, has led to a population explosion,¹⁴⁰ which in turn has placed a great deal of strain on the land.

In the traditional farming method used by the Danis, the need for land to lie fallow was realised and implemented, with land left fallow for a number of years, but this is no longer possible. With the increase in the Dani population, the food requirements have also

¹³⁵ E.Smith *God's Miracles: Indonesian Church Growth*, (William Carey Library, 1970), p.118 & K.Wakerkwa *Pertumbuhan Gereja Baptis di Wilayah Pirime*, (Unpublished paper, 1992), p.23

¹³⁶ Godschalk *Bangunan Baru dan Fondasi Tua*, p.41

¹³⁷ I.Mattinson *The Word of God and Wholistic Ministry to the Dani of Irian Jaya*, (Unpublished paper, 1988), p.47

¹³⁸ Godschalk *Bangunan Baru dan Fondasi Tua*, p.41

¹³⁹ J.Burt *On His Majesty's Service*, (RBMU International, 1993), p.77

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p.96

increased and gardens have had to be extended. All the available land is rapidly being cultivated. With larger plots of land required to provide for the population, the land is no longer able to be left unplanted as long as it used to and in some areas where there is no room to extend the gardens, the land has no chance at all to rejuvenate. This problem is a serious one that a number of communities in the North Baliem Valley will have to deal with in the very near future.

Informal Education

The missionaries were also in the forefront of social development as they initiated the education of the Danis. The medical education provided has already been mentioned and there was also what has been termed informal education in areas such as carpentry, sewing and agriculture.¹⁴¹ These programmes were initiated by the missionaries, but since 1971 the government and WVI have carried on the agricultural education and development of the Danis, at times working together with the missionaries. Through the efforts of these three groups, different vegetables such as carrots, leeks and tomatoes were introduced into the highlands in order to diversify and increase the nutritional value of the traditional Dani diet, which basically consisted of sweet potato. A greater variety of livestock was also introduced into the North Baliem Valley in order to provide a more balanced and nutritious diet. Traditionally, the only source of meat available to the Danis was their pigs which were eaten at large feasts years apart, so that at times the community went up to six years without any source of meat protein. Even following the mass conversions and up until today, pigs are rarely eaten but are saved for special, although more frequent, feasts. Now, with the availability of chickens, goats and rabbits, the Danis are able to reserve their valuable pigs for feasts or to pay the bride price, yet still include meat in their diet. Education was also provided to teach the Danis how to tend and breed the different forms of livestock and how to farm the newly introduced vegetables.¹⁴² Before this agricultural education and development took place, the major educational effort, that of providing literacy amongst the Dani people was begun.

Adult Education

¹⁴¹ Godschalk *Bangunan Baru dan Fondasi Tua*, p.36 & Mattinson *Wholistic Ministry*, p.46

¹⁴² Hayward *The Dani of Irian Jaya*, p.168

In the late fifties there was a mass Dani involvement in the adult literacy programme that the missionaries were conducting.¹⁴³ Smith quotes Craig, the first missionary to be stationed at Makki, who states that "Early in the Mission's development here we realised the necessity of rapidly bringing the people to a literate state."¹⁴⁴ The missionaries simultaneously taught the Danis to read and write while teaching them the gospel and other Bible stories. Initially the men alone were involved but the women became involved as the missionaries encouraged them. By the time the Indonesian government began developing children's education in the North Baliem Valley there was a high adult literacy rate and a community awareness of literacy and learning. The role the missionaries played as a cultural buffer can also be seen in the way they helped prepare the Danis for contact with the outside world, in particular with government officials, through general literacy programmes in the Dani language as well as by teaching them the Indonesian language.¹⁴⁵

Children's Education

With the entrance of the Indonesian government into the development of the Dani people, formal schooling was provided for the children. They were taught in Indonesian, which has become the common language, particularly amongst the younger generation.¹⁴⁶ While the children speak the Dani language when they begin their schooling, their use of Indonesian gradually increases as does its use as a language of instruction. A few Dani speakers have managed to obtain employment as early primary school teachers as they possess both the Dani and Indonesian language and are best equipped to teach the younger children in various subjects including Indonesian while the language of instruction is predominantly Dani. Members of the older generation speak very little or no Indonesian at all. In the more remote areas, the lack of contact with government personnel means that their contact with the Indonesian language is negligible with the result that few could speak it unless they had spent time at school. The schools that have been built, both by the government and national church organisations, are mainly primary schools or SD(*Sekolah Dasar*) and there are now a number of them in most of the subdistricts in the North Baliem

¹⁴³ Larson *The Structure and Demography*, p.33

¹⁴⁴ Smith *God's Miracles*, p.118

¹⁴⁵ Mattinson *Wholistic Ministry*, p.44

¹⁴⁶ Provincial Government of Irian Jaya *Irian Jaya: A New Frontier for Trade, Investment and Tourism*, (1993), p.23

Valley. Apart from the general government schools, some areas also have schools organised by church groups or established by the specific allocation of funds through Inpres (*Instruksi Presiden*). On a smaller scale there have also been a number of junior high schools - SMP, established in the North Baliem, but as yet there are no senior high schools. (See Figure 6) Those who continue on to the senior level of schooling have to leave home and travel into the Grand Baliem Valley to attend one of the high schools in Wamena. The other alternative is to venture out to the coast and attend school in the capital of Jayapura.¹⁴⁷ Most of the students go only as far as Wamena, both because they prefer to be closer to home and in relatively familiar surroundings and there is a greater financial cost involved for their parents and themselves in attending school on the coast.

Those who do go to the coast, go in order to continue their education at the tertiary level at a theological college or Cendrawasih University. On the coast the Danis are exposed to malaria and many become quite sick, resulting in a number of them having to leave their studies unfinished and return home to recuperate as well as alleviate the financial strain on their family. The travel involved in education at an advanced level, also increases the contact the villages of the North Baliem have with the undesirable *kebudayaan kota* or city culture. Those on the coast, who are more open to this culture, are also aware of its negative influence on moral and family life, penetrating Irian Jaya as people migrate to Irian Jaya from other cities throughout Indonesia.¹⁴⁸

Figure 6

¹⁴⁷ Godschalk *Bangunan Baru dan Fondasi Tua*, pp.34-35

¹⁴⁸ GKIJ *Benih Yang Tumbuh 8*, (Lembaga Penelitian & Studi Dewan Gereja-Gereja di Indonesia, 1977), p.272 & B.Kogoya *Suatu Penilaian Terhadap Perkembangan Gereja-Gereja Baptis di Wilayah Danime*, (Unpublished paper, 1992), p.19

No.	Kecamatan	JENIS PENDIDIKAN				
		SD Negeri	SD INPRES	SD YPPGI	SD YPPK	SMP Negeri
01	Tiom	2	32	—	—	3
02	Makki	1	9	—	—	1
03	Kelila	1	18	—	—	1
04	Bokondini	1	10	—	—	1
05	Karubaga	2	23	—	—	2
06	Ilu	1	12	1	—	1
07	Mulia	2	23	1	—	1
08	Sinak	—	12	—	—	1
09	Ilaga	—	14	2	2	1
10	Danime	—	1	—	—	—
11	Mamit	—	1	—	—	—
12	Kanggime	—	1	—	—	—
JUMLAH (Total)		9	156	4	2	12

from J.A.Godschalk & A.E.Dumatubun *Bangunan Baru dan Fondasi Tua*,
(UNCEN/Bapeda Tingkat I Irian Jaya, 1989), p.35

While schools at the SD and SMP level have been established within the North Baliem, education within the highlands is still difficult due to the lack of teachers wanting to venture into the relatively isolated highlands to teach.¹⁴⁹ (See Figure 7) Despite the difficulties encountered with education in the North Baliem Valley, it is a major priority for the Danis, as the parents see the importance of educating their children in a climate where it is required to survive in a rapidly changing world. Manuel Kasiepo has stated that education has opened up to the people of Irian Jaya a world full of hope.¹⁵⁰ Despite the statement made by the Indonesian government that it is attempting to educate and prepare the locals for the future economic growth that is assumed will take place shortly,¹⁵¹ some have claimed that a greater emphasis on education, for the Danis and other Irianese, is required if they are going to be able to survive in the new world that is establishing itself around them.¹⁵²

Figure 7

¹⁴⁹ R.Tarumingkeng et al. "Penelitian Ilmiah, Pendidikan dan Konsepsi Pembangunan Irian Jaya" in Kasiepo et al.(eds) *Pembangunan Masyarakat Pedalaman*, p.131

¹⁵⁰ M.Kasiepo "Menghindari Modernisasi yang Keliru" in Kasiepo et al.(eds.) *Pembangunan Masyarakat Pedalaman*, p.91

¹⁵¹ Provincial Government of Irian Jaya *Irian Jaya: A New Frontier*, p.29

¹⁵² J.McBeth "At Loggerheads" in *Far Eastern Economic Review*, March 10, 1994, p.51

	<u>School Age</u>	<u>School Attenders</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Drop outs</u>	<u>SDGraduates</u>
Jayawijaya	47,350	18,931	40	5,903	1,142
	<u>No.of SD Class Rooms</u>	<u>No.Classes</u>	<u>Teachers</u>	<u>No.Needed</u>	
Jayawijaya	197	709	785	374	361
<p>*Jayawijaya is one of the nine regions that Irian Jaya has been divided into for reasons of governing the area. Jayawijaya includes the Baliem Valley area and has Wamena as its capital. (See Map 4) statistics from 1982/83 from M.H.Mustopo "Penelitian, Pendidikan dan Pembangunan di Irian Jaya" in M.Kasiepo et al.(eds.) <i>Pembangunan Masyarakat Pedalaman Irian Jaya</i>, (Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 1987), p.152</p>					

Indonesianising/"Civilising"

In the earlier years of its administration of Irian Jaya the Indonesian government undertook a couple of ill-fated projects. Namely these were the famous *Operasi Koteka* and the less well known *Kemanusiaan P-4IJ*. The first operation was made in an attempt to clothe the Dani men in pants rather than have them wearing their *koteka* or penis gourds.¹⁵³ The Indonesia government felt it necessary to be rid of, what to them was, a primitive and indecent dress. Despite the great enthusiasm that went into this project on the part of the government and other Austronesian Indonesians, it was not successful as the Danis did not accept, and in fact resented, their attempts.¹⁵⁴ The officials distributing the clothing ended up having a large surplus of pants which they then attempted to give to the missionaries.¹⁵⁵ The second programme was the *Proyek Kemanusiaan P-4IJ*, in which packets of clothing for men and women were distributed along with writing and handcraft instruments.¹⁵⁶ The failure of these "civilising" operations is evident even today, as traditional dress remains a common sight in both the townships and villages of the Grand and North Baliem.

The process of forming the Danis into "Indonesians"¹⁵⁷ is a major reason for much of the development that has been undertaken by the Indonesian Government. Javanese

¹⁵³ Djopari "Proyek Perintis", p.99

¹⁵⁴ E.Wendaneby *Penyembahan Roh Orang Mati Dalam Kepercayaan Tradisional Suku Lani*, (Unpublished paper, 1993), p.12

¹⁵⁵ Personal communication with a missionary who was in the North Baliem at the time.

¹⁵⁶ Djopari "Proyek Perintis", p.99

¹⁵⁷ Hayward *The Dani of Irian Jaya*, p.161

Indonesians, in expressing their attitudes regarding Irian Jaya, state that they will not be able to rest until the people of Irian Jaya, especially the Danis, are brought out of their primitive situation and are living at the standard that the Javanese, or other "more developed" Indonesian communities live.¹⁵⁸ The growing of rice rather than the traditional Dani sweet potato as a staple food, is seen, by the non-Danis, to be a requirement for bettering the living standard of the Danis. Programmes have been undertaken in the Baliem Valley to grow rice, but apart from not being readily accepted by the Danis, in the areas where rice growing has been established it has led to the introduction of malaria because of the form of irrigation required to grow rice, a new phenomenon in the highlands.¹⁵⁹

Another social "development" that has taken place is not a specific project or programme, rather it is the occurrence of intermarriage between, for example, Javanese and Danis. Although only recently begun and still a rarity, it is likely to continue and increase. Intermarriage at this stage involves Danis who are studying or working on the coast with Indonesians from throughout the archipelago. In the North Baliem, this situation would not arise as the Danis tend to distrust those Indonesians who have entered their villages.

Economic Development

A clear distinction has been made between the economic development that has taken place in the coastal, city areas and that which has occurred in the highlands of Irian Jaya. A dualistic economy has been identified in Irian Jaya where the coastal inhabitants have developed a consumer centred economy while the majority of those in the highlands retain their subsistence lifestyle.¹⁶⁰ The Indonesian Government is aiming for balanced economic development throughout Irian Jaya and has attempted to develop the "hand to mouth" existence and barter economy of the Danis into a consumer, "cash conscious" economy.¹⁶¹ By the introduction of new crops, including cash crops such as coffee, into the highlands along with a variety of livestock, a move has been made by the government to

¹⁵⁸ Personal communication with Indonesian friends at Monash University

¹⁵⁹ McBeth "At Loggerheads", p.50

¹⁶⁰ I.Hindom "Pengalaman Tiga Pelita bagi Irian Jaya" in Kasiepo et al(eds.) *Pembangunan Masyarakat Pedalaman*, p.29

¹⁶¹ Hayward *The Dani of Irian Jaya*, p.171 & J.Boelaars "Sistem Nilai Budaya Suku di Irian Jaya" in Kasiepo et al(eds.) *Pembangunan Masyarakat Pedalaman*, p.76

develop a consumer society as people are encouraged to grow excess produce which can then be sold.¹⁶² This could add to the problems that have already been mentioned regarding the lack of available farming land.

The plans for a consumer society in the highlands are far from being realised. While excess crops are beginning to be produced, they now face the problem of finding consumers. The subsistence existence of many in the highlands does not provide a great opportunity for prospective sellers and those who do buy the produce are the *pendatang*, the government officials, the teachers and the doctors, of whom there are relatively few in the North Baliem at present. The consumer economy on the coast has already been mentioned and it is here that extra produce would find a market. Little if any produce finds its way to the coast, however, largely because of the transport costs involved. An imbalance - "*ketidakseimbangan*" - continues to exist between the coastal and highland economy. Hayward reports also that there continues to be a "lack of profit motivation" in the economic affairs of the Danis.¹⁶³

Business

The economic development taking place on the coast is quite extensive, particularly in comparison to the North Baliem Valley.¹⁶⁴ Agricultural business has grown up rapidly and there are grand plans for its future. The Provincial Government of Irian Jaya has stated that "Like all frontiers, Irian Jaya is for the entrepreneur with vision".¹⁶⁵ It also states that in the Repelita V, the latest five year plan which began in 1989, Irian Jaya has been targeted for economic growth. The set goal for economic growth was 5% and it had reached 11.6% only two-thirds of the way through Repelita V.¹⁶⁶ The Provincial Government has portrayed Irian Jaya as a land full of economic potential, mainly in the form of raw materials, much of which has yet to be harnessed. Oil palm plantations and other crops are discussed in the Government's publication, as are forestry, livestock and fishery potential.¹⁶⁷ Potential investors are reassured that they will receive all the support they

¹⁶² Mattinson *Wholistic Ministry*, p.47

¹⁶³ Hayward *The Dani of Irian Jaya*, p.177

¹⁶⁴ S.Rustam "Kebijakan Pembangunan Daerah Irian Jaya" in Kasiepo et al.(eds.) *Pembangunan Masyarakat Pedalaman*, p.18 & Hindom "Pengalaman Tiga Pelita", p.29

¹⁶⁵ Provincial Government of Irian Jaya *Irian Jaya: A New Frontier*, p.3

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p.6

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.77-113 *passim*

require to establish their business in Irian Jaya. The government will ensure that the necessary infrastructure is available and that the locals have been prepared for, and made aware of, the incoming businesses.¹⁶⁸ Mining is another area that has been highlighted in this publication, as has tourism.¹⁶⁹

Tourism

Irian Jaya as a whole is being targeted by the Indonesian government as an ideal tourist destination with the wide variety of cultures and natural settings that the island possesses. These are to be made even more appealing by the development of good tourist facilities and services.¹⁷⁰ This process has begun in Wamena, where there are a number of resorts and guesthouses that aim to provide a comfortable and yet unique experience of the Baliem Valley. Pig feasts are staged for the tourists and ritual and tribal wars, now banned, are enacted. One of the resorts has as a slogan, which is painted over its four-wheel drives "...where time stands still". It is rather ironic and yet is appealing to the tourist by presenting the notion of the mystical, unique, ancient Baliem Valley, while still providing the expected modern tourist comforts and transport.

Roads

The expansion of the road system is having an increasing impact on certain areas of the North Baliem. While not built explicitly for economic reasons, it is hoped that the presence of the road will encourage economic development by allowing Danis to travel to markets throughout the valley carrying their produce with them in the small buses or "*taksi*" that frequent the useable sections of the established roads. It is hoped to "shorten the distance between producers and consumers".¹⁷¹ Roads have also had a role to play in the process of urbanisation as the physical barriers between groups are diminished and it becomes easier and less expensive to make the most of opportunities in other areas, especially Wamena.¹⁷²

The extent of the new roads is not particularly great. Initially a flight must be made to enter the Baliem Valley. Previously this flight path was carried out by the mission

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p.6

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.126-150 *passim*

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p.150

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p.37

¹⁷² GKI *View and Role of the GKI in the Development of Irian Jaya*, (Unpublished report), p.1

organisation, MAF, but now domestic Indonesian airlines regularly make the flight. A road connecting Jayapura and Wamena is in the process of being built but is yet to be completed. From Wamena a road passes through Pyramid on to Tiom via Makki, Pit River and numerous other villages along the way. Vehicles can only travel as far as Pit River, and even then with much difficulty, as the road has been eroded in sections and bridges have collapsed and been replaced by foot bridges. This road is limited to a small area of the North Baliem and so MAF continues to be a valuable asset in reaching other areas in the North Baliem. If your destination has no airstrip, then trekking is the only available alternative. While this road does not directly influence the lives of many of the Dani people, those who are in contact with it are being affected a great deal. Apart from the economic role that the roads play, they also provide easier communication and transport, and in so doing decrease the feelings of insecurity and isolation that the non-Dani, government officials tend to have. This feeling of isolation formerly resulted in many officials spending more time on the coast or in Wamena than they spent at their posts. As such, the construction of roads has increased the government contact in the North Baliem as officials, with less extreme feelings of isolation, spend more time at their posts.¹⁷³

Mining

Another area of economic development that has been assisted by the presence of roads is mining. Irian Jaya is valued by the Indonesian government as it has more than 25% of Indonesia's natural resources and is a major source of gas, oil and other mined products as well as having the largest deposit of copper in the world.¹⁷⁴ Part of this deposit is situated in the huge Grasberg mountain, which is being successfully mined by Freeport-Indonesia, a part of the American Freeport-McMoRan Copper and Gold mining company.¹⁷⁵ Freeport was formerly mining the Ertsberg mountain in the same area and was about to pull out of Irian Jaya when the "elephant"-sized Grasberg deposit was discovered.¹⁷⁶ The mine is quite isolated, but it does have a road connecting it to the

¹⁷³ K.Suriadireja "Pembangunan Irian Jaya Ditinjau dari Segi Ketahanan Nasional" & S.Soemardjan "Merintis Pembangunan Suku-suku di Pedalaman Irian Jaya" in Kasiepo et al(eds.) *Pembangunan Masyarakat Pedalaman*, pp.61 & 87

¹⁷⁴ Provincial Government of Irian Jaya *Irian Jaya: A New Frontier*, p.15

¹⁷⁵ J.McBeth "Treasure Island" in *FEER* March 10, 1994, p.48

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p.49

Timika airport. Any feeling of isolation is decreased as an entire township called Tembagapura or "copper town" has been established around the Freeport mine in the midst of the local people. Tembagapura has all the amenities and provides a high standard of living for the foreign community.¹⁷⁷ Mining has not yet entered the Baliem Valley but it may not be too long before it does. Recently there have been scouting teams at Tiom, determining the validity of starting a mining programme in the district.¹⁷⁸ Mixed feelings have arisen over this possibility. Some see it as an opportunity for work within their home area while others see the potential problems it could cause, one being the importation of workers.

Transmigration

Transmigration is an issue which has been viewed with critical concern by many foreign observers of Indonesian affairs, not only in relation to Irian Jaya, but also other transmigrant destinations within the outer Indonesian islands. Yet lately interest in this issue has waned probably due to overexposure. While this may be true for onlookers, it is still very much an issue in Irian Jaya as the locals are displaced by the newcomers.¹⁷⁹ The reason given by the government for the transmigration programme is that it will provide the man power required to develop Irian Jaya.¹⁸⁰ This in itself is alienating the Irianese in the development of their own region. The newcomers have also taken over and monopolised the markets and the fishing on the coast. Unlike the former governor of Irian Jaya, Barnabas Suebu, who actually limited the numbers of transmigrants entering Irian Jaya, the present governor, Jacob Pattipi, is openly encouraging the process of transmigration, stating that there is a real need for the continuation and expansion of the *transmigrasi* programme.¹⁸¹ This stance, while being politically advantageous, is certainly not endearing Pattipi to his fellow Irianese on the coast or in the Baliem Valley. Indonesians originating from throughout the archipelago, in choosing to go to Irian Jaya in an attempt to make a living, are adding to the displacement of the locals in the areas of work and land ownership.

¹⁷⁷ Provincial Government of Irian Jaya *Irian Jaya: A New Frontier*, p.126

¹⁷⁸ Personal communication with Danis and missionaries in the North Baliem

¹⁷⁹ McBeth "Treasure Island", p.49

¹⁸⁰ McBeth "At Loggerheads", p.50 & Rustam "Kebijakan Pembangunan", p.17

¹⁸¹ McBeth "At Loggerheads", p.50

Large passenger boats enter the harbour at Jayapura every week bringing these newcomers in their thousands.

The Dani people of the North Baliem have little contact with transmigrants or other *pendatang*, the majority of whom remain on the coast, while a few venture as far as Wamena to work or establish businesses. The only *pendatang* in the North Baliem at this stage are the police and teachers. The largest problem caused by the presence of these Austronesians in the North Baliem is racial. Their presence amongst the Danis has led to a wariness on the part of the Danis who are convinced that the newcomers are capable of anything to hurt them, a view that has resulted from former experiences. The situation is not alleviated by the obvious sense of superiority and, at times, defensiveness that many Austronesians display in their relationship with the Danis. They regard Danis as primitive, black people and make comments such as 'How can you stand the smell?' when surrounded by Danis.¹⁸² Yet compared to other groups in Irian Jaya, the Danis have relatively little contact with Austronesians within their own villages. (See Maps 4 & 5).

The programme of transmigration and the presence of police and other Austronesians, spread in varying numbers throughout Irian Jaya, is also used as a device to "Indonesianise" or "Javanise" Irian Jaya. By doing this Irian Jaya will become increasingly integrated with the rest of Indonesia, if not by virtue of the attitudes of the locals, then at least by the attitudes and beliefs of those who have moved there and who are forming an increasingly larger proportion of the population of Irian Jaya.¹⁸³ The Danis are well aware of, and a little fearful of, this situation, especially with regard to maintaining their identity, as more and more control is taken by the Indonesian government.¹⁸⁴

Political Development

In the process of taking control of Irian Jaya, the Indonesian government divided it into 9 regions or *kabupaten*.¹⁸⁵ The area with the most governmental control is the coast and in particular the area around Jayapura. Initially in the North Baliem Valley, the

¹⁸² Personal experience in Makki, August 1994

¹⁸³ *Ibid.* & P.Hastings "Timor and Irian Jaya" in J.A.C.Mackie(ed.) *Indonesia: The Making of a Nation*, (Research School of Pacific Studies, 1980), p.718 This is also corroborated by the views of the Danis today.

¹⁸⁴ McBeth "At Loggerheads", p.51 Corroborated by Danis also.

¹⁸⁵ Rustam "Kebijakan Pembangunan", p.15 & S.Wounde "Masalah Keseimbangan antara Dekonsentrasi dan Desentralisasi" in Kasiepo et al(eds.) *Pembangunan Masyarakat Pedalaman*, p.22

Indonesian government was evident only through the presence of the military corps that was ensuring no trouble followed the transfer of sovereignty. As has already been mentioned in chapter one, a greater peace and security had been established through the mass conversions to Christianity that took place amongst the Western Dani from 1959 to 1962. In the early 1970s the government also banned ritual and tribal warfare in order to increase the security throughout the Baliem Valley.¹⁸⁶ Gradually the military police have taken over from the special troops originally stationed amongst the Western Danis. Today there are a greater number of governmental and administrative personnel in the highlands. The people are well aware of this government presence and it has been suggested by the authors of the Indonesian publication *Bangunan Baru dan Fondasi Tua*, that a greater security has prevailed also as the locals are aware that they are required to abide by the laws of the Indonesian government.¹⁸⁷

In 1984, at a conference on the development of the highland groups of Irian Jaya, Professor H.Bintoro Tjokroamidjojo, in his discussion of the increased autonomy of Irian Jaya in the future, mentioned three areas that were in need of development. They were the governmental system, an increased effectiveness of the governmental apparatus and the stabilising of the bureaucratic role in the development of the region.¹⁸⁸ While most of those involved in this conference spoke of a greater autonomy for Irian Jaya, they also stated that it was far from being realised. They spoke of decentralisation and deconcentration,¹⁸⁹ as a time was envisioned when the central government would be less involved in Irian Jaya and the local, provincial government, not necessarily Irianese, would take on more responsibility and a larger role in governing Irian Jaya as part of Indonesia.

As has already been mentioned, the governmental apparatus of Irian Jaya as it is today consists of nine regions, with the administrative centre being situated in Jayapura. (See Figure 8 & Map 4) These regions are grouped into three areas, each coming under the jurisdiction of one of three Assistant Governors. Jayapura, Jayawijaya, which is the

¹⁸⁶ Godschalk *Bangunan Baru dan Fondasi Tua*, p.42 & GKI *Benih Yang Tumbuh*, p.275 & Provincial Government of Irian Jaya *Irian Jaya: A New Frontier*, p.141

¹⁸⁷ Godschalk *Bangunan Baru dan Fondasi Tua*, p.42

¹⁸⁸ H.B.Tjokroamidjojo "Kendala Ekologis dalam Mengembangkan Otonomi di Irian Jaya" in Kasiepo et al(eds.) *Pembangunan Masyarakat Pedalaman*, p.24

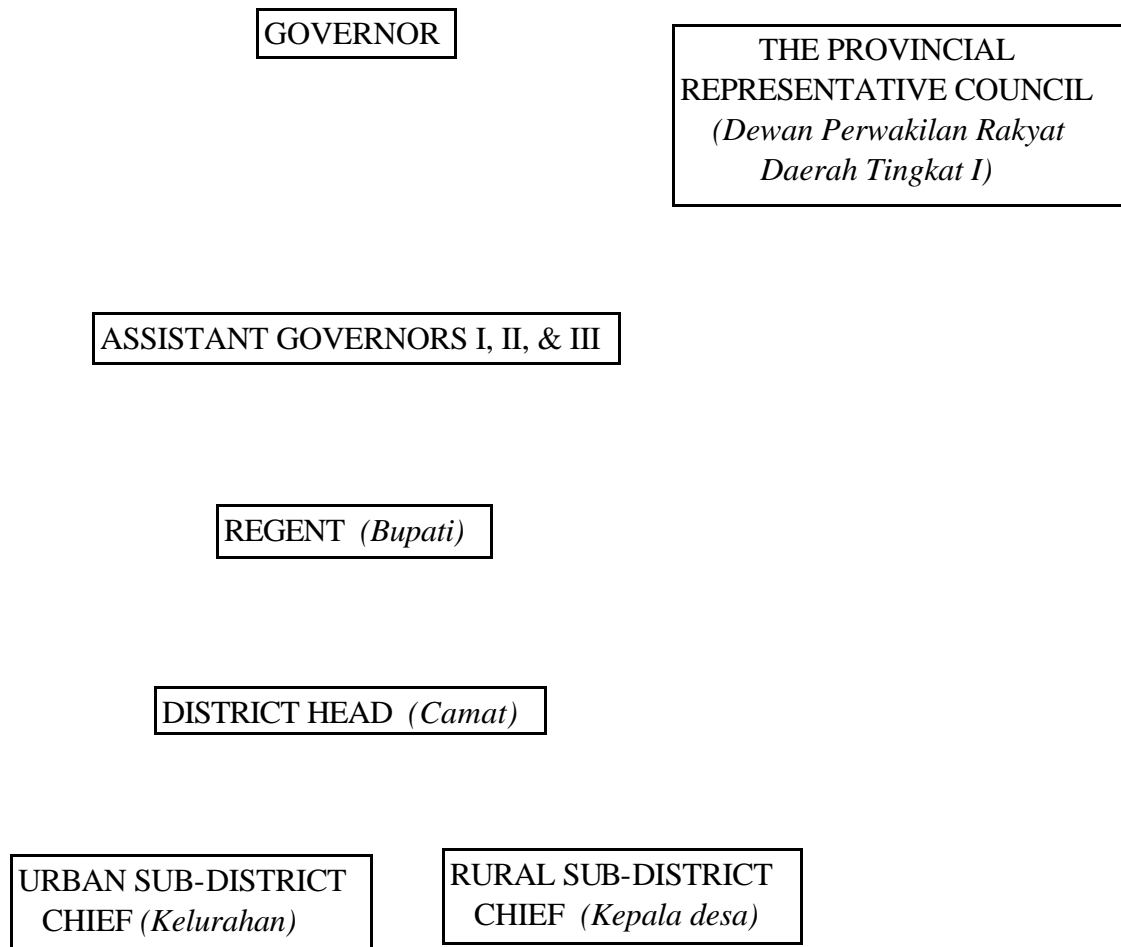
¹⁸⁹ Rustam "Kebijakan Pembangunan", p.14 & Wounde "Masalah Keseimbangan", *passim*

Baliem region, and Paniai, which borders on Jayawijaya, are all constituents of Area I. The second area includes Manokwari, Biak-Numfor, Yapen Waropen and Sorong, while the third area consists of Fak-Fak and Merauke.¹⁹⁰ The *kabupaten* come under one of these three areas, and are themselves divided up into *kecamatan* or subdistricts of which there are 117 throughout Irian Jaya. The final and smallest official grouping, is the village or *kelurahan*, of which there are 2,829 in Irian Jaya, which are each run, supposedly, by a village head or *lurah* chosen by the Indonesian Government.¹⁹¹ In the early seventies attempts were made to centralise the Danis by moving them from their small, scattered villages, into a larger village where the living quarters of different families would be situated side by side. This attempt to achieve greater control and order did not succeed as most of the Danis chose to remain in their traditional villages.¹⁹²

¹⁹⁰ Provincial Government of Irian Jaya *Irian Jaya: A New Frontier*, p.21

¹⁹¹ Rustam "Kebijakan Pembangunan", p.15

¹⁹² Personal communication with Rod Bensley

Figure 8**HIERARCHY OF IRIAN JAYA GOVERNMENT**

from Provincial Government of Irian Jaya *Irian Jaya: A New Frontier for Trade, Investment and Tourism*, (1993), p.21

While previously there was a dramatic problem with government personnel who were rarely at their posts because of the isolation and the resultant fear they felt, apparently this has become less of a problem in the North Baliem Valley as the roads have made their way into the North Baliem from Wamena in the Grand Baliem.¹⁹³

In all three areas of development discussed in this chapter, the distance and topography of the Baliem has made it a difficult area to organise and develop.¹⁹⁴ While

¹⁹³ Suriadireja "Segi Ketahanan", p.61 & Soemardjan "Merintis Pembangunan", p.87

¹⁹⁴ Rustam "Kebijakan Pembangunan", p.15

looking at future development plans, those involved in the conference on development in Irian Jaya in 1984, were also well aware of the lack of development, from their point of view, that has actually taken place in the North Baliem. Geography, communication and the lack of interest of personnel to venture that far were mentioned as factors which hinder the Indonesian development programmes.¹⁹⁵

Soepardjo Rustam was quite defensive in his discussion of developmental progress, or the lack of it, despite the plans of the government. He focused on the missionaries and stated that they too, had not achieved much in the way of development of the general and basic social orientation of the people of the highlands, despite having been there longer than the Indonesian government.¹⁹⁶ Meanwhile John Djopari's focus was more positive as he stated that the missionaries were very careful in moving the people forward. They were aware of the values the locals held and did not attempt to impose foreign values upon them in forms of development that would ultimately be useless because the Danis had no need for them.¹⁹⁷

The failure of government projects, according to Manuel Kasiepo, is the result of the lack of interest the locals have in the projects. The development organisers have not determined what the Danis consider to be important areas of development, or indeed whether they desire, or see the need for, development in the way the Indonesians do. As a result the Danis remain apathetic about, and uninterested in, the development projects.¹⁹⁸ While they are meant to develop and benefit the Danis, they actually mean nothing to the Danis.¹⁹⁹ Some have resented development projects begun by the government and have fought against them by burning or destroying constructions related to the particular project.²⁰⁰ The programmes that have succeeded have been the medical and educational

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.16 & Tarumingkeng et al. "Penelitian Ilmiah", p.130 & B.Suebu "Menilai Pengalaman Tiga Pelita di Irian Jaya" in Kasiepo et al.(eds.) *Pembangunan Masyarakat Pedalaman*, p.33

¹⁹⁶ Rustam "Kebijakan Pembangunan", p.17

¹⁹⁷ Djopari "Proyek Perintis", p.100

¹⁹⁸ Kasiepo "Menghindari Modernisasi", p.89

¹⁹⁹ M.H.Mustopo "Penelitian, Pendidikan dan Pembangunan Irian Jaya" in Kasiepo et al.(eds.) *Pembangunan Masyarakat Pedalaman*, p.153

²⁰⁰ Suebu "Menilai Pengalaman", p.37

ones which are considered, by the people, to be very important,²⁰¹ as has the introduction of a wide variety of vegetables that have been fairly widely accepted and integrated.

It should also be remembered that the development that has already taken place has dramatically changed the lives of the Danis. From their so called *Zaman Batu* or stone age isolation, they have only recently been confronted by a modernised world.²⁰² When considering development projects it is necessary to determine what forms of development the local population is ready to deal with and accept. This is best done by consulting them, rather than imposing changes on them that will disrupt their lives and cause more problems for them than is necessary, without providing the answers.

The government is determined to develop Irian Jaya, largely in order to stabilise the Indonesian nation as a whole. Irian Jaya is seen to be in a strategic position for development because it is situated at the perimeter of the Indonesian nation and is furthest from the central government.²⁰³ Development is also important in the government's attempt to unite the people of Indonesia politically, economically and culturally.²⁰⁴ Certainly the developments that have taken place, including education, transmigration and the building of roads, have brought diverse groups within Irian Jaya, and also throughout the archipelago, into contact with each other.

The development of the Danis of the North Baliem was undertaken initially by the missionaries as they strove to provide both spiritual and physical support. The main area of their involvement was social. Their involvement in economic development initially involved the introduction of new objects, such as soap, into the barter system. Later, with the NGO and government development of this area within the villages, the missionaries involved themselves also in order to help familiarise the Danis with a cash economy. The government alone has been involved in the political development of Irian Jaya. From 1955 the missionaries worked alone, but with the increased presence of the Indonesian government and non-government organisations since 1971, they have worked together with them on certain projects. Both the government and NGOs are keen to gain the support of the

²⁰¹ Godschalk *Bangunan Baru dan Fondasi Tua*, p.35 & Hayward *The Dani of Irian Jaya*, p.203

²⁰² Sugiyono "Pendahuluan" in Kasiepo et al.(eds.) *Pembangunan Masyarakat Pedalaman*, p.5

²⁰³ Rustam "Kebijakan Pembangunan", p.17

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p.13 & Djopari "Proyek Perintis", p.96

missionaries in whom the Danis have more trust. The missionary involvement continues to be in the area of social development. The NGOs are involved in both social and economic development, while the main concerns of the Indonesian government at present are the economic and political development of Irian Jaya.

CHAPTER THREE - The Dani Church

The Indonesian Republic has five principles, better known as the *Pancasila*, as its basic philosophy. The first principle, and the one that concerns this thesis, is that of a belief in one omnipotent God. The others include, in order, humanity that is just and civilised, unity of Indonesia, guided democracy and social justice for all Indonesian citizens.²⁰⁵ Included in the principle of one Almighty God, is the requirement that all Indonesian citizens claim a major religion as their own.²⁰⁶ The choice may be made from the five world religions of Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism and Christianity, either Protestantism or Catholicism.²⁰⁷ Although the *Pancasila* was created under Sukarno,²⁰⁸ Indonesia's first President, the requirement that everyone possess a religion in Indonesia today has been greatly emphasised, particularly following the downfall of Sukarno and Suharto's succession. The transition followed events which brought about the elimination of communism in Indonesia along with the death of numerous communists, suspected communist supporters and friends of communists. Many Chinese Indonesians were captured and tortured as the links between the communist party of Indonesia and Chinese communism exacerbated the racial and political hatred and fear many Indonesians had of the Chinese. Where there was a strong Islamic representation, the massacres of communists were particularly intense, not merely because of ideological differences but also for the purpose of revenge. As communism is theoretically atheistic, it became increasingly important to ensure that citizens aligned themselves with one of the major religions in order to free themselves from the possibility of being branded a communist and being victimised at a community or official level. Neighbours would be able to determine one's religious standing as they observe the involvement of other citizens, or lack of it, in any religious activities. At an official level, it would be obvious if any citizen were either atheistic or communist as every citizen is required by law to carry an identification card or KTP (*Kartu Penduduk*) on which their professed religion is stated. Any former communists have this

²⁰⁵ J.Echols & H.Shadily *Kamus Indonesia Inggris*, (Penerbit PT Gramedia, 1989) third ed., p.406

²⁰⁶ W.Bonar Sidjabat *Religious Tolerance and the Christian Faith*, (BPK Gunung Mulia, 1982), pp.42 & 54

²⁰⁷ M.Natsir *Islam dan Kristen di Indonesia*, (Media Dakwah, 1980), p.1

²⁰⁸ Bonar Sidjabat *Religious Tolerance.*, p.70

stamped clearly on their card. In Irian Jaya however, communism was not a problem, as it was not present and so the people were not influenced by it. Even when the Indonesian Republic was going through its crisis in 1965, those who were in Irian Jaya during the interim period of the Indonesian government were relatively unaware of it.

The first principle of the *Pancasila* has also come to include the requirement of religious tolerance amongst the adherents of different religions living in the one country. Sukarno stated "By the recognition that God is omnipotent, almighty, it actually has already taken the positive stand that everything that exists is from and by God ... At the same time it also recognises the rights of citizens to worship one and the same God in their various and different ways."²⁰⁹ Indonesia is quite proud of its emphasis on religious tolerance. The majority of Indonesians are Muslims, although many of the 90% often quoted are nominal Muslims and, unlike the more devout, would not welcome the establishment of an Islamic State in Indonesia.²¹⁰ President Suharto, while formerly not a great supporter of Islam himself has given Indonesians and other observers throughout the world the impression that his support for Islam is increasing. In 1990 he completed the Haj, the Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca. On the sixth of December of that year the vision of Suharto "clad in distinctive mosque attire, striking a large mosque drum (*bedug*) to call to order the first ever meeting of the Association of Indonesian Muslim intellectuals (ICMI, *Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim se-Indonesia*)" was broadcast throughout Indonesia.²¹¹ His endorsement of ICMI, and the increasing strength of this association, has been regarded with suspicion by sections of the Indonesian community, not least by the military and members of the Islamic community such as the widely respected Abdurrahman Wahid.²¹² The re-politicisation of Islam seems to be of major concern as ICMI seems to consist of numerous government personnel.²¹³ Leading Islamic figures such as Djohan Effendi have warned against this as he feels that ICMI may "undermine the hard-won accomplishments of cultural Islam ... and

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p.42 quotes Sukarno "Indonesia, A Spiritualist Among Nations", in *The Indonesian Spectator*, II: 18, August 1958 (Jakarta)

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.78

²¹¹ R.W.Hefner "Islam, State, and Civil Society: ICMI and the Struggle for the Indonesian Middle Class" in *Indonesia* 56, October 1993 (Cornell Southeast Asia Program), p. 1

²¹² *Ibid.*, p.21 & 24

²¹³ *Ibid.*, p.19

provoke the military to move against those who use Islam for political ends".²¹⁴ Meanwhile Abdurrahman Wahid who has stated "I am for Indonesian society, not just an Islamic one", claims that ICMI is "'exclusivist' and elitist rather than pan-Indonesian."²¹⁵ Following such public events and regardless of the validity or invalidity of establishing an Islamic state, many possible scenarios were being considered by Muslims, non-Muslims, Indonesians and non-Indonesians. It is a matter for dispute whether the actions of Suharto were political ploys to gain him the confidence of the large Muslim population in Indonesia or whether the Haj was a real pilgrimage for him, in his old age, but the general impression he gave was one of increasing support for the Muslims and decreasing support for the military.

It was into this Austronesian and predominantly Muslim nation that Irian Jaya was absorbed in the 1960s. As the Indonesian Government established itself in Irian Jaya, the system of residence permits or KTP was introduced. This system, with its requirement that each citizen profess a major religion that is then stamped on their citizen card, caused few problems for most Irianese, most of whom already professed to follow the doctrine of Christianity. A few years earlier it would have been a different situation, as the former animistic beliefs, not a world religion, would have been the major belief system. Nevertheless difficulties were encountered. The largely Christian Irianese population not only had to face problems of being a "black" minority within the Republic of Indonesia, but also a religious minority.²¹⁶ Despite the religious tolerance that reputedly exists throughout Indonesia, the church in Irian Jaya, including the Dani church, has had to face numerous problems and challenges in the forms of government regulations and personal confrontations over religious issues. While claiming to maintain a tolerance towards other religious groups, the church is not showing signs of syncretism or acceptance but rather, as will be discussed in the final chapter, regards the presence of non-Christians as an ideal opportunity to evangelise. Today, while Protestant Christianity remains the religion of the majority within Irian Jaya itself, with Catholicism further increasing Christianity's dominance, it is slowly losing ground as the number of Muslims, Hindus and Buddhists grows. (See Figure 9) This chapter will deal with how the Dani church has progressed since its

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.20

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.21

²¹⁶ D.Hayward *The Dani of Irian Jaya Before and After Conversion*, (Regions Press, 1980), p.163

formation in the early sixties, and the way it has dealt with the many challenges it has had to face while still in its formative years and as an increasingly mature church. This chapter, and more so the next two chapters, will rely heavily on the results from the survey I carried out in Irian Jaya, in the form of questionnaires and interviews. (See Appendix 1)

Figure 9

SECT	FOLLOWERS	%	CLERGY	PLACES OF WORSHIP
Protestant	981,229	57.50	3,552	2,851
Catholic	366,751	21.50	397	818
Muslim	296,742	17.38	1,623	639
Hindu	2,424	0.14	16	9
Buddhist	1,562	0.10	6	6

The Provincial Government of Irian Jaya *Irian Jaya: A New Frontier for Trade, Investment and Tourism*, (1993), p.35

The Independent Dani Church

The history of the establishment of the Dani church has already been discussed in chapter one, including the movements of conversion to Christianity amongst the Danis, the Bible teaching offered by the missionaries in the form of witness schools as well as the fetish burnings and first baptisms. Through all the missionary activities and the establishment of the church the missionaries maintained their goal of the "full self sufficiency [of the Dani church] in the foreseeable future".²¹⁷ Their own role, after introducing the Danis to Christianity and helping to establish the church, included the translation of the Bible into the Dani language and the continuing education of the Danis in both spiritual and material aspects to help them deal with the new world they were about to confront with their newly found beliefs. Regardless of the area of instruction that the missionaries were involved in, the final goal has been the independence of the church and the activities carried out by missionaries today are seen to be more supportive than directive.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.213

The supportive, as opposed to instructive, role of the missionary amongst the Danis today is readily noticeable when attending any church functions. In the early days, while there were Dani ministers following the first baptisms, the missionaries played a large role in the church as ministers and also taught and trained the Dani pastors in the Bible Schools that were established in the North Baliem. In contrast, all the ministers today are Danis, and if a foreigner, a missionary preaches, it is at the invitation of the Dani church. The decline in missionary involvement has been influenced by the increase in the number of Bible school and theological students and graduates. The Dani pastors do not only work in the North Baliem but also in the Baptist churches on the coast in the district of Jayapura.²¹⁸ Those who teach at the Bible schools in Tiom, Danime and Pyramid are Danis, as are the majority of teachers or lecturers at the theological colleges on the coast. The Baptist Theological College or IThBIJ (*Institut Theologia Baptis Irian Jaya*) at present has, out of about 15 members of staff, only two Australian members, both of whom are returning to Australia at the end of this year, 1994.

The Expansion of the Dani Church

As the role of missionaries amongst the Danis has become less directive, the Danis themselves have become more instructive, both as evangelists amongst their own people or their fellow students, or more specifically as missionaries to other tribal and cultural groups who have not yet heard the Christian message. Some have made their way to other islands of the Indonesian archipelago. Many have gone to tribes on the coastal lowlands in the south of Irian Jaya while others have ventured amongst those who live near the Danis.²¹⁹ In all these situations they are learning another language and going into a culture that is distinctly different from their own. Those who go to their neighbours also come up against a largely resistant people to whom foreign missionaries have previously attempted to present the Gospel. In addition there is the knowledge that, as neighbours, they may still be considered to be enemies and may be placing themselves in danger. Yet the Dani Christians are excited about the message of Christianity and are keen to share it with others.

²¹⁸ P.Wandik *Pelayanan Pelaksanaan Perkembangan Gereja Baptis Sentani*, (Unpublished paper, 1991), p.11, 12

²¹⁹ J.Burt *On His Majesty's Service*, (RBMUInternational, 1993), pp.35 & 49-51 Also corroborated in interviews with Danis.

One incident occurred just prior to my visit to Irian Jaya and I had the privilege of hearing the young lady involved speak of it at a church service. She had just come out to the coast with her husband to further her theological training and gave a testimony of this experience. She had been praying for one particular neighbouring tribe that had a reputation of being opposed to the message of Christianity because of the resistance of its chief and hence the entire community to the introduction of Christianity. The reason she gave for her sudden interest and concern for this tribe was that God had convinced her of their spiritual needs. Yet she knew that they had consistently resisted outsiders. One night she claimed God told her to write a letter to the chief and his people to make them aware of her willingness to tell them more about the Gospel of Jesus Christ if they wanted her to. She attested to the miraculous answer she received from the chief which was in the affirmative, and which provided her with the opportunity to go and share with this formerly resistant tribe. Following a short period of instruction the chief accepted Christ and proclaimed himself to be a Christian along with a number of other members of the tribe. Many more were to follow in their footsteps shortly thereafter. As this account was related, we were told that the chief's willingness and eagerness to receive Christian instruction resulted from the presence of Muslims in the area, attempting to convert him and his people. According to her testimony, after hearing what they had to say the chief realised that the gospel the missionaries had attempted to teach them years ago was the truth. He now wanted to learn about the Christian gospel in more depth, in order to accept Christ as his saviour. Another interpretation could be that the move towards Christianity was rather a move away from Islam and the pressure of the Muslims. Christianity, as the religion of their neighbours and the majority of their fellow Irianese, might have been more appealing than the alien Islam. Following the service it was obvious by the general discussion that the trust in God and the initiative of this young Dani lady has inspired and encouraged many Danis and the foreign missionaries as a sign of the increasing Christian maturity of the Dani people.

Those who have left Irian Jaya as missionaries to the Javanese have also been successful from the Christian perspective. Christianity has been accepted as Danis have worked amongst Muslims, establishing growing churches. One Dani went to Java as a student, and during his years of study involved himself in Javanese communities. Within

three years he had established three churches as Muslim families converted to Christianity through his witness to the Gospel.²²⁰ A number of Danis have also furthered their theological education and training in Java²²¹ or Menado with the aim of returning to their homes as evangelists and ministers or to go and work amongst other cultural groups either in Irian Jaya or elsewhere in the Indonesian archipelago.

The Foundation of the Church

Despite its growth, the Dani church has had problems, one of which has been, particularly in its formative years, its legalistic interpretation of Biblical injunctions.²²² Douglas Hayward provides an example of this legalism as "When told that Sunday should be a day of rest, some Dani would refrain from even going to the edge of the village and pulling up a tuber to eat when they were hungry."²²³ An example of this form of legalism that is present in some churches today is that of the length of prayers, with the lengthier prayers supposedly being more holy and meaningful. Yet at the same time the Dani Christians believe in the authority of the Bible and depend on it to lead them as they become more independent. The ability of church members and leaders to handle constructive criticism, together with their dependence on the Bible seems in itself to be indicative of a Christian church that is progressively becoming stronger and more mature. The Dani church is now firmly grounded upon a more widely accepted, realistic understanding of Christianity and the Christian faith than it has been in previous years. Apparently this has helped to decrease the emergence of Cargo Cults and millenarian movements.²²⁴

The phenomenon of syncretism, which is evident in many areas where people have accepted a new religion without letting go of their previous beliefs, has not been a problem in the Dani church.²²⁵ Unlike the Javanese mystics who integrated Hinduism, Buddhism and finally Islam with their traditional mystical beliefs, the Dani Christians have been

²²⁰ *Ibid.*

²²¹ I.A.Mattinson *The Word of God and Wholistic Ministry to the Dani of Irian Jaya*, (Unpublished paper, 1988), p.43 Also corroborated in Interviews with Danis who had actually studied there

²²² D.Mountford "A Report on Dani Thinking" in *Baliem Beginnings*, (Camden Baptist Church, 1976), p.86 & Hayward *The Dani of Irian Jaya*, p.196 Corroborated by interviews

²²³ Hayward *The Dani of Irian Jaya*, p.196

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, p.151

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.215 & Burt *On His Majesty's Service*, p.45 & E.Wendaneby *Penyembahan Roh Orang Mati Dalam Kepercayaan Tradisional Suku Lani*, (Unpublished paper, 1993), p.1

overwhelmingly convinced that they cannot be Christians if they retain their former beliefs or ways. This was first evidenced in the fetish burnings, particularly in the areas where the missionaries were less enthusiastic about fetish burnings taking place. Draper relates that "In 1960, when the wave of enthusiasm for burning fetishes was spreading through the area ... we were concerned, believing that the North Baliem folk did not fully understand the implications of such a drastic move. ... Amonen and his villagers came up with a compromise: would we instead bind up their fetishes for some months so that they could try to live without them, trusting only God? We did that and at the end of the trial period, Amonen and his elders became the first Tiom group to destroy their charms entirely".²²⁶ There was a weariness and a disillusionment with the animistic religion that had trapped them in a cycle of unrest and uncertainty which offered no answers or consolation. Yambonep states that "When I think of those days ... our lives were limited and twisted; we existed from day to day under strong fear and oppression.". ²²⁷ Although initially Christianity and the coming of the missionaries was seen in the light of the traditional Dani beliefs, over time and with a greater understanding this changed and the faith the Danis had in Christ deepened.

While there may be instances where individuals claim to be Christians but never completely let go of their former belief, the majority of those Danis professing to be Christians see the total contradiction between the two and have nothing to do with the animistic way of life.²²⁸ The church itself has not incorporated any animistic beliefs into its doctrine.²²⁹ The attitude towards the Catholic church, one of which has recently been established outside the village of Tiom, is one of sorrow and disgust as the Danis see the way that old and new beliefs and teachings have been syncretised. They do not regard Catholicism to be Christianity and in some instances it is seen to have a negative impact, along with Islam, on those Protestant Danis living in the same area. While the Protestant Danis are not combining animism with Christianity, neither should their faith be seen as simply a cultural "import". Initially pre-service dancing was a trait of the church as people

²²⁶ N&S.Draper *Daring to Believe*, (ABMS, 1990), p.219

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, p.251 quoting Yambonep

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.226 & 243 quoting Miyaawarak & Tiogumbiya This attitude reflected by the Danis interviewed also.

²²⁹ Burt *On His Majesty's Service*, p.45

joyfully danced and sang.²³⁰ Despite the dancing having almost disappeared, the popular Dani Christian chants remain an important and meaningful part expression of Dani worship and Christianity continues to be a "dearly-held indigenous faith" amongst the Danis.²³¹

Church Administration

Together with the increasing Christian maturity of the Dani church has come increased administrative responsibility. This is a result of independence from the mission organisations as well as in order to fulfil the requirements of the Indonesian government. The latter states that the Christian church of Irian Jaya must come under one umbrella organisation.²³² This is reflective of what happened with the mission organisations, when nine Protestant missions were grouped under the umbrella organisation TMF or The Missions Fellowship.²³³ The localised world view of the Danis has already been discussed and it is useful to keep it in mind when discussing the requirement of one overall organisation. Although the Dani world view has expanded, and continues to expand, the Danis' experience of dealing with and organising such a wide reaching organisation is extremely limited as yet. This is one area where the missionaries are offering assistance by teaching administration skills that are required for handling a large organisation.

Another government requirement has been in the form of church constitutions for each different denomination. The constitutions are fairly extensive and involved. Some sections seem to be written with greater enthusiasm, while most sections are more stilted. This is not surprising as according to Hayward the church constitutions "reflect(s) the legal requirements of the government rather than the practical needs of the Dani churches".²³⁴

While there are numerous Christian denominations in Irian Jaya, those amongst the Danis basically fall into three groups. Firstly there is the PGBIJ (*Persekutuan Gereja Baptis Irian Jaya*) or the Baptist Church of Irian Jaya, which has been established in the areas where the Australian Baptist Missionaries worked,²³⁵ and it is this church that is predominant in the North Baliem, the area being discussed in this thesis. The PGBIJ was

²³⁰ Hayward *The Dani of Irian Jaya*, p.207

²³¹ Burt *On His Majesty's Service*, p.51

²³² *Ibid.*, 36

²³³ D.Pickell(ed.) *Indonesian New Guinea: Irian Jaya*, (Periplus Editions, 1994), p.46

²³⁴ Hayward *The Dani of Irian Jaya*, p.208 e.g. *Persekutuan Gereja-gereja Baptis Irian Jaya*, (PGBIJ, 1987)

²³⁵ *Ibid.*

established at a meeting held, less than four years after the first baptisms, on 14 December 1966 which was attended by 276 representatives from 78 Baptist churches in the Makki-Tiom district.²³⁶

The second church organisation, KINGMI, was established in the areas where the American CAMA missionaries were present and is relevant to us as it includes Pyramid and the area surrounding it which is home to the Western Dani, where the North Baliem Valley borders on the Grand Baliem. Finally there is GIIJ (*Gereja Injili Irian Jaya*) or the Evangelical Church of Irian Jaya. This church grew up in the areas where three mission organisations worked, namely RBMU, APCM and UFM and as such is not established amongst the Western Danis of the North Baliem.²³⁷ While the Danis are aware of the other Christian denominations within Irian Jaya, especially as they encounter them on the coast, they are not the denominations that the Western Danis are involved with or that are present in the North Baliem.

Despite the slight variations in the doctrinal aspects of these different organisations, there is a general unity and co-operation amongst them, especially between the PGBIJ and KINGMI in the North Baliem as they have the same goals and the same basic beliefs. This unity is assisted by the fact that many church leaders and other church members are close friends and even relatives. There have also been cases of theological students from either church organisation becoming ministers or leaders in a church affiliated with the other organisation.

The expansion at the administrative level, either as separate denominations or as a united Christian group has led to problems not only with regard to the administration but also in the aspect of church leadership. Dani society is essentially organised at a local level, although the Indonesian government is slowly changing this as they appoint village headmen in the villages. The leadership of large groups in the context of the church has at times caused difficulties, with the making of decisions effecting thousands of people who may or may not be in agreement. Awareness of such problems on the part of the leaders has led to a worthwhile but at times quite lengthy process of consultation before decisions are made.

²³⁶ K.Wakerkwa *Pertumbuhan Gereja Baptis di Wilayah Pirime*, (Unpublished paper, 1992), p.6

²³⁷ Hayward *The Dani of Irian Jaya*, p.208

This cumbersome process apparently has resulted in many regarding as necessary the investment of greater authority in the church councils and yet in reality the consultative form of organisation continues to be widely used.²³⁸

Church Finances

The financing of the church is dependant upon the same process as in many other churches throughout the world - donations from the church members. This presentation is made to God, with the understanding that it will be used by the church for work God wants the churches to carry out. This includes the continued Bible teaching of the members as well as supporting missionaries and members of the church studying at theological college to become church leaders and ministers. The Dani people bring their offerings or tithes - one tenth of their "earnings" - to God in the form of produce from their gardens.²³⁹ This is quite logical as the Dani people are farmers and even those who may have other roles within the village rely on their gardens to provide them with food.

Weekly offerings are made and then the produce is either directly distributed amongst the church leaders, or otherwise, as is more common today, the produce is sold and the money used to support those who are studying or working as missionaries elsewhere.²⁴⁰ While the ministers may receive a small amount of sweet potato each week, they basically work voluntarily in terms of receiving a wage. Whether in their home village or not, they too rely on their own gardens to provide for their family's needs.²⁴¹ This total dependence on farm produce also lends some variation to the ability of the church members to give, as the weather determines the success of their crops and hence their livelihood. This is a particular problem at Kwiyawagi which, as has already been mentioned, is situated at 9,000 feet, and is the highest inhabited area. At this altitude the weather can become very cold, leading to hail and the destruction of crops, which in turn affects not only the ability of the church members to give but also has been known to result

²³⁸ *Ibid.*

²³⁹ Wakerkwa *Pertumbuhan Gereja*, p.26 & B.Kogoya *Suatu Penilaian Terhadap Perkembangan Gereja-gereja Baptis di Wilayah Danime*, (Unpublished paper, 1992), p.16 & A.Yigibalom *Suatu Analisa Sumber Pendapatan Gereja-gereja Baptis di Wilayah Tiom*, (Unpublished paper, 1992), pp.1, 6 Corroborated in Dani interviews.

²⁴⁰ Wakerkwa *Pertumbuhan Gereja*, p.27 & B.Kogoya *Suatu Penilaian*, p.16 Also corroborated by interviews.

²⁴¹ Yigibalom *Suatu Analisa*, p.1

in a period of famine and hunger. While Kwiyawagi provides an extreme example, the fluctuation in the availability of produce is evident throughout the North Baliem²⁴² and is inevitable in a farming society.

Those on the coast studying at the theological colleges also face times of hardship as they receive support from their home churches. There are increased difficulties at the times of decreased productivity in the villages, but they struggle also as they attempt to live in a city environment where the cost of living is much higher than in the villages of the North Baliem. A number of students have had times of hunger and poverty as they attempt to live on what they receive from their homes. Many of those in the villages do not realise this as they have never been to the coast. Even if they did realise it, however, they would have difficulty providing greater support from what they have. A young man from Danime reports that the monthly income of the church in that area ranges from a 5,000 rupiah minimum to a 10,000 rupiah maximum or in Australian dollars \$3.50 to \$7.00.²⁴³

Apart from the weekly offerings of produce, there are also special occasions when offerings are made to God. An offering is made when a new garden is opened and again with the first harvest of a newly opened garden.²⁴⁴ Following the harvest the entire crop is offered to God as a thank offering. Another offering accompanies the occasion of a marriage. One aspect of Dani culture that has not disappeared, but that has been transformed, has been that of the bride price or *mas kawin*. Previously the bride price could be exorbitantly high as it ranged between two and ten pigs. While attempts were made to abolish it during the early years of the church, it has survived although at a fairly stable price. Although a point of contention in the church,²⁴⁵ the retention of the bride price was seen as necessary in order to ensure that women were not devalued as the Danis emerged from a culture where women were valued as objects rather than people. As attitudes have changed over the years, with women becoming more highly valued as people, so has the relationship between a husband and wife. One old Dani man stated that with the acceptance of Christianity "Men have learned to love and care for their wives."²⁴⁶

²⁴² *Ibid.*

²⁴³ B.Kogoya *Suatu Penilaian*, p.16

²⁴⁴ Wakerkwa *Pertumbuhan Gereja*, p.27

²⁴⁵ Hayward *The Dani of Irian Jaya*, p.174

²⁴⁶ Draper *Daring*, p.211 quoting Amonen

The general bride price continues to largely consist of pigs, where three are given to the girl's parents while one, with a value of approximately 100,000 rupiahs, is offered to God.²⁴⁷

At the time of a child's dedication an offering is also made either in the form of money or of an animal such as a rabbit, chicken or pig. Other large occasions are also accompanied by the offering to God of produce, money or animals. Finally, church members also make voluntary offerings²⁴⁸ not to show their thanks for anything in particular, but rather to show as Christians, their overall gratitude to Jesus Christ and God for their salvation, which is something that they often express in everyday conversations. When the Danis have very little or nothing that they are able to give, then they are always willing to offer "supportive labour",²⁴⁹ which reflects their community mindedness.

Tithes and offerings in the city churches, mainly on the coast, are monetary as they are in other areas throughout Indonesia. As a result those Dani pastors and church leaders who work in the coastal cities are the only Dani church leaders receiving a monetary wage.

Theological Training

The pastors of the Dani church are chosen by the church councils not on the basis of their education but rather on "their spiritual maturity and their community's recommendation"²⁵⁰ and it is not a quick and easy process to become a minister of a church. Initially those who believe that they should be church leaders need to contact a training school or college and then approach their church to determine whether they feel it to be an appropriate step and whether support will be offered.²⁵¹ Theological studies can be undertaken either at the Bible Schools in the highlands or at the Theological Colleges on the coast. In the North Baliem there are two Baptist Bible Schools, one in Tiom and one in Danime. The studies at the Tiom school are carried out in Indonesian while in Danime they are undertaken in the regional Dani language. The importance of study being made available in both languages is seen not only in that it provides the choice of studying in the cultural or

²⁴⁷ Wakerkwa *Pertumbuhan Gereja*, p.26

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.26-27

²⁴⁹ Hayward *The Dani of Irian Jaya*, p.174

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p.209

²⁵¹ ie. *Ibid.* Also from the general history of the Dani Bible Schools and from interviews with Danis

national language, it also prepares students to work confidently in one language or another as a minister or as a public speaker.

The majority of Dani churches in the North Baliem conduct their services in the Dani language. There are also a number of Indonesian speaking churches in the North Baliem and they also have Dani ministers. In Makki for example, the Dani and Indonesian services run at the same time in adjacent buildings. The Indonesian service provides an opportunity for Austronesian Indonesians to be involved should they want to. Meanwhile, at the Baptist church in Wamena, Dani and Indonesian services follow each other. The Dani services in both instances were overflowing. While the numbers at the Indonesian speaking services were substantial they were quite small in comparison. No generalisations can be made about those from the younger generation being the ones who attend the Indonesian services as there was no clear distinction and just as many, if not more young people attended the Dani speaking services.

Another Western Dani Bible School is a part of the KINGMI church and is established at Pyramid. Even after completing their study potential pastors must then *melayani* or assist at a church for approximately three years before they are qualified and can be chosen as a minister. It is a long and arduous process, particularly considering the voluntary nature of the career.

Community Involvement

Since their establishment, churches have been, and continue to be, prepared and willing to serve each section of their community. Bible studies, youth groups and Sunday schools have been established as have women's groups.²⁵² The entire community is able to be involved and active within the church rather than just attending the Sunday services. According to Hayward this is the ideal situation as he sees the lack of opportunity for lay people to be involved in the church to be dangerous. It is a situation that could lead to the emergence of Cargo Cultism as people strive to have a greater input into the spiritual life of their community.²⁵³

²⁵² B.Kogoya *Suatu Penilaian*, pp.6-11

²⁵³ Hayward *The Dani of Irian Jaya*, p.151

Bible studies have deepened the Danis learning and knowledge of the Christian doctrine as well as the history of Christianity. Here they are able to deal with difficult issues. One trait that is consistently apparent in church and everyday life is the importance the Danis place on the Word of God - the Bible - and prayer.²⁵⁴ All the community groups are involved in Bible Studies, and there are also other avenues of involvement such as the women's group. The role of women in Dani society is now distinctly different from when they were possessions, producers of heirs and outcasts from the spiritual realm of the community.²⁵⁵ Today women are highly valued and respected in the community and undertake leadership roles in the church together with the men. While women may not be ordained ministers yet, it is not because the opportunity is not open to them. Rather they have just not yet taken advantage of it. At present a young Dani woman, whose husband has accompanied her to Jayapura, has begun theological studies.²⁵⁶ Women are involved in the organisation of the church as well as the spiritual well-being of the community. Next there is the Sunday School which is strongly attended by the village children and depends upon volunteer teachers.²⁵⁷ Sunday School teachers are highly valued as many of the second generation children consider that their own decision to become a Christian believer was made through their teacher's influence and teaching.

Finally there is the youth group which is quite large and professionally administered. In the areas I was able to visit, the youth groups were established with a Head or President, a treasurer and a secretary. Other members of the youth group were selected to take charge of different aspects of youth group life including evangelism, the spiritual health of the youth group members, music, sport, art and youth group equipment.²⁵⁸ A Dani student stated that the youth groups are striving to provide for the needs of the entire person, spiritually, physically and mentally.²⁵⁹ The importance of the youth group was

²⁵⁴ Wakerkwa *Pertumbuhan Gereja*, p.13 & Yigibalom *Suatu Analisa*, p.20 & Burt *On His Majesty's Service*, p.45

²⁵⁵ Draper *Daring*, p.227 quoting Miyaawarak

²⁵⁶ Personal communication in Jayapura

²⁵⁷ B.Kogoya *Suatu Penilaian*, p.6

²⁵⁸ L.Kogoya *Pelayanan Pemuda di Jemaat Baptis Diakonia Sebagai Pola Bagi Pelayanan Pemuda se-Wilayah Pirime*, (Unpublished paper, 1993), p.29

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.8, 21

stressed by many Danis as it represents the strength of the church in providing the future leaders of the Dani church and the community.²⁶⁰

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.5, 7

The Church and the Government

As was mentioned previously, in the war of rebellion that took place in 1977, the church would not take sides with either the rebels or the Indonesian military. Even today, while the control of the Indonesian government has brought great changes to the lives of the people of Irian Jaya including the Danis, the older Dani Christians have very little to say about it. They have accepted the new regime and are living as Christians within it, and facing the challenges that are emerging from the situation. One young Dani man claimed that there was a need for coordination between the church, the village heads and the government in order for it to be recognised by the authorities that the church is not aligned to any particular side. As such its evangelising ability would be increased.²⁶¹ The position the church takes within its own region is noteworthy. It does not take sides and is cooperative unless asked to be involved in something that is contradictory to their Christian beliefs. At the same time the absence of a rebellious attitude does not seem to result in passivity. Rather the church communities seem to be more active than disaffected communities that are being strongly controlled by the authorities. The lack of complaining made by the church and its members has allowed it the freedom to continue its work.²⁶² At the same time the Christians are not allowing themselves to be downtrodden. Mistreatments that have taken place are not taken lightly, but once confronted and dealt with they are not dwelt upon.

One issue that the Danis are anxious about is the rapid decline in the number of missionaries in Irian Jaya. While the missionaries are pleased about in their changing role amongst the Danis as the church matures, and realise that the missionary presence in Irian Jaya needs to decrease, they too are disturbed by the rapidity with which the missionary numbers are decreasing at present. The low mission representation in Irian Jaya today illustrates not the indifference of former missionaries, but rather the Indonesian Government's legislation that there will be no missionaries left in Indonesia by the year 2000.²⁶³ Many missionaries who have worked in Irian Jaya for years have had their visas cancelled without explanation. The situation of the missionaries has also been put into

²⁶¹ Wendaneby *Penyembahan Roh*, pp.85-86

²⁶² Personal experience and observation

²⁶³ W.Goodlet *Indonesian Field Report ABMS*, (Unpublished, 1994), p.2

question by the ruling of the Jakarta Government that any "foreigners engaged in social development work would be given visas valid for just two years, extendable for one year only. Missionaries fall within this category."²⁶⁴ This year, within two months, more than twenty missionaries and their families left as their visas had been cancelled, and others were preparing to leave.²⁶⁵ Interestingly, despite the government's legislation affecting the missionaries, and creating an uncertain period for both the missionaries and the church, the Danis do not show any anger towards the government. Rather they, together with the missionaries, appear to be aiming to prepare themselves as much as possible before the missionaries depart.

Many Danis have claimed that the Dani churches are growing strongly and continuing to develop both in spite of and indeed as a result of new challenges. More churches are being built and the number of students interested in, and working towards, becoming missionaries, ministers or church leaders is increasing. Yet the challenges the church faces are far from exhausted. The Dani church has matured a great deal since it was established in the early sixties following the introduction of the Christian gospel by the missionaries. Yet it is still relatively young and the new problems it faces will test its maturity. A Dani church leader is quoted by Jocelyn Burt as saying "It is very easy to bring a child into the world, but very hard to bring it through to maturity. Our church is that child."²⁶⁶

²⁶⁴ J.McBeth "Mission Impossible" in *Far Eastern Economic Review*, February 17, 1994, p.25

²⁶⁵ Personal communication with missionaries in Irian Jaya, both those who were in the process of leaving and those who, as far as they know are able to remain there. I stayed with a couple of mission families who are family friends and who were preparing to leave.

²⁶⁶ Burt *On His Majesty's Service*, front page

CHAPTER FOUR - *The Challenge of Modernisation*

Over the last few years the Danis, and the Dani church as a whole, have had to face a large number of challenges as various influences have penetrated their lives. Of these, the most pressing are Islamisation and modernisation. The situation that the Danis are facing today is unique. The Dani church has never before had to deal with these particular issues because of the simple fact that they have only recently found their way into the Dani community of the North Baliem Valley and amongst the Dani students. This applies to the coastal cities such as the capital of Jayapura too. While the coastal region has had a greater and longer exposure to outside influences, the changes that have been taking place recently have been so rapid that the entire Irianese population is facing new problems. As modernisation and Islam present the most pressing challenges and their influence pervades many other areas of the contemporary Dani experience, the discussion will be divided into two sections. This chapter will deal with modernisation while the threat Islam poses to the Dani church will be discussed in the final chapter.

Much of the information provided in this chapter will be from my own research in Irian Jaya and will reflect the views and comments of my informants who either completed a questionnaire or whom I interviewed. This information will not be footnoted as the informants choose that their identity remain confidential. The other major source that will be used in these two chapters is that of written Dani material, mainly unpublished papers. While personal comments may be added about particular situations, an attempt will be made to reflect as closely as possible the views of the Dani people regarding the challenges they are facing as individual Christians and as a Church. Views expressed in this thesis have been obtained both from those Danis who have remained in the North Baliem as well as from those who have been to the coast to study or are there currently.

Stone to Modern Age

The Danis have been propelled to their present situation at a dizzying speed from what others have termed a "Stone Age" existence, or rather as they would describe it, the "Dark Age" as illustrated by the words of the charismatic Yambonep. Also known as Yakya, he carried what he had heard of the Christian message back to Makki and even

down towards Pyramid. He was one of the early Christians and is now a leading and highly respected Baptist preacher. Yambonep states "As we look back on our ignorance, our mutual suspicion and traditional hatred, our dread of spirits, and our fear of our fellow men, we realise that we truly lived in a time of darkness, groping about without any light to show us our way."²⁶⁷ Within a period of less than forty years the Dani people have had their first contact with the outside world and experienced a miraculous mass conversion with the advent of Christianity in their Valley which included a certain amount of social development, especially with regard to health. They have sent out numerous missionaries of their own, gone from walking to flying and have learnt to read and write in Dani as well as Indonesian, the national language since Indonesia took control of Irian Jaya in the 1960s. The Danis have also had to learn to deal with Indonesian authorities who are totally different from the other foreigners the Danis had encountered with regard to their religion, skin colour and language as well as their attitude towards the Dani people themselves. Their contact with Indonesians began in the early sixties during the period of Indonesia's interim government of Irian Jaya. Indonesia was attempting to gain as much control as possible over the region before the vote took place in 1969 that would determine whether the government would retain its position in Irian Jaya and so they made their presence felt with military troops. Following the inclusion of Irian Jaya as the 23rd province of Indonesia, the attempt to gain and maintain control of the diverse land continued and political, social and economic development was undertaken by both the government and NGOs, increasing the presence of foreigners and their influence on the Danis.²⁶⁸

Although Irian Jaya is more accessible than it was even five years ago, the struggle to tame the region continues as the terrain, especially of the highlands, has made it a difficult and time consuming task.²⁶⁹ As the Indonesian government aims to transform Irian into a more readily habitable area, moves have been made towards urbanisation. Now the Danis are sending their children away to SMA schooling at Wamena or even as far as the coast.

²⁶⁷ N.&S.Draper *Daring to Believe*, (ABMS, 1990), p.258 quoting Yambonep This view was also expressed by a number of Dani Christians who were interviewed or completed questionnaires

²⁶⁸ The Provincial Government of Irian Jaya *Irian Jaya: A New Frontier for Trade, Investment and Tourism*, (1993), p.35

²⁶⁹ S.Rustam "Kebijakan Pembangunan Daerah Irian Jaya" in Kasiepo et al.(eds.) *Pembangunan Masyarakat Pedalaman Irian Jaya*, pp.15-16

In more recent years there have been Danis attending colleges and universities, writing theses and travelling to other parts of the Indonesian archipelago to study or work.

The term "modernisation" or "modernity" can be, and has been, interpreted in various ways as scholarly and philosophical debates have centred on its various modes, contradictions and possible interpretations. Modernity, as Marshall Berman explains, has been attributed numerous meanings over time, though the "drive for free development" is a central theme to modernism,²⁷⁰. The first phase of modernism, according to Berman, occurred in the sixteenth to the eighteenth century leading up to the second phase following the French Revolution in the 1790s. The third phase that he discusses in his book *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air*, is the twentieth century which in itself offers diverse readings of modernism and has even created post-modernism, sometimes seen to be merely another form of modernism.²⁷¹ Numerous philosophers, writers and artists over the last two centuries have discussed and struggled with the concept of modernism and its meanings. According to Berman the "current thinking about modernity is broken into two different compartments... : 'modernization' in economics and politics, 'modernism' in art, culture and sensibility."²⁷²

Modernisation, with its history in the French Revolution and the Enlightenment, also refers to a secularisation and rationalisation of traditional views, which were often centred on the mystical spirit world. This rationalisation is related to education and results in an expanded world view, from local to universal. Modernisation also involves a change in the basis of social power, as high positions in society are no longer obtained through a relationship to former rulers or to the spirits, but rather through an individual's personal attributes. These alterations are outward signs of a basic change in social structure and mentality. "Modernisation" of this sort had already taken place amongst the Western Danis, although it did not result in the loss of religion, but rather followed the introduction and the acceptance of Christianity in 1960-1962. The acceptance of Christianity dispelled the power the spirit world was deemed to have over every aspect of life in the North Baliem.

²⁷⁰ M.Berman "Why Modernism Still Matters" in S.Lash & J.Friedman (eds.) *Modernity & Identity*, (Blackwell, 1992), p.36

²⁷¹ M.Berman *All That is Solid Melts Into Air*, (Simon & Schuster, 1982), p.16

²⁷² *Ibid.*, p.88

As a belief in spirits was replaced by a belief in the Christian God, the people learnt through the introduction of medication that there were rational answers to issues such as illness. As education increased so too did rational thought. Increasingly the world was secularised, in contrast to the traditional Dani belief system where inanimate objects, such as stones and trees were believed to be animate. The world view of the Danis had also been expanded by the mere presence of the foreign missionaries, the education they received and by their moving to other areas of Irian Jaya to work or study.

Modernisation is also at times equated with westernisation or industrialisation, neither of which are applicable to this paper. Rather than attempting to deal with the scholarly concepts, the understanding of "modernisation" employed in this paper, will be that perceived by the Danis, namely, exposure to an urban lifestyle and with it a greater freedom of social behaviour. For the Danis this involves a move away from the traditional community lifestyle that has remained fairly constant through the mass conversions to Christianity, as urban and consumerist trends find their way into the lives of the Dani people of the North Baliem Valley. Those who have been directly challenged by these influences are the young people, although the non-Christian members of the Dani community have been most susceptible to the undesirable effects of modernisation or urbanisation. While these youths are included in the church's concern for the young people, it is the young people who have been brought up in the church who are its major concern, and hence the focus of the discussion in this paper. The older generations have had to deal with the influences of modernity in a different form but have not had to deal with modernisation as it is experienced today, as an urbanising process with increasing freedom.

Young people, separated from their families and home church while they are studying in Wamena or on the coast, are seen to be in danger of turning away from the church and Christ as they become involved in various aspects of urban living. Such trends are also beginning to influence those in the villages of the highlands as communication has been improved. The Dani community is facing issues that many communities throughout the world are having to deal with, such as the consumption of alcohol, smoking, gambling, free relationships between the sexes and the social problems resulting from these

phenomena.²⁷³ While these problems are causing real concern amongst the Western Dani population, they are also symptoms of more general changes in social lifestyle as more Danis are finding themselves in an urban situation, with its increased freedom and various forms of entertainment. It may be that the Dani people are fearful of such developments as they represent a major change in outlook that is inconsistent with their community centred lifestyle. Within the church itself there are also problems emerging that are claimed to result from "modernity". These include a certain degree of disunity and disagreement amongst leaders, as well as corruption.²⁷⁴ The Dani Christians and the Dani Church as a whole have faced many challenges during their short history and have generally taken them in their stride, but the stream of influences continues to grow and is seen in a more threatening light by both young and older members of the Dani church. The presence of Cargo Cults amongst the Dani people will be referred to and finally the response of the Dani church to these numerous challenges will be discussed.

Young People and Modernity

The higher formal education of Dani children, which requires them to live away from their home villages and their families is a cause of anxiety. One fear that was expressed by Dani sources was that these children and youths would rebel against the church and abandon their faith in Jesus Christ. According to a number of the younger informants who have studied either in Wamena or Jayapura, young people tend to lose contact with the church not as a result of a sudden rebelliousness but rather through a slow process of attraction to urban, non-church related activities. This process is generally assisted by non-Christian friends whom the young people have met through school or other activities.

Money was deemed to play a large role in the move of Dani youths away from the church. The difficulties faced by villages financing Danis living in the cities have already been mentioned, and often result in students having to take part time work to supplement the support of their church and family. In the city it would be expected that work colleagues

²⁷³ L.Kogoya *Pelayanan Pemuda di Jemaat Baptis Diakonia Sebagai Pola Bagi Pelayanan Pemuda se-Wilayah Perime*, (Unpublished paper, 1993), pp.5, 12 also corroborated by the Danis who completed questionnaires and also via interviews

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p.13 & K.Wakerkwa *Pertumbuhan Gereja Baptis di Wilayah Pirime*, (Unpublished paper, 1992), p.9 Corroborated by interviews and questionnaires

would be non-Christians and so this is one challenging and influential area for the Dani young people. Jobs are available for youths to work as conductors on a "*taksi*", a form of public transport similar to a small bus. In this instant it is certain that the work partner, the driver, would not be a Dani but rather a *pendatang*, and as such most probably not a Christian. This could result in pressure being placed upon the youth to work on Sundays and being ridiculed or threatened with job loss if he does not comply. The appreciation and desire for money increases as the youth experiences having and spending extra money, rather than possessing barely enough to survive on. Apparently the threat of losing a job or the thought of extra money from working an extra day may encourage the youth to work on Sunday.

One 22 year old Dani who has completed his schooling in Wamena and is currently studying in Jayapura, related a story of his experiences as a youth in Wamena. "I had absolutely no money to continue my schooling, so I got a job working with Muslims at the electricity department. Even on Sundays they would come in to work. They worked every Sunday, but I wanted to go to the church worship service. 'Ah! Just work. It is just a fraud, Jesus Christ is already dead. He is looking for food in the graveyard, under the ground. You have been deceived,' they would say things like that. I would reply 'Jesus Christ has died - he has also risen from the dead'".²⁷⁵ They challenged him consistently about working on Sunday and the reality of the Christian message but he claimed that he replied just as consistently that Sunday was his day of worship and so he would not work. They continued to confront him on this issue until one day he stated that he was certain of his salvation through Christ, were they certain of their salvation? "Those I was speaking to did not answer but turned around and walked to the market."²⁷⁶ Following this they no longer tested him and he was able to continue working there.

According to this youth, many of the young Danis actually do withstand the taunts and attempts to discourage their church involvement but there are also a number of susceptible Dani youths whose involvement in the church fades. Most, if not all these youths have been brought up in the church and a Christian community, have attended Sunday

²⁷⁵ Interview, Jayapura 28/7/1994

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

School diligently and have been close to making a personal commitment to God and accepting Jesus Christ as their personal saviour. Apparently as they have not made a final decision, they are more easily led away from the church and its influence upon their lives as they become involved in activities that their home church and their families would not appreciate or condone. Yet according to another young Dani man, this disapproval would not really worry them once they have moved away from the church as they become too involved in their new lifestyle and apparently no longer want or respect the guidance and admonition of their parents or other members of their church.²⁷⁷ Being away from home and in their teenage years would make them more vulnerable to these influences. During a time of personal insecurity and lack of self worth they could be dazzled by the modern, increasingly secular lifestyle that is greatly valued by the majority of the urban inhabitants. This upsets their parents, not only because their children do not respect them but also because they see their children turning away from the salvation that they are fully convinced is found only through Jesus Christ.

The parents of today's young people are first generation Christians who have brought their children up in a Christian and church environment. The parents were converted through the missionaries during the early years of the Dani church, and as such they are fully aware of the lifestyle that they left behind them when they chose Jesus Christ over their animistic beliefs. The Dani Christians describe their former lifestyle in various ways. Amonen, one of the early Christians who had formerly been an apprentice sorcerer but had become associated with the missionaries at Tiom at an early stage, states "We look back and realise that our entire social structure was sick - very sick - and because of that we were always wallowing in trouble of one sort or another."²⁷⁸ Yambonep, who was mentioned earlier in the chapter, is quoted as saying "As we look back ... we realise that we truly lived in a time of darkness, groping about without any light to show us our way." and continues on to contrast it with the post-conversion era where he claims "God's Holy Spirit has lit a light within hundreds and thousands of us, so that our whole environment has changed, passing out of darkness into light."²⁷⁹ At the same time they have attempted to

²⁷⁷ Interview, Jayapura 30/7/1994

²⁷⁸ Draper *Daring*, p.211

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 258

protect their children from knowing the full extent of the activities the Dani community was involved in prior to the presentation of the Gospel.²⁸⁰ As such, while the majority of the Dani young people make a commitment to Christ, there are apparently those who take Christianity for granted and do not realise the full significance of the salvation found through the Christian gospel.

Recreational activities that take place on Sundays were also mentioned as playing a part in distracting youths away from the church and their Christian faith. Cars and money were mentioned as they allowed the youths to travel further for recreation and as such consume a larger part of the day so that there is no chance to be involved in the Sunday church activities. Reportedly this is when the first step is taken away from the church and often as the Dani youths gradually lose contact with their friends from the church, they spend more time with, and are increasingly influenced by, work colleagues or school friends. As a result of the novelty of the entire experience, the Dani youths, who have never before experienced the freedom of an urban lifestyle can get carried away by the new influences and become immersed in the new way of living. This in turn leads not only to a move away from Sunday church services but also from the youth group activities that are provided for the young people of the church. While initially the move away from the church is gradual and the youths are most probably unaware of the full consequences, finally it leads to a total break from the church and even disrupts the family and village life when the student returns home for a holiday as influences from the city are brought into the valley by the youths.

I was also interested to find out whether any of the young people were being drawn back to animism. A coastal Irianese states that from his own observations young people have been returning to traditional beliefs as a result of attempting to deal with the transition period between traditional and modern society. A major discomfort of this transition is caused by the disjuncture between the young people's ability and training and a lack of opportunity to obtain access to further education.²⁸¹ As a result they are unable to achieve

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p.230 quoting Miyaawarak

²⁸¹ The majority of the students who attend UNCEN, Universitas Cendrawasih in Abepura, Jayapura actually originate from other islands throughout the Indonesian archipelago, making it very difficult for the local Irianese to obtain places at the University to further their education.

in the modern world and so return to their traditional way of life and even in some cases to the traditional belief system. Another reason that was stated for the return of some Irianese to tradition was their fear of losing their identity as they are integrated into Indonesia. Miyaawarak, one of the early converts to Christianity, states that with the more peaceful lifestyle that has followed Christianity some youths seemed to feel that life was not exciting and that this excitement could be found in the former beliefs and traditions of the Western Danis.²⁸² This was seen by the Dani Christians to be a disadvantage of being second generation Christians, as the young people are not fully aware of what the pre-Christian Dani lifestyle actually entailed and they are taking the present situation for granted. A few of those I spoke to acknowledged that there may be a slight influence from this sector, yet the overwhelming reply was that unlike modernisation the traditional influence was negligible, largely because the community had been freed from its traditional lifestyle and beliefs. Another Dani man, about forty years of age from the Pyramid district, who is largely self-educated but has also undertaken some formal education and worked in both the urban and rural areas in Irian Jaya, drew a connection between the level of education and the influence of modernity as opposed to *adat-istiadat* or pre-Christian beliefs. He stated that "Not everyone is influenced by traditional beliefs but there are of course some. Those young people who are educated at junior high school or senior high school level have a greater understanding after their studies. But if their education is limited to primary school, then they are certainly open to be influenced. I mean the influence of traditional customs here. But those with a junior high school education or higher are open to outside influences like alcohol, smoking...".²⁸³

Five other Dani Christians who were interviewed, three men and two women ranging in age from 24 to 40, stated that the influence that traditional beliefs and lifestyle had on some youths came from their parents. It was claimed that while most of the Danis who professed to be Christians had truly accepted Christ personally, there were a few who had not made a full commitment but who nonetheless involved themselves in the church. Their children had grown up in the church and as such were involved in church activities

²⁸² Draper *Daring*, p.230 quoting Miyaawarak

²⁸³ Interview, Pyramid 13/8/1994

including youth group. An example was given by a young married man who lives and works in Pit River, of the way those who have not fully accepted Christianity attempt to direct their children. "There is an influence from parents who do not truly believe the Christian message. If they [the children] are male it does not matter as it is only the females whom they attempt to influence. For example if a young person, a female wants to attend a youth group activity in Ndugapaga then her parents may say 'Oh, you do not have to go'. There are many such occurrences of young people being told they need not attend or being forbidden from attending youth group. They only go to church. They listen but they do not hear what is said ... their parents continue to forbid any involvement in the youth group. So a young person may want to but is under the influence of his/her parents."²⁸⁴ While there are those who resist the influence of tradition, others succumb to it as their parents portray the "good old days" and relate stories of the former beliefs and lifestyle of the Western Dani community.²⁸⁵ "There are those young people who embrace the old beliefs. There are those who are a part of the church and then there are those, both male and female, who study the traditional culture and customs, who use and make black magic for traditional medicine."²⁸⁶ Yet the main influence in the village continues to be Christian as the majority of the parents are Christians themselves and have allowed their faith to influence their children. While the Dani church and its members are aware of the modern and traditional influences amongst the Dani people and those who accept them, it is claimed that "... in general they [young people] are faithful ...".²⁸⁷ It seemed that in some districts there are fewer Christian youths than in others and this could reflect a greater influence from traditional animistic beliefs as well as modernity. Meanwhile in other areas the youth group is extremely strong with its members having withstood the pressures of their contact with either modernity or traditional beliefs.²⁸⁸

²⁸⁴ Interview, Makki 3/8/1994

²⁸⁵ Interview, Makki 8/8/1994 A married, middle aged Dani woman who has lived on the coast for a short period and who is a leading figure in the community. One of her children is studying in Wamena at present.

²⁸⁶ Interview, Makki 8/8/1994 A married, middle aged Dani man who has studied on the coast and who has a high standing in the community.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁸ L.Kogoya *Pelayanan Pemuda*, p.30 & O.Kogoya *Perkembangan Gereja-Gereja Baptis di Wilayah Tiom*, (Unpublished paper, 1993), pp.23-25 & Wakerkwa *Pertumbuhan Gereja*, p.6

The issues the young people are facing are considered by both young and old members of the Dani church to be threatening as "the young people are the strength of the church." and their faithfulness to the church will determine its future.²⁸⁹ Each church is concerned for its own young people and the young people of the Christian church in general. The Dani church is facing the challenge of learning how to deal with the problem of the boredom and insecurity of the young people which could lead them to animism or attract them indiscriminately to every aspect of an urban, materialistic lifestyle. It is the latter which is seen to be the main challenge. Perceived "modernity" has become a problem in the church because many of the leaders and the older people, having never dealt with these particular issues before, are not sure how to handle them.²⁹⁰ Animism poses less of a problem as they grew up with it and were involved in it themselves either by merely joining in the rituals and beliefs or by being spiritual leaders and mediums, as a number were when the first missionaries arrived.²⁹¹ Yet since most of the older generations have never had the opportunity or desire to go to the towns where urban "modernity" flourishes, they are not aware of what exactly the young people are being exposed to. This unfamiliarity produces misunderstandings. See, for example, conflicts over the present fashion of having long hair. While this does not present a problem for the young people, it is seen by the older generations in the light of their animistic past which as Christians they broke with completely. Their long hair was a symbol of vanity and pride, it was all for show and was linked with their animistic lifestyle. For the young people it does not carry the implications that it does for their parents and so is a potential area of disagreement.²⁹² In most areas it seems to have been resolved fairly well but there is still an awareness amongst the church members, both from the youth group and the church leadership, of the need for a greater awareness, sensitivity and understanding between the two groups. "In the present situation the young generation are looking for something to hold on to. The church needs to open its eyes to the confusion of the young people in this present age and try to guide them ...

²⁸⁹ L.Kogoya *Pelayanan Pemuda*, p.5 This view was reflected in the interviews as well

²⁹⁰ B.Kogoya *Suatu Penilaian Terhadap Perkembangan Gereja-Gereja Baptis di Wilayah Danime*, (Unpublished paper, 1992), p.8 Corroborated by interviews

²⁹¹ Draper *Daring*, p.203

²⁹² D.Hayward *The Dani of Irian Jaya Before and After Conversion*, (Regions Press, 1980), p.165

spiritually so that they will have a firm belief ...".²⁹³ This confusion of the young people is the result of the transition they are making from a traditional society to a modern one. They are also asked to "... bring discipline and leadership with the aim of combating negative matters arising".²⁹⁴ Yet the young people have to be willing to help their parents and elders to understand the new influences that are entering the lives of both generations, whether directly or indirectly and affecting their lives either overtly or covertly.

While the influence of modernisation until recently was reaching the towns and cities directly and the villages indirectly, as students returned home for holidays, that situation is changing with the establishment of the road between Wamena and Tiom. It has already been mentioned how the road has provided more contact with the outside world for the government officials, and in so doing it is also exposing the Dani people to more of the influences from Wamena. Vehicles driven by Indonesians make their way along the road every day, bringing with them students returning home, *pendatang*, government personnel, goods and the odd tourist. Up until now the road has not brought a great many changes as the *taksi* are in general passing through. Yet recently urban influences, considered by the Dani Christians both young and old as undesirable, have begun to penetrate the relatively isolated villages carried in by the *taksi*. As such the road is viewed with distrust by the majority of the Dani community. A married couple living in Makki explained to me that they realise there is very little they can do about bringing to a halt the introduction of these influences that "...over time will become increasingly evident in the villages and so we just pray for strength..." to face and deal with them.

A number of specific issues will be discussed here that have, so far, largely affected the younger generation as they live and study in Wamena or Jayapura, but are now also beginning to become more prominent in the North Baliem Valley. The way in which certain members of the community are seen to succumb to urban influences may in itself result from feelings of inadequacy as they are confronted by a modern, sophisticated world which is perceived as a real threat to the structure, lifestyle and hence the beliefs of the Dani community as a whole.

²⁹³ B.Kogoya *Suatu Penilaian*, pp.8, 19, This request was also made by the younger Christians who were interviewed

²⁹⁴ L.Kogoya *Pelayanan Pemuda*, p.19

Smoking

One issue is that of smoking.²⁹⁵ It may seem surprising that this is an issue that the Dani people are concerned about today as it was a part of their former lifestyle. Now however, it is seen as an influence of "modernity" because of its promotion in the urban areas. Smoking was prevalent amongst the members, both male and female, of the traditional Dani community. In fact a smoking ritual was undertaken when the first missionaries entered the North Baliem Valley in order to determine whether these newcomers were humans or spirits. According to the Danis, spirits could not smoke but men could. They had not yet seen these white newcomers smoke and so in an attempt to determine their true status, they were ordered to take part in a ritual in which each mission member was asked to smoke, properly, one of the Dani cigarettes. They all managed to do so, although unaware until later of what this ritual was meant to accomplish. This convinced the Danis that the missionaries were indeed human beings.²⁹⁶ Following their conversion the practice of smoking disappeared, largely on the initiative of the Danis themselves as they pictured the smoke from the cigarette inside their bodies the way the smoke from their fires fills the huts.²⁹⁷

Today, as young Danis go to the urban areas, they enter a culture that is vastly different to their own and one in which smoking amongst males is widespread and where cigarettes are readily accessible. The appeal of cigarettes may lie in their social role and their novelty but also in the warming affect they would have on the body, particularly in Wamena which, situated in the highlands, has cool weather. Dani youths living in the cities and towns, buy cigarettes and then take them home to the villages and share them around. Recently cigarettes have been brought in by *taksi* to be sold in the villages. It challenges the Dani church as a move away from the stand the early Christians made, and thus a possible threat to the existing structure and culture of Dani society based on Christianity. There is also a perception of smoking as a threat to health, with the analogy of the hut and a

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.12, 18

²⁹⁶ N.Draper "ABFM Becomes Involved" p.29 & I.Gruber "A Personal Account" pp.57-58 in *Baliem Beginnings* (Camden Baptist Church, 1976)

²⁹⁷ L.Kogoya *Pelayanan Pemuda*, p.18

person's body, and the association of smoking with other undesirable forms of behaviour such as gambling.²⁹⁸

Alcohol

Another symptom of the disruption caused by modernity is the presence and consumption of alcohol, resulting in drunkenness. This too has found its way into the lives of young people while living on the coast or in Wamena. According to the Danis, this is as far as it has penetrated, as it has not yet entered the villages. In recent years alcoholic drinks were not readily available. Unfortunately though this did not stop the youths from drinking *minuman keras* or strong drinks, alcohol. "Here alcohol was banned by the government but when the government banned it the people were able to make their own from methylated spirits, from bananas - very potent. Finally the government thought that rather than even more potent drinks being made it would be better to have alcohol brought in and so it has been arranged."²⁹⁹ Some villages may be influenced by alcohol as youths return home and make it for their friends, and while it is a problem that the Dani church is keeping an eye on, at present it is not particularly influential amongst the Dani people of the North Baliem.³⁰⁰

Gambling

One young, married man who works in an administrative position in Pit River portrayed gambling as a major problem the church is facing as it enters the Dani community and influences its members, especially the young people. "Youths here just gamble, gamble while smoking."³⁰¹ Other respondents throughout the district confirmed that it is quite a large problem amongst the young men. On a trek from Makki to Tiom we passed a group of fairly young Dani men, around two in the afternoon, who during their afternoon break were smoking and concentrating deeply on their gambling. Gambling is an issue that not only challenges the church as members come under its influence, but is also beginning to have a detrimental affect on community and family life. This activity not only involves the loss of money but also includes smoking and possibly drinking and according to Dani

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.* & Corroborated by interviews

²⁹⁹ Interview, Pyramid 13/8/1994

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.* & Corroborated by interviews and questionnaires

³⁰¹ Interview, Makki 3/8/1994

sources it can also lead to involvement in things like black magic, stealing and violence, not to mention neglecting wives and families.³⁰² It was seen by one informant from the Pyramid district to be a result of idle hands, as the young people have nothing to occupy them. "The young people have to be active. Like the coffee gardens over there. The youths are taken and assigned to work there. That will make them spend more time working in the coffee garden than gambling. ... Now gambling has decreased here. Previously it was out of control. They would forget their wives, forget everyone."³⁰³ Meanwhile a young man from Makki described the affect that gambling is having on the youths there who formerly attended the church. "They only want to gamble and so do not go to church. On Sunday they gamble. The youths enter one hut early in the morning to gamble and do not leave until about four in the afternoon. ... friends are invited to 'come to my house to gamble'. They stay in there all day, eat and drink and so do not go to church."³⁰⁴ While only a small number of Dani youths are involved in gambling, this young Dani man saw it as the foremost influence amongst the young men at present.

These practices have only just started to make their way into the lives of the Dani people living in the remote villages in the North Baliem Valley, brought back by the students, and now by the road going through. As a result the road is viewed with mixed feelings, and increasingly with distrust by many members of the Dani villages. Villages relatively shielded from these problems at present are those that are not situated close to the road or whose children have not gone on to high school education.

Sexual Relations

Another problem which both young people and the older generation are having to face is that of relations between the sexes. There have been numerous instances of pre-marital relations between young girls from the churches and either youths from the church or acquaintances from outside the church, the latter being the most common. This has led to unexpected pregnancies as well as the spread of sexually transmitted diseases. This whole situation is becoming more apparent, especially on the coast and reportedly is most

³⁰² L.Kogoya *Pelayanan Pemuda*, pp.12-18 & Wakerkwa *Pertumbuhan Gereja Baptis*, p.9 Also corroborated by interviews and questionnaires

³⁰³ Interview, Pyramid 13/8/1994

³⁰⁴ Interview, Makki 3/8/1994

noticeable amongst the daughters of ministers or church leaders. Instances of teenage pre-marital sex in the villages are extremely rare. It is more prominent amongst the young people when they are not in the village but are away in Wamena or Jayapura at school. Here they are no longer under the continual watch of their parents or other members of their village and so there are less restraints placed upon them to act according to the accepted cultural mores or within the Christian morals they have been brought up with. The traditional lifestyle of the Dani community provides an example of the restraints upon young people within the village. Girls remained with their parents until they were married and the men remained with their parents ideally for life, so that following the marriage the girl became a part of the man's family.³⁰⁵ According to Dani students, their exposure to influences such as movies and magazines that portray the practice of free sexual relations between young people, and the presence of prostitutes, encourages free sexual relations.³⁰⁶ Apparently this is an issue that the Dani church community on the coast has been facing for a number of years now and they are still not quite sure how to handle it. According to one highly educated Dani man the Dani youths "accept the foreign, modern culture very quickly because they think their own culture is inferior."³⁰⁷ This may reflect the general lack of self-confidence that many teenagers experience elsewhere in the modern world, as well as being an example of a society being presented with the technology and sophistication of modernity which contrasts with their relatively basic lifestyle.

The Dani people love their children and instruct them in Christian morals and yet some still manage to get themselves involved with the opposite sex before marriage, becoming pregnant, or as one informant stated "damaged or tainted"³⁰⁸ in the process. From my observations, while the church does not agree with or condone the way in which the baby was conceived, neither do they allow the child to suffer for its parents' indiscretions. Rather the child is brought up in the village with the other children, and in many cases is adopted by the mother's parents as their own child. It is interesting to note that the Danis traditionally have not really had to deal with this issue. Many of the first

³⁰⁵ W.Wenda *Suatu Tinjauan Alkitabiah Terhadap Tradisi Pemilihan Pasangan Hidup Dalam Kebudayaan Suku Lani*, (Unpublished paper, 1993), p.10

³⁰⁶ B.Kogoya *Suatu Penilaian*, p.19 & L.Kogoya *Pelayanan Pemuda*, p.5

³⁰⁷ Interview, Jayapura 30/7/1994 A young man who furthered his studies in Manado

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

generation of converts were either married or of marrying age when they accepted Christianity and with it, Christian morals, and so they had relatively few problems with pre-marital relations. Meanwhile today's generation is facing a situation where unlike the girls of their parent's generation, they are not married off once they reach puberty.³⁰⁹ The age difference between married couples is decreasing with the average marrying age for both sexes being around 19 years. Previously, with the marrying age for girls being so young there was no opportunity for pre-marital relations as the available females were married off once they emerged from childhood, and the men were afforded little chance to become sexually involved before they themselves were married, once able to afford the bride price.³¹⁰

The Danis claim that the problem the church is facing with regard to sexual relations is exacerbated by the presence of tourists both in Wamena and to a lesser extent in the villages. The tourists seem to be the main source of STDs or Sexually Transmitted Diseases, which are introduced initially through their relationships with Dani girls and are spread either as the tourists travel around or through the infected Dani girl. While most of this, to date has apparently been occurring in the tourist centres such as Wamena, with the road now leading from Wamena to Pit River, a few are making their way off the general tourist track into the villages around the government posts situated along this road, villages such as Makki and Pit River. When I arrived at Makki there were two Swedish male tourists who had spent the night in Makki, waiting for the next *taksi* to return to Wamena. Apparently when tourists make their way into the villages they often "*main perempuan*" or "become involved with girls here with the result that they [Dani girls] have contracted diseases. Diseases that previously were not present among us, now are."³¹¹

Apart from the problems faced by the church and the Dani community with sexual relations between tourists and local Dani girls, there is also the general lifestyle portrayed by these white tourists. "Many people here think that people with white skin, westerners are all believers. But they come here, on Sunday they go on treks so that people say 'Ah, why are

³⁰⁹ Hayward *The Dani of Irian Jaya*, p.53

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.182-183

³¹¹ Interview, Makki 7/8/1994 A married man, 31 years old who has studied on the coast and been a lecturer

these westerners not attending church.' They do not want to come to church."³¹² Not only do they not attend church but they "always smoke, they do not let water enter their bodies, only alcohol ... they have the same skin, the same hair, the same language as the missionaries who came but are not the same."³¹³ Both young people and the older generation of the Dani church community are well aware of the modern lifestyle these tourists are portraying and the example it is providing for the Dani people especially, although not exclusively, the younger generation.

Influence on Leaders

While the majority of those members of the Dani church who have been influenced by modern changes have been the young people, such influences have not been confined to this age group. Members of the older generations too have been found to be susceptible to the undesirable influences of modernity. The Dani church has had to deal with the problems that emerge as certain church leaders have succumbed to and involved themselves in extra-marital relations. While most of the church leaders who have become involved in these relationships work on the coast and are not Danis, they are still church leaders in the Western Dani church. As such their actions create a challenge that the Dani church is having to deal with and that a number of Dani Christians claim to be having a difficult time coming to terms with.

Financial corruption is another issue that the Dani church is dealing with,³¹⁴ although reportedly the offenders are mainly situated in churches on the coast, rather than in the villages where there is less opportunity for such corruption. While some Danis have been overwhelmed by the temptations that confront them when they move into an urban community, they tend to be of the younger generation "but those who are old like Milliluk, Wendana, Yakya are excellent."³¹⁵ In their discussion of this issue, while the Dani Christians obviously regarded it as a challenge the church is facing, they also felt that they were already doing what they could to deal with it. Those leaders who are found to be corrupt in their use of the church finances are reprimanded by the church and are then

³¹² *Ibid.*

³¹³ Interview, Makki 3/8/1994

³¹⁴ L.Kogoya *Pelayanan Pemuda*, p.13 Discussed and corroborated in the interviews

³¹⁵ Interview, Makki 3/8/1994

required to step down from their leadership position for a period. Otherwise, if they are truly sorry for their actions and are willing to repay the church, they are required to continue to lead the church without receiving a wage as they do on the coast, until the entire amount of money has been compensated for. Not only does corruption challenge the church as it weakens its moral validity and "divides the church"³¹⁶ but it also weakens its financial stability. We have already discussed the way in which the church is financed, and it would seem fairly obvious that while the church is able to run on the finance it does receive it cannot afford to have money continually removed from its funds.

One area which seemed to concern those Danis involved in the survey was that of disunity amongst certain church leaders.³¹⁷ It has already been mentioned that as an organisation the church in Irian Jaya is fairly co-operative, as are the various denominations, particularly amongst the Dani church in the North Baliem Valley. Yet "Leaders lack unity with the result that the Christian church has begun to weaken."³¹⁸ This in turn is believed to decrease the effectiveness of the church body within Irian Jaya at present. This is not to say that the entire leadership of the Dani church is in disagreement but rather there are a few whose words and actions are making the lack of leadership cohesion quite obvious. The situations that certain church leaders have found themselves in with regard to corruption and sexual promiscuity have not helped matters, but have rather exacerbated them. The disunity of certain leaders also divides some congregations.

Cargo Cults

Another possible reaction to modernisation with its consumer values which might have been expected, is the emergence of Cargo Cults which have surfaced intermittently amongst certain Dani communities since the mass conversions to Christianity. In Cargo Cults, Christian beliefs are mixed with traditional expectations of a golden, idyllic age here on earth, when the people will be happy and will lack for nothing. Apparently this has not been a problem for the church in recent years as the Danis in the North Baliem Valley have managed to steer clear of the emergence of distortions in the form of Cargo Cults. One

³¹⁶ Interview, Makki 3/8/1994 A young widowed woman who has trained as a teacher & Interview, Jayapura 30/7/1994

³¹⁷ Wakerkwa *Pertumbuhan Gereja Baptis*, p.9 Also corroborated by interviews and questionnaires

³¹⁸ Questionnaire completed by a young student in Jayapura, 22/7/1994

young man from Makki looked at me in horror when I asked him if they were in existence in that area. He stated "No, we have left that behind us."³¹⁹ Other Dani groups such as those around Mulia have had Cargo Cults surface as late as 1988, but in general they have been short lived as the leaders of the movements cannot live up to the claims they make and the expectations of their followers.³²⁰ While I expected Cargo Cults to be an issue for the Western Dani church, this was not so. The Danis claimed that these types of movements tend to be more prominent amongst the coastal people of Irian Jaya. This is probably due to them being more aware of ships and the cargo they carry, so that movements built around the coming of plenty of cargo along with a golden age of plenty and freedom from illness and sorrow find easier targets here. Also, according to one Dani youth studying in Jayapura, the emergence of Cargo Cults amongst a number of groups on the coast results from them not yet being reached directly by the Gospel message and so having confused various aspects of the Christian message with their own expectations.

These are the issues that emerged in the discussions of challenges that the church is facing today and which are linked to the disruptive affect of modernisation amongst the Danis in their villages and to a greater degree its influence on the Danis studying or working in the urban areas. The picture that has been painted so far seems fairly bleak. But while the church members claim to be challenged by these issues, they are not yet proving to be a serious problem within the church. For example the problems amongst the youth with regard to turning their backs on Christianity and turning to alcohol, gambling and sex are more apparent in some Dani villages than in others and even then, according to one lady who holds leadership positions in Makki and has a couple of teenage children, approximately 2% of the young people are falling away.³²¹ The leadership is in the same situation. The majority are standing firm in their faith and maintaining their moral standards, but a few are abusing their position in the community. It is those few who are having an impact on the church. Those who remain faithful are concerned for their friends and

³¹⁹ Personal conversation, Makki 9/8/1994

³²⁰ J.A.Godschalk & A.E.Dumatubun *Bangunan Baru dan Fondasi Tua: Suatu Studi Kasus Tentang Kargoisme di Dani Barat*, (UNCEN/Bapeda Tingkat I Irian Jaya, 1989), p.82 & Hayward *The Dani of Irian Jaya*, p.150

³²¹ Interview, Makki 8/8/1994

become more aware of the temptations that lie ahead of students moving away from home, and for leaders in the cities, both from modernisation and the second major issue of Islam.

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CHAPTER FIVE - The Challenge of "Islamisasikan"

The second major challenge the Dani church is facing is Islamisation. In the survey I conducted, Islamisation actually rated as the number one problem mentioned by Dani people at present. Unlike modernisation it is not just tempting certain members of the church with a modern lifestyle. This can be combated with guidance from the church body. Rather Islam is directly challenging the Dani church and its belief in Jesus Christ, both as an organisation and as individual Christians. According to the Danis this process of Islamising Irian Jaya does not only involve individual attempts to convert the local Irianese to Islam but is also closely linked to and assisted by the *transmigrasi* programme implemented by the Indonesian government. As well, it involves the Indonesianising of the region through the establishment of various government regulations that are seen to be aimed directly against the Christian church while assisting the Muslims. The discussion of Islamisation in Irian Jaya will be divided into four sections, namely direct conversion attempts, use of ridicule, threats and the use of bribery, under which we will be covering the issues of nominal beliefs, materialism, the pattern of marriage and also the position of foreign missionaries within Irian Jaya.

Islam is a relatively new, but increasing challenge for the Dani church. The Danis, having previously been only marginally aware of Islam are just beginning to learn about the Muslim beliefs and so are learning what they are going to have to resist in order to maintain the church. Apparently many Danis still have very little idea of the actual essence of the Islamic religion, probably because their contact with it has been minimal. On the coast and in the cities Islam is more prominent³²² with the result that those Danis who have studied or worked on the coast have had more exposure. Yet even those on the coast remain a little unsure of how they are to respond to Islam. Initially this put them in an uncomfortable and difficult position when confronted by Muslims taunting them about their Christian beliefs and claiming that Islam was the only true religion. According to a couple of Dani youths the lack

³²² J.McBeth "At Loggerheads" in *Far Eastern Economic Review* March 10, 1994, p.50 Also corroborated by those Danis who were interviewed

of knowledge Dani Christians have of Islam does not allow them the opportunity to take the offensive and challenge the Muslims over any particular aspect of their belief.

Direct Conversion Attempts

Native Irianese who do not yet lay claim to a world religion, are being targeted by both Muslims and Christians as potential converts. Those who do not profess a formal religion, unlike those who do, are open to the direct or overt attempts of others to convert them. At present the attempt to convert Irianese to Christianity is being made by the people of the Dani church itself, as the church sends out missionaries to other tribes and also as church members witness to others about their faith. Meanwhile the Islamic attempts at conversion have been undertaken by Muslims, both trained Muslim teachers and adherents to Islam, who originate from other islands throughout the Indonesian archipelago. We have already related the incident of how an entire tribe, formerly resistant to Christianity, were converted after having been approached by Muslims attempting to proselytise them. The rejection of Islam and the way the chief of the tribe reached out to the Dani people to teach him and his tribe more about Christianity may have been influenced by a number of issues. The first possible reason for this response to Christianity and the move away from Islam is found in the claim made by the chief. He claimed that while he had remained resistant to the Christian message, having been approached with the Islamic message and comparing it with his basic knowledge of Christianity gained from former missionaries, he came to believe that the Christian doctrine held the truth while Islam was false. While this was the accepted view amongst those I spoke to, it is also possible that the rejection of Islam was based on the issue of ethnicity. Those who were approaching this tribe were Muslim Austronesians and as such represented a potential threat not only to the religious beliefs of the people but also to their culture, tradition and ethnic identity. The Irianese are aware of the increasing numbers of Austronesians coming to Irian Jaya and the attempts of the Indonesian government to Indonesianise the region. Fear of losing their identity may have led this particular tribe to turn to Christianity, a religion that their neighbours, the Danis have embraced. They reached out to the Dani Christians to deepen their knowledge of the Christian doctrine. They may not have accepted Christianity if it had been brought to them, as before, simply on the initiative of a foreign missionary.

According to a young married man in Makki, direct attempts to convert to Islam non-Christian Danis and other highland people, who do not yet profess one of the world religions named under the *Pancasila*, are also undertaken by school teachers. They come to the highlands in the hope of finding locals who do not believe in Christianity and converting them to Islam. Children who have not yet made a decision on what they believe are a prime target.³²³

Apart from these direct attempts made by Austronesians, a new angle is being taken in Wamena. One of my respondents from Pyramid, which is relatively close to Wamena, informed me of a recent development of attempts at proselytising by Muslim communities. Several hundred youths, Wamena locals or Central Danis, who have converted to Islam themselves "...have been trained to return [to the Wamena/Jayawijaya area] to spread Islam. They will then enter their villages..."³²⁴ with the intent of finding, and proselytising, potential converts. While there are Muslims actively proselytising, the Christians are doing likewise as they continue to see the urgency of presenting the others around them with the Christian gospel which they believe to be the truth and the only way to salvation. This sense of urgency while apparently having been heightened by the presence of Islam, has been an essential part of the Dani faith since they accepted Christianity as they expected, and continue to expect, the second coming of Jesus Christ to occur in the near future.³²⁵

Use of Ridicule

Another level of Islamic influence is that of ridicule which involves not so much attempts to convert the Danis, but rather an attempt to discredit the belief individual Danis have in Christianity. It would seem to be the less devout Muslims, with more syncretic beliefs who approach the Dani people in this way. A few of the Dani students in Jayapura who have Muslim friends, remarked on the way a large number of the Javanese and Macassarese combine many cultural and traditional belief systems with their Islamic beliefs and were not as devout as some.³²⁶ Their less devout standing as Muslims seems to be

³²³ Interview, Makki 3/8/1994

³²⁴ Interview, Pyramid 13/8/1994

³²⁵ D.Hayward "Time and Society in Dani Culture" in *Irian Bulletin of Irian Jaya Development*, UNCEN, 1983, Vol.XI, No.2-3, p.52

³²⁶ Interview, Jayapura 30/7/1994

fairly obvious to others in the community, but this is not to say that the Christians are not challenged by them. While they may not be trying covertly to influence them to convert to Islam, they are ridiculing the Christians and their beliefs. Again this may result, not primarily from their varying religious beliefs but rather from a mixture of religious and ethnic intolerance. Religion is a particularly noticeable difference between the Irianese and the Austronesian migrants and could be considered a badge of identity for syncretic Muslims, not a deeply felt belief. As such this ridicule of Christianity may reflect ethnic fear as much as religious antagonism.

Such accounts of ridicule were reported to have occurred in places such as Wamena and Jayapura, and as has already been suggested, are probably an attempt by the *pendatang* to maintain their identity and withstand the possible Christian influence from the people living around them, whilst stirring up support from a group of people with similar backgrounds and beliefs who are in a similar position. To explain it more clearly, a contrasting situation can be found in the villages of the North Baliem Valley where the number of Christians far outweighs the few Muslim officials or school teachers. In this position the Muslims, while they may feel the need to maintain their identity, do not feel they have a strong or large enough support system to ridicule the beliefs of any of the members of the community they are living in.

An example used in the previous chapter which is also relevant here is the situation of a young Dani man, now studying in Jayapura, who was ridiculed by the Muslims among whom he worked in Wamena. This was because he attended church on Sunday and despite their initial ridicule of his actions, continued to attend church on Sundays and remained committed to his faith. Attempts were made by his Muslim work colleagues to rid his worship of any meaning and challenge his personal faith by continually telling him that his time spent worshipping was useless anyway because Jesus is dead.³²⁷

According to those Danis who have studied in both Wamena and Jayapura, Christians are frequently accused of having not one God as they claim but rather three gods, namely the Father, Son and Holy Spirit,³²⁸ what the Christians refer to as the Holy

³²⁷ Interview, Jayapura 28/7/1994

³²⁸ Interview, Jayapura 30/7/1994

Trinity or *Tritunggal*. The Dani Christians, meanwhile, maintain that there is only one God who is manifested in these three different ways. It is this difficult theological issue that the Christians are confronted with constantly as the Muslims attempt to invalidate their belief system. Yet the Danis tend to feel that this accusation expresses the lack of understanding the Muslims have of Christianity. The taunt that Jesus Christ is dead is likewise a common one.³²⁹

Despite this ridicule which is apparently quite wearing for the recipients, they are generally able to withstand the challenge and maintain their own faith in Christ although they may not have a ready answer for their opponents. The Danis claimed that these kind of situations will strengthen those members of the Dani church who have made a true commitment to Christ while those whose commitment is superficial will either collapse under the threats of their Muslim peers or make a firm decision to accept Jesus as the Messiah and to believe in Him.

Threats

Threats from Islam present themselves in various ways, some being more overt than others. Four examples will be given including transmigration, the building of mosques, government rulings and the supposed activities of Muslim youths. While some of these threats are obviously anti-Christian others are pro-Islamic. The Dani students on the coast are most aware of the challenges the church is facing with regard to Islam as they are living in the cities where there is a majority Muslim population because of the *transmigrasi* programme.

Transmigration

The transmigration programme, which was discussed in chapter two, is posing problems for the Dani church over issues other than land ownership. The programme has not yet directly affected the Dani people through the presence of transmigrants in the North Baliem Valley, with the one exception of the township of Wamena. Rather the problem is over religious issues of Christianity versus Islam. Each month the number of transmigrants and spontaneous migrants making their way to Jayapura on one of the two passenger ships

³²⁹ *Ibid.*

that make regular trips, can apparently reach five thousand.³³⁰ The ships continue to come and go, return to Jayapura full and leave empty and apparently the majority, if not all, of the passengers profess to be Muslims. At this rate the local inhabitants of the sparsely populated province of Irian Jaya will be swamped and overcome by the sheer numbers of "foreign" Muslims, ultimately with the possibility of Irian Jaya becoming a majority Muslim region. These Muslim transmigrants are seen by the Danis to be the government's means of achieving the goal of Islamising Irian Jaya. This is rather an alarming prospect for not only the Dani Church, but the Christian Church of Irian Jaya as a whole. Yet the movement of transmigrants into the highlands of Irian Jaya is limited, largely because few of the transmigrants wish to establish themselves in what they perceive to be the inhospitable and primitive mountainous areas of Irian Jaya. By contrast the cities are growing rapidly and becoming predominantly Muslim.³³¹ The number of mosques being built in the cities is quite phenomenal, they seem to be sprouting continuously. There are small makeshift mosques and huge stone mosques that have been decoratively carved or painted. On Fridays, the Muslims who are noticeably "straight hairs" or non-Irianese can be seen in their shawls or with their *pici* hats and prayer mats making their way to the mosques for worship. Jayapura comes to a standstill on Friday afternoon as the Irianese have a free afternoon while the *pendatang* fulfil their worship requirements. The Danis fear that the transmigrants being sent to Irian Jaya will transform this Christian region into a Muslim one by their sheer numbers, even if there are no, or few, converts to Islam within Irian Jaya. The Irianese fondly remember when Barnabas Suebu, the former governor of Irian Jaya was in office because of the role he played in slowing down the transmigration programme.³³² According to those Danis who were interviewed, Suebu, unlike his predecessor, saw transmigration as an unnecessary threat to Irian Jaya and its people. During his time as Governor "transmigration from Jakarta to here could not take place. He [Suebu] forbade it".³³³ His successor Governor Jacob Pattipi is, at least officially, convinced of the positive role transmigration is playing and will continue to play in the development of Irian Jaya.³³⁴

³³⁰ Interview, Pyramid 13/8/1994

³³¹ McBeth "At Loggerheads", p.50

³³² *Ibid.* Corroborated by Danis while discussing transmigration

³³³ Interview, Jayapura 28/7/1994

³³⁴ McBeth "At Loggerheads", p.50 & Interview, Jayapura 28/7/1994

Not surprisingly this has resulted in local Irianese feeling betrayed, as well as rumours being spread that Pattipi is actually a Muslim despite his claims of being a Christian. The church is feeling threatened by the overwhelming numbers of Muslims in the city areas, and sees the need to strengthen itself and its members in the face of this threat.

Mosques in the North Baliem Valley

The threat posed by Islam seems to be progressing further inland. During the last couple of years attempts have been made by Muslims to establish Islam in the North Baliem Valley, initially by building mosques at the government stations of Makki and Tiom. Yet due to the conviction and determination of the Dani people, the Muslim efforts have failed. In Makki inquiries were made about building a mosque but permission was denied by members of the Dani community who could not agree to the building of a mosque in their midst. The Danis apparently had the right and authority to do so as they represent the majority group in the area. A number of my respondents related what took place in Makki. The reason that the mosque was not permitted was that the North Baliem Valley is a Baptist area, from Makki all the way up to Kwiyawagi. The Baptist church is not only dominant but it is the only denomination in the area with the exception of the single Catholic church established at Tiom. As the majority religious group in the area, the Dani Baptist church has a strong position in determining the foothold that other religions are going to be given in the area. Their opposition to the establishment of Islam in the district seems likely to ensure that it will be a while before mosques are established there, and even then it may be under the orders of the government rather than with the consent of the locals. The future position of Islam in the North Baliem Valley may be assisted however by an increase in the number of *pendatang* to the area who profess to be Muslims, or by the conversion of nominal Dani Christians from the area who may have been converted in Wamena or Jayapura, or by locals who have already become Muslims and have been trained to convert their own people. While this situation represents a potential threat, if the Christians in the area remain strong in their faith, which the Danis consider to be fairly certain, then, unless the government steps in, the Dani church will maintain the upper hand in the North Baliem Valley. The story continues that once the land was denied by the community, a few Muslims in the area reported to government officials the presence of hundreds of Muslims

in the area and as such a great need for a *mesjid*, a mosque. Fortunately for the Danis who had firmly forbidden this, the officials did not simply make a decision from their office. Rather they came and investigated the situation, discovering that the number of Muslims was in fact no more than ten, which included a couple of teachers, their families and a number of policemen. With these statistics and the reality of the situation in Makki, the officials had little choice but to agree with the decision of the local Dani community. As a result the Muslims working in Makki, either as teachers or policemen, worship at a family service held in one of the government buildings.³³⁵ Meanwhile other *pendatang* have involved themselves in the Indonesian speaking Baptist church there.

There was also a report of an incident at Tiom that involved the issue of building a mosque. As had taken place in Makki, the Dani community denied the right for the establishment of a mosque in the area for the same reasons that the Dani community had in Makki. Tiom is also a Baptist area, falling within the Baptist district of the North Baliem Valley. Unlike the situation in Makki however, where the Muslims handled their defeat fairly well, while at the same time trying to achieve a more desirable answer by going over the heads of the Dani community, in Tiom a Muslim policeman decided to take the matter into his own hands. The policeman threatened the minister of the Tiom church. Disregarding any form of religious tolerance, he also physically beat the minister in an attempt to change his mind regarding the mosque, but he was unsuccessful. The Government, once it heard of this disturbance in Tiom from students in Jayapura, dealt responsibly with the situation, keeping the well-being of the Dani community in mind. The policeman was reprimanded and rapidly removed from his post in Tiom.

Government versus Church

Another threat that the church perceives is that of Indonesian government rulings against, or to the detriment of, the Dani church. There have been a number of direct government actions detrimental to the Christian church though not necessarily pro-Islamic. Yet the decisions made by the government have led the Dani Christians to deduce that it is indeed pro-Islamic. A couple of Danis discussed the situation surrounding KKR - *Kebaktian Kebangunan Rohani* or Revival Meetings that were staged in 1988 when a

³³⁵ Interview, Makki 8/8/1994 an older, married couple

large number of evangelists gathered together in "Jayapura at Trikora Park and Mandala Park"³³⁶ and commenced to present and explain the gospel to those who attended the open evangelistic rally. "The government became angry because many followers of Islam and many Catholics became members of the Baptist church...".³³⁷ When attempts were made to organise another KKR with a letter of permission being applied for once again, this time permission was denied by the government. The stance taken by the government has been interpreted by the Dani Christians as evidence that the Indonesian Government is against the presence of the Christian message or its messengers, especially in the cities.

This attitude of the Government has also been perceived in the legislation which will apparently rid not only Irian Jaya, but the whole of Indonesia, of a Christian missionary presence by the year 2000 A.D.³³⁸ While the missionaries themselves are not particularly pleased with this situation and are aware of their rapidly diminishing ranks in Irian Jaya, they also realise that there is little they can do to counter the Indonesian ruling. The Danis are aware of this also and are foreseeing the problems it will cause for the church. According to the interviews that were conducted as part of the research on this topic, the Danis feel that while they are stronger both as an organisation and spiritually than they have been previously, they do not yet consider the Dani church to be mature enough to be left on its own, without practical missionary guidance. They regard the Government's ruling as a threatening attempt to weaken the church and a ploy in its unwavering determination to win Irian Jaya to Islam. It should also be noted here that the government being referred to in this instance is the central Jakarta Government. The local Jayapura Government regrets this ruling concerning the position of the missionaries who they believe have played a valuable role in Irian Jaya.³³⁹ They are also worried that as the "social development" missionaries lose their visas so too may the "transport" missionaries who form MAF, Missionary Aviation Fellowship.³⁴⁰ It is MAF that has supplied, and continues to supply, the main form of contact between various areas not only within the North Baliem Valley but throughout the highlands of Irian Jaya, and without them it is feared by the local government that

³³⁶ Interview, Makki 3/8/1994 A young lady who had been present in Jayapura at the time.

³³⁷ *Ibid.*

³³⁸ W.Goodlet *Indonesian Field Report ABMS*, (Unpublished, 1994), p.2

³³⁹ J.McBeth "Mission Impossible" in *FEER* February 17, 1994, p.25

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

contact will be lost with many areas.³⁴¹ Yet as the MAF pilots come under the heading of transport rather than social development, there has been assurance, at least for the present, that their position in Irian Jaya is stable.³⁴²

Muslim Youths

One potential Islamic threat emerged with a supposedly official document drawn up early this year by a Muslim Youth organisation and apparently spread to Muslim youth groups throughout Indonesia following a meeting held in East Java on the 4-5 February 1994.³⁴³ While the document appears to be on official paper and claims to be supported by a number of Islamic youth organisations,³⁴⁴ it carries no signature or any apparent authorisation to validate the document. Also it is debateable whether the attitudes reflected in this document are characteristically Islamic. The topic for discussion was the maintenance of Islam as the majority religion in Indonesia and ways in which the Muslims youths can stem or repress the escalation in the number of Christians which according to this document has increased from 8% in the 1970s to 12% at the beginning of 1994.³⁴⁵ The document goes on to list ways in which Islam can be strengthened and the expansion of Christianity brought to a halt.

The most effective avenue of action that could be taken to stifle the growth of Christianity was claimed to be that of "love".³⁴⁶ The Muslim youths are informed that it is their duty to take Christian girlfriends and act in such a caring way that the girls will truly fall in love with them. They are then told to put on a front of being responsible young men so that the girls will, on comparing their attitudes with the not so fine attitudes of Christian youths, will find the Islamic youth more attractive and so become more sympathetic to Islam. Once having a Christian girlfriend they are then told to "*berbuatlah apa saja*" or 'do what ever' with the girl and when she becomes pregnant force her to change her religion and marry according to Islamic law.³⁴⁷ If she refuses to do so, then they are ordered to just

³⁴¹ J.McBeth "God's Little Airline" in *FEER* February 17, 1994, p.26

³⁴² J.McBeth "Mission Impossible", p.25

³⁴³ Peserta Pertemuan *Perhimpunan Pemuda Islam Indonesia Untuk Jumlah Umat Mayoritas (PPII)*, Jombang 1994, paragraph 1

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, final paragraph

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, paragraph 1

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, item 3

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, items 4, 5 & 6

leave her as she may not be the type of girl who aspires to marriage. The youths are also told not to be afraid or regret their actions as Islamic teaching allows them to take more than one wife. The document states that what is most important is not the means, but the end result of getting the girl to convert to Islam which is the one true religion.³⁴⁸ The author goes on to claim that this is the heavy but noble responsibility of each Muslim youth. The need to find ways of preventing the growth of Christians in Indonesia is deemed, by this document, to be the main responsibility of the Muslim youths.³⁴⁹

The final statement made is that this document is not to fall in to the hands of the Christian youths. The Dani Christians in Irian Jaya however are well aware of this document and its contents. They see it as a potential threat but are not reacting to it yet for a number of reasons. Firstly, there has been no action taken by the Muslims yet. Secondly, it apparently did fall into Christian hands fairly easily and as a result they are unsure of its authenticity and feel that it may be an attempt to draw the Christian church into a trap or into conflict with the Muslims. The Danis are aware of this potential threat to the church and are attempting to protect themselves from this type of Muslim offensive. If the Muslims fight them actively and openly they claim that the Dani church will not retreat but will stand firm which could possibly result in a confrontation. Should this take place they state that they will pray and read the Bible as they depend on God as their source of strength and empowerment.³⁵⁰

Use of Lures/Bribery

Lures and bribery form another level of Islamic influence which attempts to win people to the side of Islam using non-religious methods. One such method that is proving to be a major challenge for the Dani people both in Wamena and on the coast, is the construction of *asrama* or residences and schools by Muslim organisations, seemingly with the support of the government. It is another area in which the strength of each Christian's faith is being tested. The Danis are being offered free education or housing in the urban centres. Initially there was confusion over this matter as they were not informed that the offer was for accommodation or education in a Muslim *asrama* (hostel) or school. Several

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, item 6

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, second & third last paragraphs

³⁵⁰ Interview, Jayapura 27/7/1994 & Makki 3/8/1994

years ago a leading member of the Dani community and church was offered free education for his son in Java, and assuming it to be a government programme agreed to it. It was not until his son arrived in Java that he found the school to be a Muslim, not a government one and as such suspected to be a ploy to influence the son of this leading Dani man with Islam. Apparently the son notified his father of the position he was in and was immediately withdrawn from the school and returned to Irian Jaya.³⁵¹

While offers of free education in Java are fairly rare, such offers within the cities of Irian Jaya are quite common. According to one Dani youth whose relatives have been involved in these situations, those who accept an offer of housing or schooling are then asked to consider accepting the Islamic faith as their own and leaving Christianity behind, in order to maintain the privileges that they have accepted. As the naivety of many Danis has vanished, the number of Danis accepting these offers has decreased, as the majority do not want to convert to Islam or to feel obligated to. In some areas, including Wamena and certain transmigrant areas around Jayapura such as Arso, money, clothing and food are also included as ways of enticing people to Islam. This form of bribery works best with those nominal Christians who value material things more highly than spiritual ones.

Nominalism

"Certainly there are people in the church who are Christians on their residence cards only. I admit that."³⁵² Nominalism is an issue not only within the Dani church but in any Christian church or other religious group throughout the world. The Dani Christians also claim that the majority of church members are sincere in their worship so that nominalism is not a large problem, although the hypocritical actions of nominal members may be cause for concern in some instances. Yet they acknowledge that nominalism is a problem, particularly as it has certain connections to the process of Islamisation. Nominal Christians are also a prime target for the incoming Muslims attempting to convert locals. Their lack of spiritual commitment to Christianity leaves them open to the social influence of Muslims and their material incentives.

³⁵¹ Personal communication

³⁵² Interview, Pyramid 13/8/1994

Nominal believers are known as KTP because their belief in their professed religion is limited to the stamp on their KTP or identification card. There are a few varieties of KTP Christians amongst the Danis. Firstly there are those who have stamped on their identification card that they are Christians and yet they have never entered a church. This form of nominalism would be most likely to have resulted from the requirement of the profession of a formal religion. Others may claim to be Christians not so much to fulfil official requirements but in order to fit in to the mainly Christian Dani community, which includes their family and friends.

The title of KTP Christian is also used of those 'Christians' who go to church on Sundays and act in a Christian manner and yet live a totally different life with totally different values throughout the rest of the week. This form of nominalism also includes those who attend church merely to be seen by others especially their Christian friends, to be in attendance, but who have no desire to actually be involved in the church as a member, or to publicly profess that they believe in God and Jesus Christ.

Finally there are those who have been baptised members of the church, but who have given up on their commitment and drifted away from the church. Their attendance is intermittent and, according to Dani sources they are becoming involved in the practice of *kawin dua*, of having two wives, a practice which is inconsistent with the Christian idea of marriage,³⁵³ and believed to be a social influence of Islam. They also become involved in activities such as gambling, smoking and extra-marital relations.

A number of Danis have claimed that those whose Christian belief is nominal have not yet been fully freed from their belief in the spirits and so continue to appease the spirits and their ancestors. They also fear the spirits and thus according to a Dani woman, "remain in the darkness"³⁵⁴ as they do not allow Jesus Christ to rid them of this fear.

Nominalism was claimed by numerous respondents to be particularly rare amongst the young Christians. Yet there are a number of second generation Christians who could be considered nominal in the sense that they claim to be Christians because their parents are professing Christians. They appear to regard faith as hereditary rather than a personal

³⁵³ W.Wenda *Suatu Tinjauan Alkitabiah Terhadap Tradisi Pemilihan Pasangan Hidup Dalam Kebudayaan Suku Lani*, (Unpublished paper, 1993), pp.21, 27

³⁵⁴ Interview, Makki 8/8/1994

commitment. While nominalism may cause a few problems for the church it is believed it can be overcome by the example of the other church members and also by teaching from the Bible which will challenge the nominal member to make a final decision. Regardless of the various forms of nominalism amongst members of the Dani church community, the main problem lies in the potential of these nominal Christians to be influenced by Islam.

Nominalism challenges the Dani church as members succumb to the offers made by Muslim organisations and are converted in the process. Having had a nominal Christian background it is possible that these Danis will either convert but live as nominal Muslims or believe that they have found the true religion and make a commitment to Islam. The former view is more widely accepted by the Dani community merely because of the way in which "conversion" to Islam has taken place, through economic enticements.

Many Dani Christians are convinced that the motivation behind the conversions to Islam has been the desire for promised material goods rather than a conviction that Islam holds the truth. That material goods should have such power over people, even leading them to conversion, may indicate either materialistic values or poverty, a problem for the Danis in the cities because of the higher cost of living compared to their villages. Conversion has also allowed parents to provide their children with the opportunity of obtaining a higher level of education than they would otherwise have been able to afford. Rumour has it that while these converts claim to be Muslims, they continue to eat pork in secrecy. Those who involve themselves in these programmes from purely materialistic attitudes would likewise scarcely be interested in the religious or spiritual aspects of the conversion. In some situations, while the potential converts are obligated to join Islam, they are also involved in certain aspects of Islamic worship before being asked to profess their new faith.

While it has been claimed that most of those Danis who convert to Islam do so superficially, their children may potentially have a stronger belief in Islam as they are brought up in an Islamic community and attend a Muslim school. Living with a nominal Muslim family may mean that they themselves remain nominal Muslims yet they have been placed in a situation where they are free to be fully influenced by Islam. This increases the urgency for the Dani Christians to evangelise the areas in which the Muslims have been, or

are, active as well as the areas they have not yet entered. These first generation Muslim converts, although they may not be sincere in their profession of faith, may at least provide Islam with the numbers it needs to be able to implement Islamic programmes such as the building of mosques. This in turn will strengthen the threat Islam poses to the Dani church which has so far been able to stem the progress of Islam into the North Baliem Valley.

Marriage

The church is also facing the issue of *kawin dua*³⁵⁵ which was mentioned previously. Apparently, nominal Christians or those who have a faith that is weakened by the temptation of marrying another woman, become involved in *kawin dua*. Those who have come under the most scrutiny in the Dani community have been the few church leaders who have given in to temptation and taken more than one wife. Their position of leadership has led to greater questioning of the acceptability of their actions. While those involved in multiple marriages are either considered to be nominal Christians or to have a weak faith, the emergence of *kawin dua* is apparently due to the influence of either Islam and Catholicism or modernisation, rather than the influence of the former Dani tradition that placed no official limit on the number of wives a man could have. The influence of Islam and Catholicism is considered to play a big part in the re-emergence of *kawin dua* amongst the Dani people, which has brought with it the issue of divorce. The few Danis in the community who are involved in *kawin dua*, amongst other things marry and divorce women as they want. This in itself goes against the Christian belief that marriage should be taken seriously and ideally last a lifetime.³⁵⁶ The influence of Islam lies in its condoning men having more than one wife. Meanwhile Catholicism is considered to be a syncretistic religion that has combined traditional Dani beliefs, including the acceptability of polygamy, with Christian beliefs, which the Protestant Danis consider to be totally inconsistent with the monogamous marriage system of Christianity.³⁵⁷ When the Danis were converted to Christianity it was decided by the church that those who had multiple wives before they turned to Christianity could be baptised and become members of the church while

³⁵⁵ K.Wakerkwa *Pertumbuhan Gereja Baptis di Wilayah Pirime*, (Unpublished paper, 1992), p.9 Corroborated by interviews and questionnaires that Dani Christians took part in.

³⁵⁶ W.Wenda *Suatu Tinjauan*, p.21

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

maintaining their wives. Yet only those men with one wife could take positions of leadership.³⁵⁸ Those who accepted Jesus Christ were taught of the Christian view of marriage with the result that monogamy became the accepted law of marriage within the church.³⁵⁹ This is probably another factor that has assisted in the more loving and caring relationships between husbands and wives.

Additionally, behavioural models from the "modernised" sector of society also contribute to the popularity of multiple marriages. Dani students who go to the coast observe government officials who are living a modern life and yet have more than one wife, and the students then return to their village with this idea in mind. While this issue is challenging the church through the involvement of some of its leaders and its presence within their community, the Dani Christians do not consider the church to be in any real danger at present.

While the Islamisation of Irian Jaya generally is considered by the Danis to be a threat, the Dani church and its members seem to be handling the challenge fairly well. They see the need to remain strong spiritually through prayer and reading the Bible, yet also consider the increasing number of Muslims in Irian Jaya as an opportunity to evangelise, presenting the Muslims with the Christian message in the hope of converting them. One young Dani stated that the problem with the Muslims is that they do not understand the gospel of Christianity which claims that Jesus Christ is God's son and the Saviour of the world. So they feel that it is the responsibility of the Dani Christians who have contact with Muslims to help them by teaching them about Jesus Christ and giving them the opportunity to accept Him as their "personal saviour".³⁶⁰ It may seem incredible that the highland inhabitants feel that they can win to Christianity those who have come from more highly developed islands in the Indonesian archipelago, particularly when many of these "foreigners" consider the Danis to be black, primitive and possibly dangerous people. Yet a Dani man presently studying in Jayapura, claimed that there was cause for the Dani church to praise God with regard to the issue of Islam in Irian Jaya because he had already witnessed the conversion of a few Muslims in the highlands who turned to Christianity after

³⁵⁸ D.Hayward *The Dani of Irian Jaya Before and After Conversion*, (Regions Press, 1980), p.182

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.* & W.Wenda *Suatu Tinjauan*, p.24

³⁶⁰ Interview, Jayapura 28/7/1994

having been reached by the message of the Christian gospel and repenting. He saw this being evidenced by the fact that those newly converted Christians were now eating pork which was forbidden under the law of their previous beliefs.³⁶¹ There was a particular excitement that also surrounded the issue of the presence of the Muslims in Irian Jaya as it gave the Danis the opportunity to be missionaries within their home area. They do not have to go to the Muslims, the Muslims have come to them. As a result an understanding of Islam is seen to be necessary if the Danis are to know how to deal with and evangelise Muslims, challenging them in their faith.³⁶² In the interviews conducted the excitement turned to expressions of uncertainty when the issue of the Muslims remaining steadfast in their beliefs arose. This was felt to be a difficult issue, as it is believed the Muslims whose hearts are not open to Christianity will attempt to destroy Christianity and its followers, but the church will fight against this taking place. There was actually mention of the possibility of the confrontation between the two faiths resulting in war.³⁶³ The survey revealed that in the view of the Dani Christians, even if many Muslims remain unshakeable in their beliefs, so too will the Dani church and the Dani Christians. They believe that the prayers of the adherents to Christianity will strengthen the church and maintain their faith, which in turn will protect them from the plans to *Islamisasikan* Irian Jaya, as a targeted Christian region.

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*

³⁶² Interview, Jayapura 30/7/1994

³⁶³ Interview, Jayapura 28/7/1994

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CONCLUSION

In this paper we have focused specifically on the Dani people and the Dani church in Irian Jaya. Chapter one provided background information on Irian Jaya, the Dani people and the advent of Christianity amongst the Danis, while chapter two dealt with the various forms of development that have taken place since the North Baliem Valley was opened up to the outside world. The next chapter traced the establishment, administration and expansion of the organised Dani churches. Chapter three, together with the final two chapters were largely based on information supplied by my respondents in Irian Jaya.

Chapter four and five provided a contemporary view as they reflected on the challenges that the Dani church appears to be faced with during this period of rapid change in Irian Jaya. These included issues related to "modernisation" or more precisely, urbanisation. While these appear fairly superficial problems, they express the deep-seated fear of the people of the Dani church that their community structure will be disrupted and transformed. The threat is perceived in actions such as smoking, that are linked to the animistic past of the Dani community, and gambling and alcohol consumption which are relatively new to the Dani community. The effects of these new influences on the individuals involved and familial relationships, including marital sanctity, are seen to threaten ties of community which have been in place since before the arrival of Christianity,³⁶⁴ as well as the moral standards of the community.

As a large proportion of the Dani community are Christians, the challenges that the community as a whole is facing are fairly similar to, although not necessarily identical with those the church is facing. The concern of the Dani Christian community is largely centred on the young people, as they are the ones directly influenced by urbanisation, while they study and live in urban centres. At the same time the youth are believed to constitute the future strength of the church, and it is fervently hoped that they will stand firm against the negative influences of urbanisation.

The final chapter dealt with the influence of Islamisation and the challenge it poses for the Dani church. Direct conversion attempts were discussed as were the use of threats,

³⁶⁴ N.Melzer "Notes on Dani Culture" in *Baliem Beginnings*, (Camden Baptist Church, 1976), pp.73-75

ridicule and bribery to convert Danis to Islam or discourage their trust in Christianity, making them more accessible to Islam. Issues of nominalism and material motivation were mentioned as attitudes seen to provide an opportunity for the Muslims to gain converts through material enticement. This weakening of the beliefs of some Christians, together with the example provided by the Muslims with regard to polygamous marriages, has also led to the emergence of the practice of *kawin dua*, having two wives. While the fear of the spiritual threat posed by Islam is real, it may also be viewed as a challenge as it reflects the influx of Austronesian Indonesians, most of whom are Muslims, into Irian Jaya. Although various aspects of the Islamisation process were discussed in the final chapter, the greatest threat from Islam is clearly that of ultimately being swamped and defeated by the sheer numbers of Muslim migrants as the Irianese lose control of their homeland to "foreigners". Such an influx constitutes both a religious and an ethnic challenge.

The real challenge for the church lies in preparing its members to deal with the emerging problems they have not previously had to face, before these do pose a serious threat to the church. This preparation includes a greater understanding by each generation of the other through positive and healthy communication while the church as a whole attempts to discern what it is actually up against.³⁶⁵ As one informant expressed it, there is a need for discussion of the issues in order to bring an increased awareness of the present situation and its potential problems to the church members, particularly the young people, in order to prepare them to face these new influences directly. "If we remain silent, then the issues that we have discussed will certainly influence our people."³⁶⁶ Not only will their awareness have to increase, but their knowledge of how to deal with these challenges will have to be developed also if the church and its members are to survive this period of change. Much of this knowledge will probably come from young people who have experienced modernisation in the cities and have seen friends overcome by the various, new aspects that have entered their lives, but have managed to maintain their own beliefs throughout. From my observations of the young people I met, many have been highly active

³⁶⁵ L.Kogoya *Pelayanan Pemuda di Jemaat Baptis Diakonia Sebagai Pola Bagi Pelayanan Pemuda se-Wilayah Perime*, (Unpublished paper, Jayapura, 1993), p.21

³⁶⁶ Interview, Pyramid 13/8/1994

in the church and have dealt sensitively with those who have been overwhelmed by modernisation or Islamic challenges.

The Dani church is facing problems common to Christian communities throughout the world, as well as those that result from it being a relatively young church looking to second generation Christians to maintain and build the church. The church is also situated in a society that is having a difficult time adjusting to, or rebelling against, its inclusion in the Republic of Indonesia. Despite these circumstances, the Dani church seems to be maturing through its experiences, particularly the direct threat to the essential beliefs of the Dani church represented by Islam. This will lead to the Dani Christians having to become increasingly certain of their beliefs and the basis and doctrine of Christianity. This seems likely to unite the Christians even more strongly, particularly as the community bonds loosen with the urbanisation of the region and they face various challenges together. It is possible that Christianity may become stronger as a badge of ethnic solidarity and anti-Austronesian/Indonesian sentiment if the divisions between native Irianese and others intensify. One young man even stated, although with the religious aspect in mind, that the determination and resultant division between Muslims and Christians could, in an extreme case, lead to war.³⁶⁷

The Dani church seems to be facing numerous issues that could seem overwhelming and discouraging. Yet I met so many Danis, from all age groups who have not lost their faith. They expressed disappointment, but not discouragement and display an awareness and preparedness to deal with what they may come up against. From the information supplied by my respondents, during the period I was in Irian Jaya, together with contemplation of their attitudes, it would seem that the future of the Dani church is fairly stable and that it is responding to the present challenges with vigour and conviction.

³⁶⁷ Interview, Jayapura 28/7/1994

APPENDIX ONE - Questionnaire

PERTANYAAN-PERTANYAAN

NAMA:

UMUR:

LAKI/PEREMPUAN:

Dalam beberapa pertanyaan, anda diminta memilih satu jawaban. Lingkarilah jawaban anda. Contoh: Pertanyaan adalah "Apa orang-tuanya orang Kristen? ya tidak"

1. Anda berasal dari mana? Contoh: Makki

2. Apa gereja pertama yang anda masuk?

Sekarang anda masuk gereja apa di kota atau di pedalaman?

3. Apa orang-tuanya orang Kristen? ya tidak

Kalau ya, apa mereka mempengaruhi putusan anda untuk menjadi orang Kristen?

ya tidak

Kalau tidak, bagaimana anda dengar Injil dan siapa mempengaruhimu untuk menjadi orang Kristen?

4. Berapa umurnya ketika anda menerime Yesus Kristus sebagai juruselamat?

5. Apa anda masih ingat kapan missi zending yang pertama datang ke daerahmu?

ya tidak

Apa orang-tuamu masih ingat kapan missi zending yang pertama datang ke daerahmu?

ya tidak

Kapan mereka datang?

Apa mereka berasal dari Australia, Amerika Serikat, Irian atau tempat lain?

6. Ketika zending baru tiba di daerahmu dan coba mengajar tentang Yesus Kristus apa pikiran anda atau orang-tuamu tentang mereka? Senang atau tidak?

Kalau tidak senang, kenapa?

7. Terus persoalan apa dihadapi zending dari arah kepercayaan lain, juga dari orang Lani atau dari orang lain?

8. Ketika gereja baru didirikan, gereja mengalami persoalan-persoalan atau tantangan-tantangan apa? Contoh: dari orang yang belum menerima Yesus Kristus dsb.
9. Dari pengetahuan anda berapa golongan Protestan ada di Irian Jaya?
10. Tentang susunan gereja di Irian, apa semua golongan menjadi satu atau apa daerah-daerah lain diurus tersendiri saja?
11. Apa golongan-golongan bisa bekerja bersama/co-operasi? ya tidak tidak tahu
12. Apa kebanyakan orang missi di Irian Jaya pada zaman ini orang Irian atau orang asing?
- | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------|-------|------------|
| | Irian | Asing | tidak tahu |
| Bagaimana dengan pendeta? | Irian | Asing | tidak tahu |
| Terus bagaimana dengan guru Alkitab? | Irian | Asing | tidak tahu |
13. Apa semuanya yang terlibat di pekerjaan Kristen bekerja suka rela atau untuk gaji?
- | | | |
|--|-----------|------|
| | suka rela | gaji |
|--|-----------|------|
14. Pada pendapat anda gereja Kristen di Irian Jaya sedang menghadapi tantangan-tantangan apa? [Dengan kata 'tantangan' berarti hal-hal yang mengancam gereja, anggota gereja atau kepercayaan gereja.]
- a. Pada pendapat anda apa agama Islam mengancam atau menantang gereja? Apa ada persoalan yang muncul dari situasi ini?
- | | | | |
|--|-----|-----------|------------|
| | ada | tidak ada | tidak tahu |
|--|-----|-----------|------------|
- b. Pada pendapat anda apa transmigrasi yang membawa orang lain ke Irian mengancam atau menantang gereja? Apa ada persoalan yang muncul dari situasi ini?
- | | | | |
|--|-----|-----------|------------|
| | ada | tidak ada | tidak tahu |
|--|-----|-----------|------------|
- c. Pada pendapat anda apa Indonesianisasi (dengan bahasa dan pemerintah dsd) mengancam atau menantang gereja? Apa ada persoalan yang muncul dari situasi ini?
- | | | | |
|--|-----|-----------|------------|
| | ada | tidak ada | tidak tahu |
|--|-----|-----------|------------|
- d. Pada pendapat anda apa modernisasi mengancam atau menantang gereja? Apa ada

persoalan yang muncul dari situasi ini?

ada tidak ada tidak tahu

e. Pada pendapat anda apa ada persoalan dengan nominalisme di gereja, yaitu dengan orang yang ke gereja dan berkata bahwa dia adalah orang Kristen tapi tidak benar/ belum menerima Yesus Kristus sebagai Juru Selamat?

ada tidak ada tidak tahu

f. Pada pendapat anda apa pariwisata/turisme mengancam atau menantang gereja? Apa ada persoalan yang muncul dari situasi ini?

ada tidak ada tidak tahu

g. Pada pendapat anda apa korupsi/keuangan di gereja atau antara orang Kristen mengancam menantang gereja?

ada tidak ada tidak tahu

h. Pada pendapat anda apa materialisme/kebendaan ketika orang-orang hanya menghargai hal yang bisa dibeli/duniawi, mengancam atau menantang gereja? Apa ada persoalan yang muncul dari situasi ini?

ada tidak ada tidak tahu

i. Pada pendapat anda apa Kargoisme mengancam atau menantang gereja?

ada tidak ada tidak tahu

j. Pada pendapat anda apa ada persoalan dengan pemuda-pemudi yang memberontaki gereja karena hal-hal yang baru dan menarik masuk kehidupannya?

ada tidak ada tidak tahu

Kalau anda mau menjelaskan atau memberi contoh untuk pertanyaan yang di atas atau kalau ada persoalan yang lain dari pengetahuan anda, memberitahukan saja di bawah.

Saya mengucapkan terima kasih banyak untuk pertolongan anda yang menjawab pertanyaan-pertanyaan yang ditanya terus terang.

DISCUSSION

The form that this questionnaire has taken is the result of prior attempts to find out the views of the respondents. Those who were first involved in completing questionnaires offered very little information and seemed to be unsure and so unwilling to offer any opinions. As such I found it necessary to structure the questions in a way that may seem to lead the respondents, but which also were shaped and developed as I spoke to a number of Dani young people and they voiced their views and also as I read numerous theses that reflected similar views of the issues that were being faced.

While the questions may have been leading, about two-thirds of those who completed forms provided a great deal of information. For example question 14 has ten parts but many respondents reading the initial question proceeded to state the issues that they saw the church facing. Modernisation and Islam were the two most common answers. A considerable number of respondents also wrote a considerable amount at the end of the questionnaire to express their view on what were the main issues. This brought up a number of issues not mentioned in the questionnaire format.

It should also be remembered that the respondents were all Christians and as such I worded the questionnaire to fit with this background. Phrases such as "Jesus Christ as your saviour", which may seem unusual in academic discourse, are part of the everyday vocabulary of the respondents.

Throughout this thesis I have referred to the results of this questionnaire but have not supplied an analysis of my findings. While most of the questionnaires were completed by Western Danis, two members of the Baptist church who actually originated from Jayapura and Toraja offered their views of the present situation which they are very close to. Of my respondents, 29% were still in the villages, while the others were in the city or had spent time their working and studying. All of the forms were filled in by Christians who had been largely influenced by Sunday School teachers. Decisions to become Christians were made over a range of ages, from young teenagers to 30 and 40 year olds. Questions 5-8 were answered uniformly while a number of respondents were unsure of how many Christian groups there were in Irian Jaya. The answers that were supplied ranged from 5 to 9. The reply to question 10 was unanimous as with question 11, regarding the co-operation

of the various organisations and comments were made by a few respondents to clarify certain exceptions. From the replies to question 12 it was obvious that locals played the main role in the areas of preaching and teaching, as 93% and 94% of the respondents, respectively stated that Irianese filled these roles. While the majority stated that locals also largely fill the roll of missionaries in Irian Jaya at present, 36% of the respondents stated that foreigners did. The reply to question 13 regarding the wage situation for church workers showed overwhelmingly that the majority receive no wage but work voluntarily. Question 14 dealt with the challenges or threats that the church is facing today. On all issues, with the exception of Cargo Cults, the figures supported the obvious presence of many of these issues. With Cargo Cults, a number of respondents did not understand what I meant, but they asked me about it and were then able to provide an answer.

While many of the questions could have been answered simply by circling a single reply, the majority of my respondents expanded on their choice and even proceeded to the back page to provide more information or to broach a topic that had not appeared in the questionnaire. This supply of explanations made the majority of the questionnaires quite informative.

One respondent continued to the back page and provided examples of Islamisation and Indonesianisation, question 14a. & b. A large number of respondents expanded on the situation with Islam or the young people and modernity, the two issues that seemed to be most prominent. Some merely wrote a short comment:

Addition:

The unity amongst the leadership is lacking with the result that the Christian church is not as effective. This is enough to threaten the church in Irian Jaya at present.

Others wrote extensively, dealing with numerous issues, supplying ideas and a great deal of information and emotion.

A problem or challenge that the Christian church in Irian Jaya is facing is that the Indonesian government wants the Irianese to be Islamised and with that end in mind the government is bringing in transmigrants ...

After continuing on in this vein, the respondent re-emphasises the challenge presented by this situation and then proceeds to finish off with a short prayer.

A number of respondents also put down their ideas in note form. For example one respondent discussed the situation of the young people further.

Example: Baptist youths in Jayawijaya, especially in Makki, have lived with their parents since they were small and have listened to their parents and their Sunday School teachers. But once they are 16 or older they do not want to listen to their parents or teachers ...

Reasons:

- 1. Influence from friends at school in Wamena or Jayapura*
- 2. They travel a long way from their parents to go to school*
- 3. Their needs or wants lead them to do things that their parents or their church would not want them to be involved in*
- 4. Influenced by the situation and aspects of the city*
- 5. Others.*

The completed questionnaires, together with the interviews I conducted, provided a wealth of interesting material that has been invaluable for me as I have used it to write this thesis.

TRANSLATION**QUESTIONS****NAME:****AGE:****MALE/FEMALE:**

In a number of questions you will be asked to choose one answer. Circle your answer.

Example: The question is "Are your parents Christians? yes no"

1. Where do you come from? e.g.: Makki
2. What church did you first attend?
What church do you attend now, either in the city or inland?
3. Are your parents Christians? yes no
If yes, did they influence your decision to become a Christian? yes no
If no, how did you hear the gospel and who influenced you to become a Christian?
4. How old were you when you accepted Jesus Christ as your saviour?
5. Do you still remember when the first missionaries came to your area? yes no
Do your parents still remember when the first missionaries came to your area?
yes no
When did they come?
Were they from Australia, USA, Irian Jaya or elsewhere?
6. When the missionaries first arrived and tried to teach about Jesus what did you or parents think about them? Did you like them or not?
If you did not like them, why not?
7. What problems did the missionaries face from other beliefs, Lanis or other people?
8. When the church was first established, what problems or challenges did it experience?
e.g. from those who had not yet accepted Christianity etc.
9. As far as you know, how many Christian groups are there in Irian Jaya?
10. With regard to the structure of the church in Irian, do all the groups work as one or is each area organised separately?
11. Can these groups work together/co-operate? yes no do not know
12. Are the majority of the missionaries in Irian Jaya at present Irianese or foreigners?
Irian Foreign Do not know How
about the ministers? Irian Foreign Do not know
How about bible teachers/lecturers? Irian Foreign Do not know
13. Do those involved in Christian work, work voluntarily or for a wage?

APPENDIX TWO - Maps

Map 1 - Irian Jaya's position in the Indonesian Archipelago and with regard to Australia

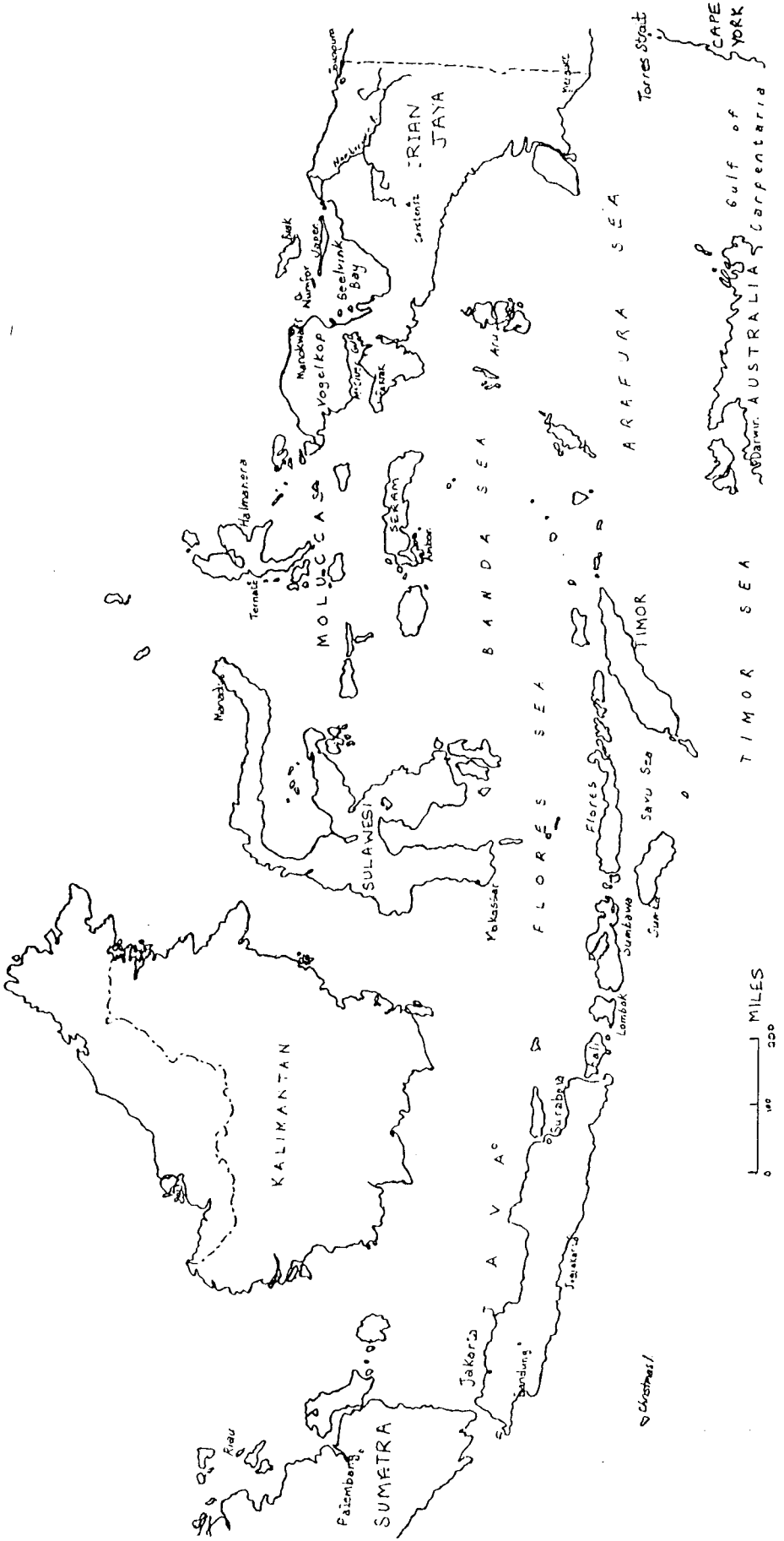
Map 2 - Irian Jaya

Map 3 - The North Baliem Valley taken from *Baliem Beginnings*, (Camden Baptist Church, 1976)

Map 4 - Transmigration sites as they were in 1987

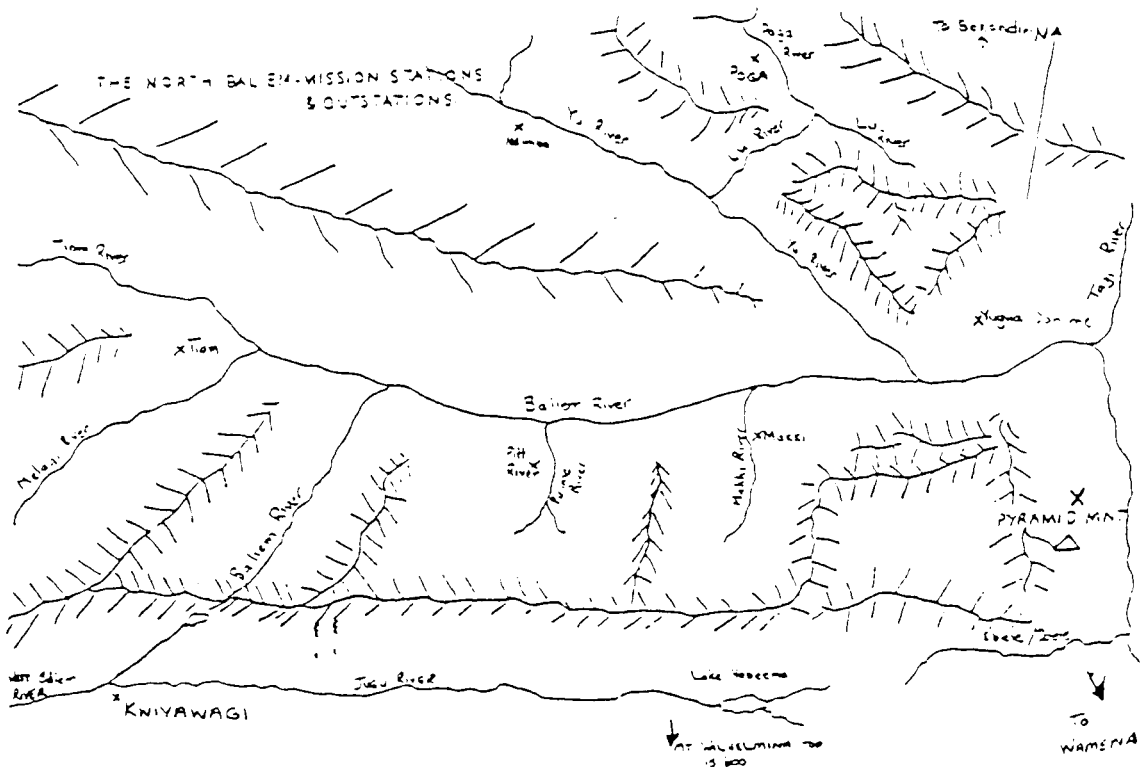
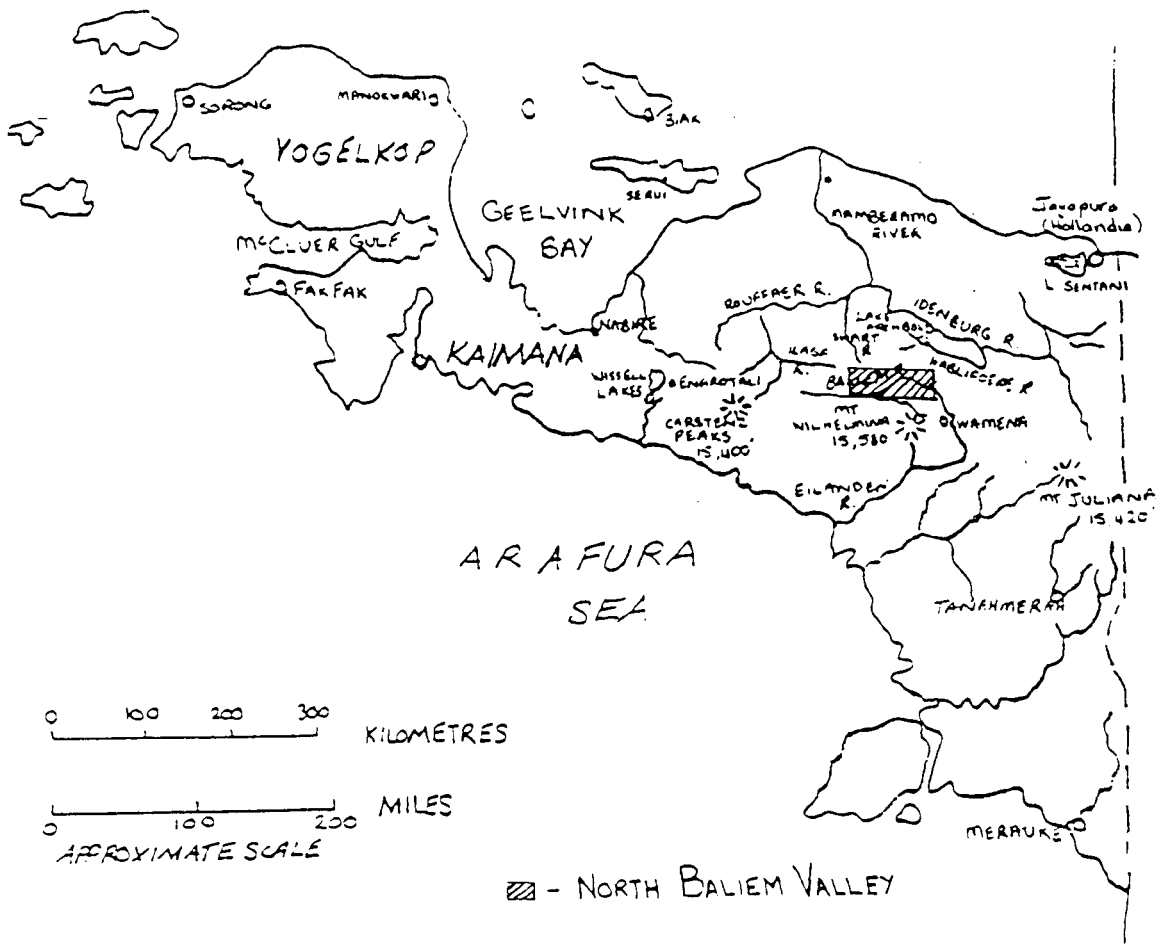
Map 5 - Planned Transmigration Sites

MAP 1-Indonesia



MAP 2 & 3 - Irian Java & The North Baliem Valley

141° E



THE NORTH BALIEM VALLEY - The District
That is The Focus of This Thesis

Translation of Key to Map 4

- Provincial City
- Regional City
- Completed Projects
- Projects still being established

----- Defines the nine regions that Irian Jaya has been divided into. Starting from the western tip of Irian we have the regions of 1. Sorong 2. Manokwari 3. Biak-Numfor 4. Yapen Waropen 5. Paniai 6. Fak-Fak 7. Jayapura 8. Jayawijaya 9. Merauke

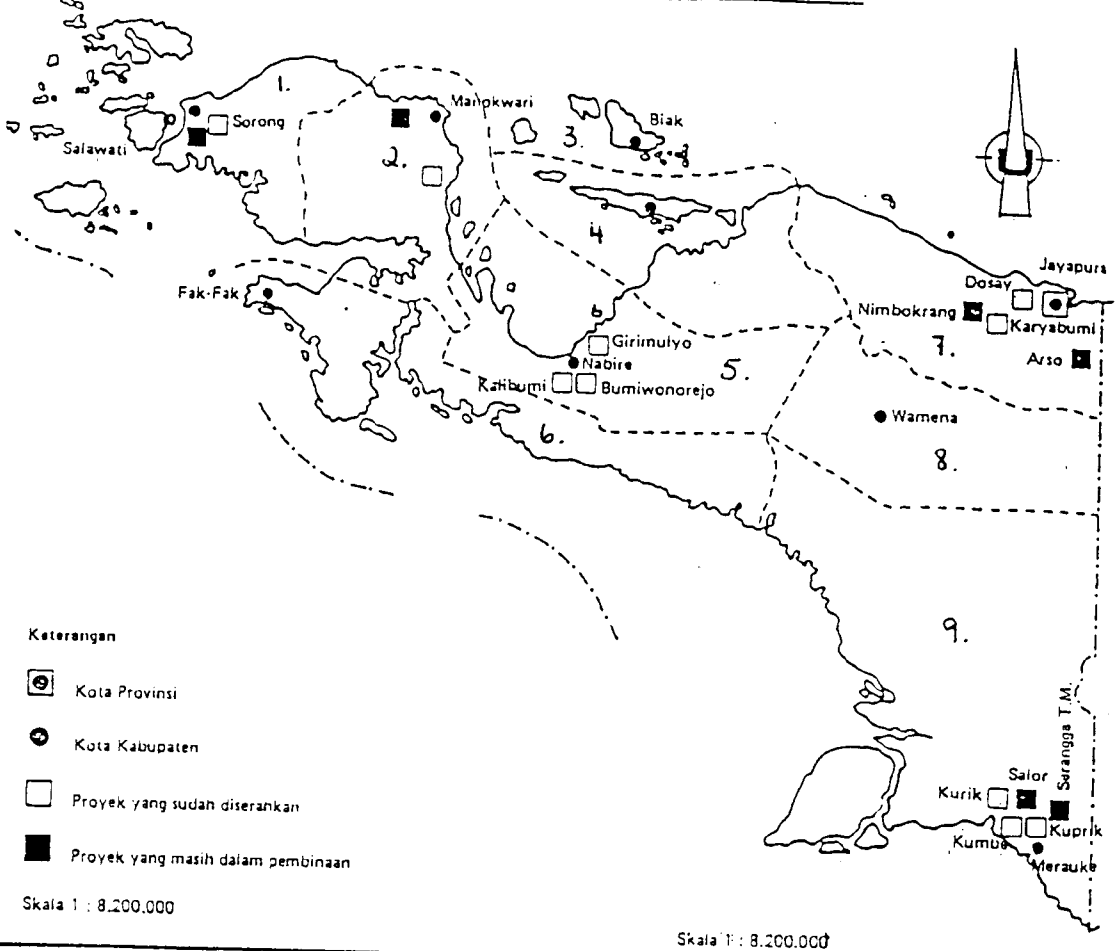
Translation of Key to Map 5

- Provincial City
- Regional City
- Planned Locations under the Fourth Five Year Plan

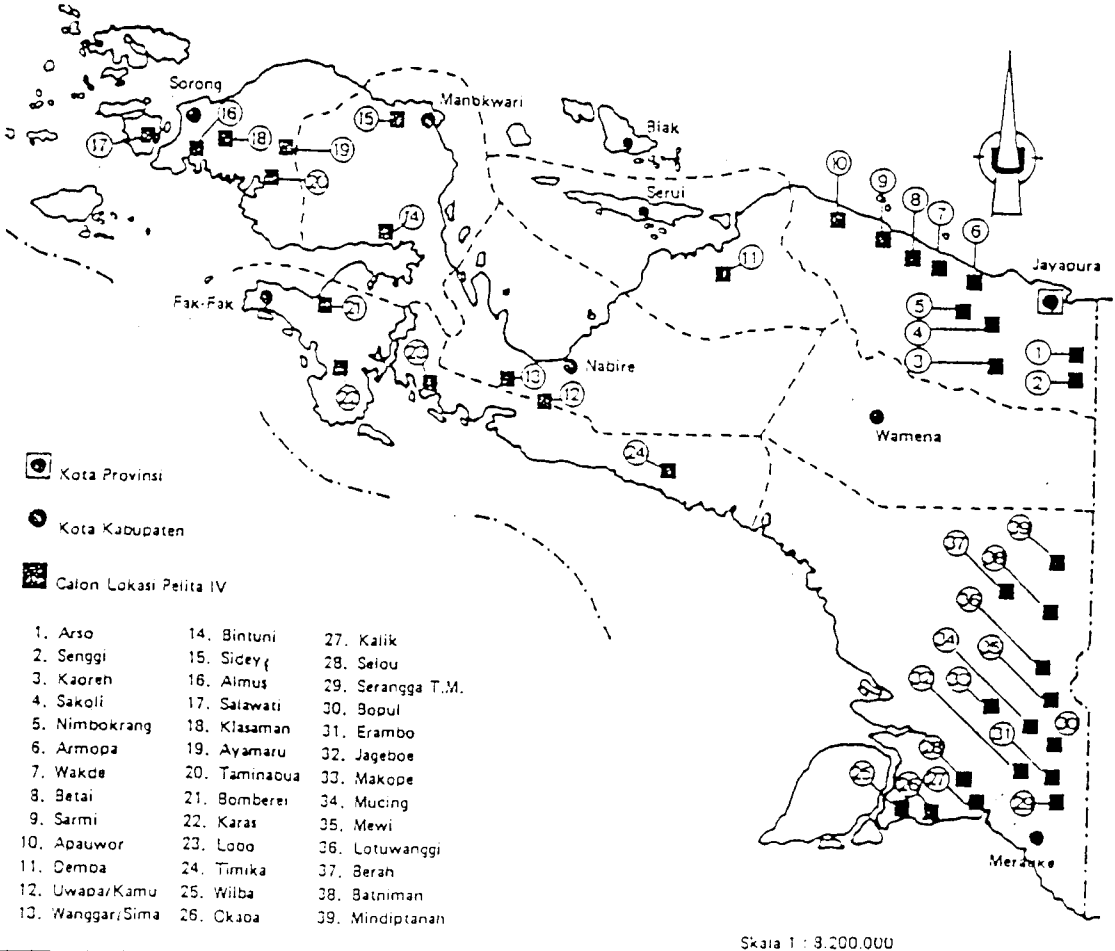
----- Defines the nine regions that Irian Jaya has been divided into

Map 4 & 5 taken from M.Kasiepo et al.(eds.) *Pembangunan Masyarakat Pedalaman Irian Jaya*, (Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 1987)

MAP 4 & 5 - Transmigration sites: present and planned



Peta 2. Lokasi Proyek Transmigrasi yang sudah Ditempati.



Peta 3. Rancangan Rencana Penempatan Transmigrasi Provinsi Irian Jaya Pelita IV.

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