Dreams Made Small:  
Humiliation and Education in a Dani Modernity

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at  
The Australian National University

December 2009

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Abstract

Indigenous youth from the Baliem Valley area of Papua, Indonesia aspire to be part of ‘progress’ (*kemajuan*) in their isolated region but are constrained by colonial conditions that favour migrant Indonesians. In this thesis, indigenous Dani students leave the tense social and political setting of highlands Papua in order, they say, to broaden their horizons in North Sulawesi, a relatively prosperous, peaceful province four days west of Papua by passenger ship. Based on 16 months of fieldwork conducted in 2005-2006 and 2009, this thesis explores Dani efforts to gain university degrees and obtain ‘modern’ skills and capabilities in a tangled web of racial stigma, prejudice, institutionalized corruption, and intense relationships with other Papuan highlanders. It follows Dani graduates back to the Baliem Valley to see what results they create from a university degree. This exploration of the personal histories and life chances of stigmatized individuals sheds light on Papuan nationalism, the everyday production and negotiation of racial hierarchies, and how affect, in this case humiliation, fuels the formation of a particular vision of identity and the future.
Acknowledgements

This thesis is the product of my own education abroad, and it has been sponsored by many people in diverse places. I owe my biggest debt of gratitude to my family in Canada, especially my parents, Peg Shelley and Keith Munro. During fieldwork in Indonesia my caring relatives worried on my behalf about avian flu, earthquakes, typhoid, imprisonment, and a host of other unlikely dangers so that I could enjoy myself. Only once did they call the Canadian embassy in Jakarta to have me tracked down.

In Indonesia, I owe tremendous thanks to my Dani friends and informants, especially Amina, Welison, Olvy, Welem, Herman, Lao, Domi, Ika, Lan, Nerina, Isak, Lince, Darmon, Apas, and Via in North Sulawesi. In Wouma, Misi, Pugima, and Hom Hom, I am grateful to everyone who accepted me into their homes and shared their thoughts and sweet potatoes with me, especially Bapa Siko, Marike, and Bapa Yohanis. In Manado, I had the good fortune to make friends with Maureen Roble from New Jersey, who found her long lost cousins in Davao, the Philippines. Maureen was a great companion on an exploration of the best and worst of North Sulawesi charm and prejudice. She also gracefully handled the privilege of having a typhoid- and dengue-infected friend stuck on her couch for two weeks in 2005.

Dr Lucky Sondakh and Pangky Pangemanan in Manado arranged my sponsorship by Sam Ratulangi University and were highly professional and helpful. My work was also supported by funding from the Department of Anthropology, RSPAS, and by the ANU’s International Education office.

My supervisors Prof Kathryn Robinson and Dr Chris Ballard provided thoughtful, compassionate direction and helpful advice throughout my PhD. For better or for worse, they let me make this thesis my own. I also benefited from advice from Dr Andrew McWilliam, Dr Andy Kipnis, Dr Patrick Guinness, and Prof Terence Hull. Stephen Meatheringham, Fay Castles, and Pen Judd have amiably gotten me out of many administrative and technical tangles. I would like to thank my thesis examiners for their extremely helpful and thoughtful comments; their enthusiasm has renewed mine.

My ‘multi-sited’ research project pales in comparison to this ‘multi-sited’ writing project. In each place where I worked on this thesis, I had support from family and friends. In Canberra, I had a cohort of friends who started their PhDs
around the same time and epitomized the life of an anthropology student – absorbed in our own tasks and responsibilities, scattered around the globe during fieldwork, sharing an email or a coffee or a chat in our department halls when fulfilling our other human needs for sustenance and bathroom-breaks. I want to wish my friendly colleagues well: Sinwen Lau, Mar Khin, Lintje Pellu, Angie Bexley, Aileen Pangutalan, and Mike Cookson. In Jayapura, Wamena and Bali, Nelly Itlay, Nata Lagowan, and Mama Viki helped care for my son so I had time to work, as did my aunt Sherry Shelley in Nanaimo, Canada. David and Bernadette Haluk were a great source of support and friendship in Dubbo, Australia. Traci Smith has been a very good friend in Canberra, Goulburn, and Bali.

No one knows more about the all-consuming effort of a PhD than my husband, Herman Lagowan, and son, Oliver, who are extremely glad that this is the last page of my thesis. I want to thank them both for accompanying me on this journey, and for not allowing this pursuit to consume me. This work owes much to the inspiration and enthusiasm of my friend and colleague Dr Leslie Butt, who, like it or not, is responsible for pointing out this path. Any path that leads to Wamena is a good path, I think.
This thesis is dedicated to Papuans and others who do the work of imagining how things might be different.
Table of Contents

Abstract ................................................................................................................................. ii
Acknowledgements ................................................................................................................... iii
Table of Contents .................................................................................................................... vi
List of Tables ........................................................................................................................... ix
List of Maps ............................................................................................................................. ix
INTRODUCTION ..................................................................................................................... 1
‘Problematised’ ....................................................................................................................... 1
Research Setting: Among the Dani in North Sulawesi .......................................................... 9
  A ‘Bule Sendiri’ (Lone White Foreigner) ........................................................................ 15
Racialized Affiliations ........................................................................................................... 18
“Presence Builds Trust” ......................................................................................................... 20
Terminology .......................................................................................................................... 26
Thesis Outline ......................................................................................................................... 28
CHAPTER 1: Discourses of Diminishment in the Baliem Valley ................................................. 32
  Constructions of the Papuan ............................................................................................... 33
  ‘Uplifting’ in the Baliem Valley .......................................................................................... 37
  The Development Era: ........................................................................................................... 40
  Indonesianizing the ‘Penis-Gourd’ People .......................................................................... 40
    Becoming Indonesian in School ....................................................................................... 45
    Developing Good Quality ‘Human Resources’ .................................................................. 47
  Migrants and Diminishment in the Baliem Valley ............................................................... 53
    An Indonesian Gaze? ......................................................................................................... 56
CHAPTER 2: Experiences of Progress in the Baliem Valley ......................................................... 58
  Influencing the Future: Dani Discourses on Formal Education ........................................... 61
    Controlling Efficacy .......................................................................................................... 62
    Colonisation and Decolonisation: Education as a Way Forward ...................................... 64
  Embracing Progress ............................................................................................................ 66
    Viktor and Nelly: Showing Goodness in Wouma .............................................................. 66
    Keeping Impropriety out of Sight ....................................................................................... 68
  A Daily Struggle to Get Ahead ............................................................................................. 71
  A Big Man’s Shame ............................................................................................................. 74
  Conclusion ............................................................................................................................ 77
CHAPTER 3: “Where’s the city!?”: Newcomers in North Sulawesi ........................................... 80
List of Tables

Table 1: Cultural Groups and Regencies in Central Highlands, Papua ....................... 86
Table 2: Dormitories of Wamena Students in North Sulawesi .................................... 91
Table 3: Unsrat Students According to Province of High School Graduation, 2008... 137
Table 4: Papua High School Graduates at Unsrat by Faculty, 2008............................. 138
Table 5: Higher education institutes most commonly attended by Wamena students, 2005 .................................................................................................................................. 139
Table 6: Organizations that include Wamena Students ............................................. 173
Table 7: Membership in KBMKKJ-T, North Sulawesi, 1987-2005 ............................. 175
Table 8: KBMKKJ-T Schedule of Election Activities ................................................. 178

List of Maps

Map 1: Indonesia ........................................................................................................ 3
Map 2: North Sulawesi ............................................................................................... 9
Map 3: Baliem Valley area .......................................................................................... 11
Map 4: Administrative (regency) boundaries in central highlands, Papua province, c. 2005 .................................................................................................................................. 28
Map 5: The route from Jayapura to Manado by PELNI ship ..................................... 81
Map 6: Significant sites for Dani students, Tondano area ......................................... 88
Map 7: Significant sites for Dani students, Unima campus ....................................... 89
INTRODUCTION

‘Problematised’

People reinvent the civilizing process by making it partly their own, and this is part of their project of making themselves at home in a context in which their identities and their world have both been severely problematized. (Lattas 1998: 314)

On 28 July 2006, I sat on a sunny hillside in the Baliem Valley, Papua listening to official speeches during Wamena’s first-ever presidential visit. To hear President Yudhoyono’s speech, indigenous highlanders had walked for approximately two hours from Wamena city, as the roads to the site were blocked to public buses except those carrying government employees and Indonesians. Upon arrival at the site, police officers directed indigenous guests to climb across a ditch and through a break in a chain-link fence to get into the hillside setting. Honoured guests were seated in rows facing the stage. The hills behind us were rumoured to be hiding large numbers of soldiers. In case of emergency, there would be no way out of the area for the crowd of indigenous observers. Not surprisingly, given the conditions, the crowd around me was subdued and quiet, and seemed interested at only two moments – first, during the opening prayers, and second, when the president announced that there had been much talk about ‘progress’ (kemajuan, which may also be translated as modernity, advancement, or ‘going forward’) with few tangible results. This time, he said, things were going to be different. There was shouting and applause from the crowd; it was not clear whether people around me were reacting to the acknowledgement of their feelings that modernity has not yet come to the
Though no exact dates were given prior to Yudhoyono’s arrival, the visit was publicized by the local public radio station. The president would visit Wamena, the main city in the central highlands, and fly to the outlying regency of Yahukimo, weather permitting. The announcement that Yudhoyono was going to visit Yahukimo caused some stir in Wamena. News reports suggested that he would visit Yahukimo because the area’s inhabitants had suffered much-publicized famines in 2005 and 2006. In 2005, the president criticized local officials for lack of progress in the highlands, and he was apparently coming to check up on the progress of Yahukimo regency since the previous year’s famine. Before, during, and after the presidential visit, dialogue amongst local Dani people in Wamena and views in the media focused on broader causes of such serious conditions of so-called underdevelopment in the central highlands. Was it geographical isolation and lack of telecommunications? Were the indigenous people failing to grow sweet potatoes ‘as they always had’? What could be blamed on indigenous officials in the highlands? Whose fault was it that teachers did not teach school and students did not study? Though many of the answers tossed about in street side conversations blamed the Indonesian government, indigenous highlanders were also questioning themselves. “We have low SDM (human resources),” some said. “We are still backward,” said others. I take these comments as indication that highlanders find themselves ‘problematized’ by dominant national and popular Indonesian perspectives, and that Dani ambitions and aspirations for kemajuan (modernity) cannot be


2 In this thesis I minimise the use of scare quotes on terms such as progress, modern, primitive, backward, quality, etc. for the sake of readability although I recognize the meaning of these terms is highly subjective.

3 Regarding criticism of officials, see for example ‘Terkait Kelaparan di Papua, Presiden Akan Beri Sanksi Pemda’ (President Will Sanction Regency Governments in Relation to the Famine in Papua), Tempointeraktif, 9 December 2005.

understood without attention to the “discourses of diminishment” (Robbins 2005: 11) they experience.

Map 1: Indonesia

In broad terms, this thesis considers how people try to capture or create modernity from positions of humiliation and diminishment, and the ways that modern ambitions are shaped and re-shaped by conditions of stigma and discrimination. In doing so it furthers a line of anthropological inquiry started by Sahlins (1992) and reinitiated by the contributors to Robbins and Wardlow (2005) about the role of humiliation, or the experience of being made to feel inferior in the face of so-called developed, modern, or Western agents and agencies, in fostering a desire for dramatic cultural change.

Although the idea of ‘the Papuan’ as primitive and racially inferior to ‘the Malay’ predates Indonesian control of Papua (Ballard 2008a; Pouwer 1999; Rutherford 2003), in the Indonesian era, the Dani, Yali, and Lani tribes of the mountainous central interior are considered the most primitive of Papuans in state and popular discourses in Indonesia (Munro 2004). Conditions of discrimination and violence are most intense in the highlands, particularly around Wamena, the traditional territory of the Baliem Valley Dani (Butt 2001; Mote and Rutherford 2001). Nation-state institutions and ideologies attempt to force the Dani to become more Indonesian (Naylor 1974; Soepangat 1986). Racist attitudes characterise interactions between in-migrating Indonesians and
the Dani, with values of the *pendatang*\(^5\) (migrant) rooted deeply in Indonesian nationalist politics (Butt 2001: 67).

One of the guiding questions in this thesis is what are the impacts of such “discourses of diminishment” (Robbins 2005: 10)? Do they operate as mechanisms of humiliation, convincing people of inferiority and creating the desire to change (Robbins 2005: 11)? Robbins (2005: 10) writes,

> Humiliation, in Sahlins’ scheme, is an answer to the question of how, given the bias toward indigenous cultural reproduction and expansion, people ever come to embrace the West and make achieving development stricto sensu their goal...Humiliation breaks the cycle of develop-man reproduction and expansion by convincing people of their own worthlessness and the worthlessness of their cultures.

In Sahlins’ (1992: 24) words, humiliation produces an “...‘inferiority complex’ that leads people actively to want to change.” One mechanism Sahlins proposes is Christianity, but Robbins suggests that all of the various “discourses of diminishment at play in colonial situations [...] discourses of race, wildness, childishness, backwardness, primitiveness, temporal behindness, etc. – can have a similar effect” (Robbins 2005: 11).

This thesis is also an exploration of the production and experience of humiliation, and an exercise in “tracing how subjects absorb representations and what they do with them” (Rofel 1992: 107). Key questions I address are: What are the longstanding and ongoing effects of being identified as primitive, low-quality, and inferior? What do people do with such evolving designations? My interest is not just in how Dani experience dominant Indonesian views of their culture, characteristics and capabilities, but what happens next. How do these views shape their own projects of advancement, their interpretations of quality and skill, and their relationships with other Dani?

Looking at “the way people engage the ideologies and institutions of a so-called modernizing world provides a valuable vantage point for understanding contemporary articulations of culture and power” (Knaufft 2002: 4). Dani experiences of progress, or in Indonesian terms, becoming *maju*, tell us about what kinds of modernities are produced under conditions where shame

\(^5\) It is possible to translate *pendatang* in a number of ways, most commonly, ‘migrant’, ‘newcomer’, or ‘settler’. No English term properly captures the situation of *pendatang* in Wamena. ‘Migrant’ does not reflect the way that *pendatang* are, in state ideologies, intended to provide modern exemplars of Indonesian practices and values for indigenous people.
and stigma indicate entrenched forms of ‘diminishment’.

In examining these questions, this thesis focuses on the experiences of a group of Dani university students in North Sulawesi. My focus on youth is in part due to my interest in scholarly suggestions that young people are particularly vulnerable to how they are seen by others. Howarth (2002: 238) writes, “How others recognize us has an impact on how we recognize ourselves. This is particularly true for the adolescent.” Jenkins (1996: 67) suggests, for youth, “The problematic relationship between how we see ourselves and how others see us becomes a central concern.” Moreover, “For those from marginalized and stigmatized communities, the gaze of the other is all the more inescapable” (Howarth 2002: 246). Demerath (2003), Sykes (1995), Fife (1994) and others point to the creative ways that “young people negotiate competing discourses, contradictory ideologies, and often limited opportunities” (Demerath 2003: 36). Yet ‘becoming educated’ involves facing more than just limited employment prospects, community disappointment, or thwarted ambitions. Kahn (2001) argues that projects of modernity are implicated in a diversity of forms of cultural and racial exclusion. Stoler (2002), LiPuma (2000), and Fife (1995), for example, by considering the colonial and missionary roots of formal education in Indonesia and Papua New Guinea, alert us to the ways that becoming educated is racialized and politicized. Yet these accounts do not explore the perspectives of indigenous people as they confront stereotypes and scrutiny, or “reinvent the civilizing process by making it partly their own” (Lattas 1998: 314).

Dani people have a relatively brief but spectacular history of diminishment, though many ideas about highlanders and orang Papua (Papuans) more generally predate the arrival of missionaries in Dani territory in 1954.6 My focus is guided by insights from my previous work in North Sulawesi (Munro 2004). After seeing how Dani students conform to, manipulate, and resist state discourse on progress, I became interested in pursuing broader questions about this group as a set of youth who seem to epitomize opportunity, mobility, educational attainment, and political resistance, yet in order to do so must negotiate potent, oppressive claims about who they are and what they lack. They could then, as they do in this thesis, as easily criticize fellow Dani as ‘knowing nothing’ as assert that ‘Indonesia makes the Dani ignorant on purpose’

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6 An explication of of terminology is provided on page 26.
(see Chapter 4) or that ‘Only highlanders truly have concern for one another and take care of one another’ (discussed in Chapter 6). This thesis follows the activities and experiences of Dani highlanders as they endeavour to broaden their horizons and acquire skills that they hope will allow them to transform political, social and economic conditions when they return home. I document and discuss their experiences being orang Papua, a racially-stigmatized group, among Indonesians in North Sulawesi. I also look at their experiences inside educational institutions, the ways in which they try to improve their quality in groups with other highlanders, and the feelings of independence and confidence that develop in spite of stigma. My focus in this thesis is how the dreams of change that follow on from being positioned as successful, young, rising stars, are shaped and reshaped in the face of multiple constraints.

Experiences of education provide the context for this exploration. Scholarly analyses of education propose that schooling is a crucial means of “nation making” (Foster 1997), “inculcating a national consciousness and creating a common frame of reference for the young generation” (Jourdan 1997: 127). School is a place to learn, if not always take up, the rules, ideals and understandings of the nation-state (Bjork 2005; Parker 2003; Shiraishi 1997). Parker (2003: 250) writes,

The New Order regime had a Hindu-Javanese vision of an Indonesian culture which was a single, ‘normal’, relatively homogeneous culture in which particularist (ethnic) cultural expressions were presented as a pastiche….Schools were probably the single most effective advertising medium for this national culture.

Education in Indonesia is still strongly associated with processes of ‘drawing in’, ‘homogenization’, and ‘national culture’, which is why a university setting was ideal for my research. In Parker’s Bali-based study,

School, family, community and nation-state were not discrete worlds – the considerable degree of fit and identification that students experienced between these institutions was a measure of the distance travelled away from a society based on family and the local towards a more outward-oriented, impersonal, and open-ended society. (2003: 256)

Other scholars similarly suggest that education tends to deterrioralize or disconnect youth from their natal cultures and rural communities (Amit and
Wulff 1995). Fife (1994) proposes that in Papua New Guinea, teachers unknowingly promote a new moral order that celebrates the modern life of urban values and the cash economy at the expense of an agriculturally based village way of life. To the extent that Papua New Guinea students internalize this moral order, they are developing an urban consciousness (Fife 1994: 160). This makes it difficult for them to fit back into life in the village, but limited employment also keeps youth from achieving urban lifestyle goals. Papua New Guinea-based studies, such as those by Sykes (1995; 1999), Weeks (1987), and Powell and Wilson (1974) have sought to understand the motivations and consequences of urban school migration for rural youth. In these studies, students and the people they leave behind in the village often experience ‘disconnection’, ‘discord’ and disappointment. This thesis takes a slightly different approach by examining constraints that Dani students encounter while attempting to ‘deterritorialize’ from the central highlands. Despite their own stated desires to ‘look outward’ and travel away from their family-based societies, Dani students end up coming to opposite conclusions about where their interests and ambitions lie because of their experiences abroad. They hope that going to university outside Papua will facilitate mixing with more urbane and cosmopolitan Indonesians, an educational engagement with modern ways of being, and the acquisition of knowledge that will enable them to do great things when they go home to the highlands. Instead, their university education entails institutional racism, corruption, and a large set of behaviours and attitudes that stigmatize and humiliate Dani students. Powerful emotional, social, and economic connections to the highlands compel students to strive for objectives that are not fully captured or contained by the Indonesian national ideal of human quality, a motivational force behind education. Dani students describe themselves more as future heroes who do good things for others, using economic, cultural, and personal development to bring highlanders into positions of equality in relation to Indonesians. In North Sulawesi, students must negotiate these images of themselves, characterized by bravery, discipline, and commitment, with Indonesian views of Papuans as backward and primitive. This thesis is thus also an examination of how Dani students struggle to reposition “themselves vis a vis modernity...sometimes through deploying the very codes of the modern that have framed them as its others” (Schein 1999: 363).
To summarize, this thesis demonstrates that although state discourse does not make overt statements about ras (race), racial thought is common in everyday settings. I show that prevailing constructions of orang Papua among Indonesians in North Sulawesi echo longstanding discourses of colonial state(s) in Papua: Papuans are associated with dissidence, violence, trouble, primitiveness, backwardness, lower intellect and lower moral standards.

Rather than university education being a stepping off point for diverse experiences and interactions, mobility, or cultural blending, students’ main concern becomes how to turn their experiences into skills that other Dani will recognize and require. Humiliating experiences do the opposite of encouraging students to reject Dani traditions and pursue acceptance on Indonesian terms; circumstances of humiliation, stigma and discrimination promote the consolidation of dichotomies by which highlanders separate themselves from other Papuans and Indonesians. In the process, particular cultural values are elevated as innate characteristics that must be part of Dani modernity.

In other conditions, using a university degree to help elderly people visit the clinic or to collect school report cards on behalf of parents who are unable to sign their names may be seen as disappointing results, and they are certainly much diminished versions of students’ hopes. Graduates use their education to help other Dani avoid experiences of humiliation, being judged uneducated or ignorant, and from having to see themselves in such negative ways, by facilitating their engagements with state institutions, literacy, and Indonesians at home. In doing so, they interrupt colonial power in particular ways; these particularities in turn shape Dani productions of what it means to be maju (modern).
Map 2: North Sulawesi

Research Setting: Among the Dani in North Sulawesi

Exact numbers of Papuan students in North Sulawesi are difficult to assess, but they number several thousand. Dani and other ‘Wamena people’ have been travelling to North Sulawesi for higher education since the late 1980s. This province, on the island of Sulawesi, attracts more Papuan highlanders to its higher education institutes than any other province. Students say they are attracted to North Sulawesi because it provides an affordable educational experience in a Christian, modern, safe atmosphere.

In North Sulawesi, my focus was on Dani students from the Baliem Valley and Western Dani students from the Wolo Valley, which connects to the Baliem Valley in its northerly reaches. My research was divided between two sites: a dorm for Catholic students in Manado and the student residences in and around the campus of the National University of Manado (Unima) located in the
hills around Lake Tondano, an hour’s drive south of Manado. This research was conducted primarily in the province of North Sulawesi with Dani students aged 20-30 attending institutes of higher education in Manado, the provincial capital, and Tondano, a tiny lakeside town in the mountains south of Manado. I initially spent nine months living in dormitories in Tondano and Manado. During July and August 2006, I lived in the Baliem Valley in Papua’s central highlands in a Dani village called Wouma on the outskirts of the highlands main town, Wamena. I returned to Manado for four months, interrupted by a two-week trip back to Wamena for the funeral of a student in October 2006. I departed Indonesia on New Year’s Eve 2006. In June 2009, I spent three weeks in Wamena visiting returned graduates and former students from North Sulawesi.
I spent my time in Papua in the southern part of the Baliem Valley, near the city of Wamena. Because of its size, Ploeg (1995, 2004), Heider (1979), and others have described the Baliem Valley as the ‘Grand Valley’, home to ‘Grand Valley Dani’. The Baliem Valley is the most densely populated area of Papua.

7 A number of ethnic groups, well represented in ethnographic studies, reside in the Western Highlands of West Papua. Best known are the Grand Valley Dani, the Western Dani, and the Me. The Grand Valley is located in the lower reaches of the Baliem River where it flows southeast through a wide Valley with a relatively flat floor before it leaves the Highlands via the Baliem Gorge [...] The habitat of the Grand Valley Dani is formed by the floor, the slopes of the Valley, and its tributary Valleys. The habitat of the Western Dani centers on the Valleys of the North Baliem, the Boko, north of the Grand Valley, the Toli, the Yamo, and the Ila rivers. They occupy the entire middle section of the Western Highlands north and west of the Grand Valley.
Dani people have used sophisticated agricultural techniques to turn a variety of marshy, rocky, or steep landscapes into fertile gardens. They grow sweet potatoes as a staple food and raise pigs for ritual, exchange, and economic purposes. Eating bakar batu (literally ‘stone cooking’, referring to steamed pork, sweet potatoes, and greens cooked in an earth-oven, which I refer to as a ‘pig feast’) together is an essential part of all celebrations, even among students in North Sulawesi. In the highlands, Dani also grow carrots, cabbage, onions, and chillies or tend fruit to sell in urban markets. Pigs are significant in competitive exchanges and social events such as weddings or funerals, as well as in brideprice and compensation payments. Rather than offer an inventory of Dani cultural practices and beliefs, in this thesis I note and explain cultural facets as they arose during the course of my fieldwork. For instance, raising and selling pigs is one of the main ways that young people acquire enough money to depart for university abroad, while the work of their mothers and sisters growing and selling garden produce frequently provides them with money while they are at university.


(Ploeg 2004: 291)
produced scholarship includes recent works by Agus Alua (2006) and Jemius Assolokobal (2007).

Colonial politics continue to influence the production of knowledge about Papua. Visa requirements for Papua are different from other parts of Indonesia. Even tourists are required to obtain special clearance from the Indonesian police. Personal accounts from foreign researchers attempting to gain permits suggest that, according to state authorities, there is no social research being conducted in Papua now due to security concerns. For discussion of issues relating to research permission in Papua, see Butt (1998: 41-47), Cookson (2008: 6-9), Rutherford (1997: 103-105), and Timmer (2000: 14-15). Officials defending this policy point to examples of foreigners killed because of attacks staged by the Free Papua Movement (OPM) and other separatist groups, and they point to examples of foreigners violating the terms of their visas, sometimes to allegedly support OPM activities. In 2009, even foreigners seeking a permit to allow them to work for an Indonesia-based organization or company required special clearance by the police and the state intelligence agency. To visit Wamena as a tourist requires a special permit from the police, and tourists must register with police in Wamena within 24 hours of arriving. Informants report that it is even more difficult, if not impossible, to obtain permission if one wishes to visit more isolated areas of the central highlands. Police who issue the special permit treat people wishing to visit the highlands with suspicion. When I visited the highlands briefly in October 2006 for the funeral of a Dani student, I was told by the police officer preparing my permit, “Ma’am, you say you are just going to a funeral. Therefore, you had better just go to a funeral. Nothing else. You heard about those Australians who got into trouble there. You do not want to be like them.” I had not, in fact, heard of any Australians ‘in trouble’ in the highlands and could find little information in an internet search of the news. To my knowledge, most foreigners have someone else go to the police station in Jayapura and request a special permit (surat jalan) on their behalf, as I have done on other occasions. Because I was trying to get to Wamena in time for the funeral, which was already underway, I asked a Papuan police officer, the adoptive father of a Dani student, to help expedite the process. This actually seemed to complicate and lengthen the process. The officer in charge, a Javanese man, insisted on meeting with me personally
before issuing the permit, but he was not at work for two days after he made
this request. Besides formal issues of access, at various times particularly since
2000, living in the highlands has been completely unsafe for everyone, including
foreigners. Working with Dani migrants in North Sulawesi initially developed as
an option for M.A. research in 2003 because military operations against alleged
independence supporters forced highlanders to abandon their homes and hide
in the mountains. In the three visits I have made to Wamena since 2006, I have
never witnessed violence in the city or its immediate surrounds. However,
during each visit Dani friends have warned me about trouble in particular areas
within a day’s travel from Wamena. Dani community leaders regularly discuss
the political situation and assess the threat of violence from the military and
special police forces, and the chances of political violence erupting from within
their own communities. The point is, issues of access, including how we choose
to represent ourselves to our informants, are not simply determined by what we
say about ourselves, which group of informants we choose and which we
exclude, where we choose to reside, or even the politics of official research
permits. Living with Dani as a minority among the people of North Sulawesi
gave me the opportunity to learn about racism, stigma, and vulnerability based
on long-term participant observation that is not yet possible in the equally, if
differently, racialized setting of highlands Papua.

I was able to obtain a government-issued research permit to conduct
research in North Sulawesi, but this did not automatically result in being able to
focus on building rapport with my informants without interference from
government officials. Still, a permit was essential for protecting students from
unnecessary additional scrutiny from local officials who already regarded them
as a special security risk. Although soldiers and police do not patrol student
residences as they do residential areas in Wamena, leaving Papua does not
make students safe from racialized conflict or being associated with separatism
and violence. Their presence in North Sulawesi also seems to evoke in
government officials a need to defend the nation by placing Papuans under
surveillance and treating them as suspicious subjects. Working with Dani
students made me part of this politics of surveillance and suspicion, but it was
not simply because I lived with them. It was because I was also a ‘lone white
foreigner’, which I discuss in the next section. My efforts to establish trust and
rapport with Dani students were complicated by the assumptions of Indonesians in Manado and Tondano about what I ought to be doing, and assumptions about what Dani and other Papuan students are like. It was insightful for me to realize that access had as much to do with how I interacted Dani students as how I interacted (or rather, did not interact) with Indonesians, who were not the direct focus of my research.

A ‘Bule Sendiri’ (Lone White Foreigner)

North Sulawesi attracts foreign tourists who like to visit the islands off the coast for diving and snorkelling. Manadonese people also suggest that their city attracts foreign entrepreneurs and investors, particularly from China. It has none of Bali’s beaches or Java’s temples, and, while considered by tour books to be ‘off the beaten path’, the area’s lengthy history of Dutch colonialism, plantation cultivation, and Indonesian government investment make it difficult to imagine North Sulawesi as ‘wild’ or ‘untouched’. It is however, closer to Darwin, Australia and Manila, Philippines than it is to Jakarta, the national capital. The Sangir-Talaud island chain, part of Indonesia, links North Sulawesi to the southern Philippines. According to the chart on the wall of the police office I visited in 2005, approximately 15,000 foreign tourists land at Sam Ratulangi International Airport each year. However, walking around the city of Manado, I rarely encountered other ‘white foreigners’, referred to as bulé. Shortly after I arrived, a newspaper article announced the presence of ten American students studying Indonesian at Sam Ratulangi University. I had been experiencing intense scrutiny walking around town, purchasing meals, and seeking out previous contacts, but I felt better upon reading this article, because at least the media had not alerted the entire city to my presence. In the beginning, I was overwhelmed with expressions of concern, astonishment, and curiosity that I was sendiri: alone. Strangers at roadside eateries learned I could speak Indonesian and were much more interested in understanding how and why I came to be alone in Manado than where I was from or what I was doing. Most people seemed to find the idea of being alone horrifying. It was also not, I was told, how bulé normally operate. White foreigners usually travel with friends or
associates by car, stay in hotels called ‘Ritzy’, dash in and out of the international supermarket and do not expose themselves to the general public. In public, people on the streets called out to me, “Bule!”, “Miss!”, “Hello!”, and “You like sex?!?” in ways they would never speak to other Indonesians. Friends and acquaintances who walked around Manado with me were often surprised and shocked at the amount of mostly derogatory attention I received in public places. Although a pleasant change from antagonistic comments, on the bus or in shops I was asked to answer a stream of personal questions: Was I Christian? Catholic? Was I married? With whom was I living? Was I wealthy? Why was my skin marred with ‘black bits’ (freckles)? Besides North Sulawesi, I have visited Bali, Sumatra, Papua and Jakarta (Java) and never experienced attention as I experienced in Manado. In Sumatra and Papua, schoolchildren call out, “Hello Miss!” and, “Good Morning!” but in Manado people of all ages and positions frequently reminded me that bule is associated with sex.

An official at the police department looked me in the eye and smiled as he insisted that I pay him three times the normal amount for a registration card that I was instructed to obtain by the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI), the government agency that granted me permission to conduct research. It seemed like the procedure had taken hours just to get to this point. Most of the time, he had been sitting behind his desk asking me personal questions, staring at me, and smiling. Then he brought me to another office, where another official sat beside him and together they reviewed my situation. They asked if I had a boyfriend, and joked that I would probably have quite a few in the near future. The first officer gave me a piece of paper with his name, Denny, and mobile phone number. When I related the day’s events to a Manadonese acquaintance, Diego, who worked at the boarding house where I first stayed, he was astonished. He was not astonished with the treatment, but that I had gone to the police department alone. “Why didn’t you ask me? I have many friends in the police department. They saw you were alone so they acted like idiots!” My experiences at the immigration office were similar. One of the higher-level officials who had to sign my paperwork insisted on meeting with me in his office alone, leering at me in silence. He fired off the same round of personal questions. Perhaps he was just gathering intelligence on me, but I had the feeling he was using the paperwork as an opportunity to force me to be friendly.
and socialize with him, and that he assumed I would want a friend like him. Maybe, like Denny the police officer, or the professor I describe below, he thought I might become his girlfriend.

A local preacher introduced me to a neighbour, Mr. Rumroken, a professor at Unima (National University of Manado), located in Tondano. The professor invited me to visit one of his classes, which I did. The next week, he stopped me on the street at Unima to ask if I wanted a ride down the hill to our neighbourhood. With his young son between us on his motorbike, we stopped by an office where he wanted to introduce me to someone. He showed me some photographs of him with his M.A. supervisors, and said that he enjoyed talking to someone like me and hoped we could meet up again. He said it would be best if we kept this relationship secret from his wife and the neighbours. I thought he was joking until he stopped his motorbike and dropped me off two blocks from our neighbourhood. He came to my door several times over the next month but I pretended not to be home. Another professor who supervised the computer lab I sometimes utilised insisted we have a private conversation and asked to be taught English. When I explained that I had to focus on my research he suggested we “jalan-jalan” (go for a ride) to “eat corn and drink beer.” As a bulu, I could have used money or personal relationships to develop beneficial connections with influential people, but at the beginning of my fieldwork, I did not see why ‘friends and favours’ are so necessary. I learned about the benefits and drawbacks of ‘friends and favours’ from hearing the experiences of Dani students.

My research sponsors (from Sam Ratulangi University in Manado) were, by contrast, polite, professional, and exceptional, but the notion that as a bulu I was open to intimate personal relations with any male of status made it difficult to establish a professional rapport with potential research informants in the universities and in local government institutions. Their perspectives appear in my thesis in informal ways, though my research would have been enriched by improved access to institutional materials and interviews. Being a bulu sparked questions about how Dani students experience these same authority figures and institutional settings. It also alerted me to the ways in which my research was structured by the way I was perceived by not only Dani students, the focus of my work, but local Indonesians as well. As I explore in the following section,
the ways that local Indonesians perceive Papuan students also framed my research.

**Racialized Affiliations**

Ethnography requires that the anthropologist embody a limited set of subjective standpoints, which are best absorbed through extensive, empathetic coresidence. Embracing antagonistic views at the same time is hard, and being in two places at once impossible. (McCallum 2005: 101)

In my early weeks in Manado interactions with locals dominated my time. After I arrived in Manado, I was hesitant to contact Dani students I knew from my previous research in the area because I wanted to base myself with a different group of students (living in Tondano) and I was uncertain if my previous informants would support this move. As a result, I reconnected with middle-class Pentecostal Manadonese friends, the Lumapes, and lived with them while I was sorting out my various permits, cards, and registrations from government offices. When I conducted M.A. research in Manado in July 2003 the Lumapes had been building what they called a *rumah tikus* (lit., mouse house) amidst student and teacher housing on Unima campus in Tondano. They were eager to have me use their house as a research base in 2005-2006.

Upon arrival in Tondano, I was surprised to find that the ‘simple’ house had become a gated mansion, with three bathrooms and two sets of locked fences. It dominated the neighbourhood, and the fences kept most locals away. I was also increasingly aware of local Indonesian perceptions of Papuan students and exactly how marginalized they are in the region. I was weary of hearing things like: “The Papuans are drunks.” Or, “You’ll get raped.” Or, “They only eat *ubi kayu* (lit. wooden tubers),” from all sections of local society. I doubted Dani students would trust me if I continued to live near and spend time with local Indonesians. In order to do my research, there would be no position available to me where I could be accepted into multiple circles, formally seeking information from a cross-section of Indonesians and Papuans. As a result, most of what I learned about Indonesian perspectives came early in my fieldwork, before I moved in with Dani students or via the Indonesian individuals who form an ongoing presence in Dani students’ lives.
In November 2005, I met some students and was invited to live in their dorm, known as the Yepmum dorm, built and partially funded by the Jayawijaya regency in the central highlands of Papua. Some members of the local Indonesian community disapproved of my methods (participant observation, living with my informants) and ethical stance (favouring relationships with Dani over non-Dani and Indonesians). This rejection had a racial component, as locals in Tondano and Manado drew on various negative constructions of orang Papua to convince me that I should be afraid of being too close to Papuans. They questioned my need to participate fully in students’ lives, to live and eat with them, and to treat them as equals. One particularly assertive man argued,

Jenny, you do not need to live in the dorm. You already know William [one of the Dani students], and you know his supervisor on campus. William would be embarrassed and afraid not to help you. So, just ask William to bring you students to interview. If you want five males, ask for five males; if you want females, tell him to bring you females.

Trust or rapport was not, in these views, necessary, and living in the same residences with Papuans was not a legitimate way of obtaining data. Even several months into my research, local Indonesians living around campus in Tondano repeatedly asked students from the Yepmum dorm what I was really doing there, even though I had initially explained to everyone I met (and officially reported to local authorities) that I was studying Dani culture and experiences of education abroad. These continual questions I interpret to be a reflection of two issues – first, that my way of doing research was seen as very unusual and strange, and second that Dani students are seen as strange (poor, of lower intellect, troubled) and anyone who wished to immerse herself in that environment must be quite abnormal.

I was in trouble with the local government official in charge of Unima District (Kelurahan Maesa-Unima) because I did not have an official letter of explanation for him and his boss, the Mayor of Manado. LIPI gave very specific instructions about reporting to local authorities and created letters for me to take to the pertinent institutions. There was no letter for this man, locally referred to as Lurah, which I translate as ‘Village Headman’. I arrived home at the dorm one day to a message from some of the students: the village headman had come by and he wanted my ‘data’. As it turned out, he was not after my
research data but my ‘biodata’: my name, age, marital status, address, nationality, passport number, and the details of my research permit. However, the extent to which the village headman tracked me around Tondano and turned up at what I thought were fairly impromptu discussion groups convinced me that he just might turn up one day and demand my research data. He and other government officials I met expressed that they were very interested in knowing about the activities of Papuan students. Researchers agree to the importance of keeping data safe and secure to ensure the confidentiality of informants. Few, I believe, actually expect to have to keep their notebooks in locked bags, locked to furniture, or hidden away. By two months into my research, I had so many code names for my informants that I was beginning to lose track of their real identities. I worried about using logical code names lest the village headman accost some student and try to force him or her to guess the names of friends and fellow students. I even used code names for contacts in my mobile phone. My perception of these risks was no doubt influenced by students’ perceptions that they were under scrutiny and could be taken in for questioning at any time. Still, from what I could tell, the village headman paid very little attention to my whereabouts before I moved into the dorm. Once I lived in the dorm, he reportedly began asking local Indonesian people about me, and spreading his suspicions around the community. This resulted in more scrutiny for Dani students, who were questioned by neighbourhood homemakers, preachers, shopkeepers, students, and university instructors, about what exactly I was doing with them. It would have been very easy in these circumstances for Dani students to shut me out, lest I cause trouble for them or allow myself to be drawn in to other social groupings in the area who consider themselves superior to Dani students. As I faced these problems in the field, thinking of prior plans to develop a comparative approach by exploring the experiences of a variety of Papuan groups, I received a similar bit of wisdom from two sources: a colleague, Dr. Leslie Butt, and H.R. Bernard’s Research Methods in Anthropology.…. 

“Presence Builds Trust”

I lived in the Yepmum dorm in Tondano with one to four female students
and eight to twelve male students from November 2005 until April 2006, minus a month when I was on sick leave with dengue fever and typhoid. I lived in the PMKRI (Union of Catholic Students of Indonesia) dorm in Manado from April-September 2006. In both locations, I was happy to become quite fully immersed in students’ lives and to try to put aside the scrutiny from outside the dorm. We became friends, cooked together, cleaned together, watched television, hunted for vegetables in nearby gardens and waterways, went to church, went to campus, and visited friends in other dorms. I had to prove to them that I was able to live with them, eat what they ate, and that I was not ashamed of any of it. I found that their early expressions of shame at their living conditions waned with time. The ‘we’ in the Yepmum dorm was not a constant, in that some people came and went, but there was always a certain sense of togetherness. Dani students say, “We don’t have much, we don’t have money, all we can do is stick together. We eat together or we starve together.” (Alternatively, we run off and eat secretly). In those months, the dorm saw sickness (not just mine), it slept four to a room during events and fundraisers, it was empty on lazy Saturday afternoons, the electricity came and went, a volleyball court was built and went back to weed, it was raided in the middle of the night by the Village Headman, it had a visit from ‘Intel’ agents from Indonesia’s central intelligence bureau that sent students scrambling up the hillside behind the dorm, and it was nearly washed away in four days of torrential rain in February 2006 that caused a deadly mudslide in Manado.

Because of my presence, students confessed, the dorm had Indonesian visitors for the first time, as other students came to investigate me, and, as they stated at the door, to be friends with me. At first, I was uncertain how to avoid these visitors and did not want to create negative feelings among local Indonesians. It was not my intention to become the unfriendly bulu. Still, after several visits from Indonesian students who quizzed Dani students about how I managed to adjust to their supposedly primitive lifestyle, I accepted my role in the wider Tondano community as the unfriendly bulu who only had time for Dani students.

Increasingly aware of students’ vulnerabilities in North Sulawesi, I focused on gaining trust as a way of opening up more intimate dialogues. I followed their understandings of how knowledge is gained, that is, by eating
together, sharing the same spaces, doing things together, and talking about other people. Living in dormitories was thus a key research method. I also became interested in what they found interesting, hence, 50% of my field notes concern relationships among students, both romantic and non-romantic. The majority of the data presented in this thesis is derived from conversing with students about their days on campus, their exams and their lecturers, their friends and family, trying to put forward some probing questions at the right time, and then following up on some interesting aspect with other informants. I also conducted initial, standardized interviews while getting to know the neighbourhood and students’ relatives and friends outside the dorm. I observed classes, student seminars, and examinations at Unima, and observed a series of final examinations at Sam Ratulangi University. Attending church services with students was an important research method, particularly in Tondano where many students attend the same small Bethel Tabernacle Church. I learned about their interactions with each other amidst Indonesians, as well as their relationships with Indonesians.

Informants were generally happy to discuss their personal histories, how they came to be in Sulawesi, their families and their lives back in Wamena, their current plans and future hopes, and specific challenges they face with lecturers or campus staff. These conversations were qualitatively different from the initial interviews I conducted, which were devoid of personal details. Students proudly showed me their ‘improvement’ activities in group meetings, discussions, and social organizations. To understand their student organizations and academic pursuits, I analysed their documents and theses. I organized some group discussions to focus on topics such as experiences on campus and experiences of early schooling in Wamena. Students appreciated the formality of these small-group activities. I employed a survey questionnaire in the later stages of my fieldwork to elicit anonymous descriptions of experiences of bribery and discrimination on campus to complement the first-hand information from key informants. I learned about some topics, such as experiences with lecturers and racist treatment, or the feeling of not belonging amongst non-Wamena people, early on because these were issues that students were already discussing amongst themselves. Because I lived in their dormitories and participated in as many activities as I could, I was also permitted to gradually, and often indirectly,
learn about more sensitive topics, such as dropping out of school, physical violence, pregnancy, alcoholic behaviour, stress and conflict. I made frequent visits to dormitories, boarding houses and other residences around Manado and Tondano to hear students’ stories of recent events, political demonstrations, conflicts with local authorities, and gossip.

The students in the Yepmum dorm in Tondano, and later, in the Catholic dorm in Manado, took the job of teaching me seriously, and seemed to enjoy the role of respected *guru* (teacher). While this relationship gave them confidence to share things with me, it also, especially in the initial stages, I believe promoted concern for being seen as ‘respectable’ and showing me their best behaviour. This was partly a result of my desire to learn from them and partly a result of the politicized context: Rumours about their binge-drinking, partying, and promiscuous sex were rife, and they did not want me to think the rumours circulated by Indonesians had any merit. In time, the need to be ‘good’ became less pressing, and was something that students could joke about: how we used to try so hard to impress Jenny – keeping the dorm clean, talking about serious subjects, hiding the truth about how many years we have been working on our degrees.

During my first six months in Tondano, it seemed that at least once a day a student would tell me that I needed to go to Wamena to understand them. They would start conversations by saying, “If Jenny had been to Wamena....” or, “When you get to Wamena....” I had always planned on making a visit to Wamena as part of my fieldwork but it became clear that it would be more than just a ‘holiday’ to take a look around and chat with a few returned students or students’ family members. I would not be able to understand their experiences in North Sulawesi without first-hand experience in Wamena. I waited until there was a mass exodus of students during the June-August semester holidays and took a ship to Jayapura. The trip was exhilarating and exhausting. The KM Nggapalu was overflowing with passengers, household items, and fresh produce. According to other economy-class passengers, the meals of rice and vegetables that we queued for three times a day were deposited into our Styrofoam meal containers using a large shovel. The cramped quarters inside the ship made the stunning green expanse of Papua’s long coastline even more attractive.
After a few days in Jayapura with some students and their family members, a group of us boarded the little plane for the 50-minute flight to Wamena. Once we arrived, the plan was to take a becak (pedicab) to visit the family compound of one of the students, Laurence Lagowan. (The other students were his neighbours). However, someone in Jayapura had informed the family in Wamena that there was a foreigner woman coming, so they had organized a car to pick us up at the airport and take us to Laurence's uncle's house in the city. Uncle Marten was once a member of parliament and rented a large house where many of his relatives lived with him. He had been fired from his job allegedly due to corrupt practices, but he had enough money to keep the house for the time being. When we got there, we shook hands, sat in the living room, and the crying started. Loud crying and sobbing, I was informed later, is a typical Dani greeting after a long absence from the family. Later I sat in the traditional honai (Dani language, round thatched hut) set up in the yard of the house and drank coffee with Laurence's father Kisogo, some children, and an auntie. Mama Mateus, as I knew her, had dreamed that I was coming.

That first night in Wamena Uncle Marten came home intoxicated and I fell asleep listening to him screaming. By the next day, I assumed we would be leaving but it was a delicate matter to leave the fancy house in the city without embarrassing or offending Uncle Marten. I packed my bags anyway. When Uncle Marten came home, it was just getting dark. He was not drunk, but seemed to be having a psychotic episode, screaming and ranting, and chasing after people in the house. Kisogo's third wife Molama came to find me in one of the bedrooms. I said, “Let's go to the village.” Her reaction suggested that she was shocked but pleased that I wanted to leave the city. With the agility of a teenager, she leapt onto the bed, put one foot on the wall, and started tearing down the mosquito net: “We'll need this,” she said. While Laurence wrestled with his uncle in the kitchen, trying to calm him down, Mama Molama and I jumped onto a motorbike taxi (ojek). Laden with my backpack, her netbag, and whatever she could grab from the house, including a pot of rice, we bounced over the tresses of the Wouma Bridge, the We River swirling down below, and sped off into the blackness to Kisogo's kampung (family residence). Safe in

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8. To protect the identities of my informants from further scrutiny, their names have been altered. Most students chose their own code names at the beginning of my research. Some chose to include family names, others used nicknames, and others came up with completely original names such as ‘Black’.
Kisogo’s sister’s long, thatched kitchen, around a campfire, Mama Molama, laughing hysterically, told the story of our escape, that night and for weeks to come. She gave me the reputation of being brave and tough, and not abnormal for rejecting the fancy house for smoky grass huts, muddy gardens, bathing in the icy river, and climbing two sets of pig-proof fences to get to the family’s outdoor toilet area in the forest. Over the next two months in Wamena, I would feel the same kinds of vulnerabilities I had in Sulawesi, from experiences with police officers and soldiers, but I also felt ‘normal’, not as an outsider, for the first time in many months. I imagine I gained some perspective on the deeper reasons students encouraged me to go to Wamena in order to understand their experiences in North Sulawesi. I had to see what it was like to be an insider in order to understand what it means to be an outsider.

The local understanding of what it means to be engaged in research in North Sulawesi pushed me to display my superior education, work in formal ways in formal settings, and use my influence to get data, ignoring the feelings, preferences, and level of comfort of my informants. I was encouraged to be unethical. When I refused to do research that was ‘proper’, according to some local people, they began to question my motives. My intense focus on a small, stigmatized minority created questions in the first place; my rejection of the dominant local understanding of research cemented the view that I was doing something other than what I claimed to be doing.

When I relied more on informal methods in casual settings, I was not simply trying to achieve rapport with Dani students, I was refusing to occupy a place in local racial and cultural hierarchies that I could, or in some peoples’ views, ought to claim. It was also important to show Dani students that I could, and would, reject the positions of status that local Indonesians offered me. A position of status in the community would link me with the dominant perspective. This thesis is necessarily based on evidence gathered in affiliation, compassion, and collaboration.

Pointing out my own uncomfortable experiences of being stereotyped as a *bule*, being scrutinized for choosing to be with people labelled black and poor over those considered white and rich, and having to take sides at all is one way of situating this thesis in the local politics of race and progress of which I was certainly a part. I also had the time of my life with Dani students. I miss
spending time with my friends and I hope to be able to find them in the far-flung quarters of the central highlands where they now reside and wish them well in person. This story from my friend Minke Kenelak sums up the positive side of my fieldwork: joy and plenty, freedom and security, being oneself, and having fun at home with friends and family:

The fish in the Wolo River is the best. The fish here [in Tondano] is no good. My uncle would go to a spot on the river and set up a trap using grasses and stuff like that. Then if the fish came, he would run up and wake up all the women, no matter what time of day or night. The women would grab their babies and run down to the river. They strip to their underwear and put the kids up on the bank. Then they get in the river and start scooping out fish. [Laughing hysterically] So there they are, in the river like that, and the babies and little kids are on the riverbank. The babies are covered in mud, they punch each other, they eat dirt, but the women just leave them be, to get the great fish. *Ado Wamena.*

**Terminology**

In this thesis, there are ‘Indonesians’, ‘Manadonese’, ‘Minahasans’, ‘North Sulawesi people’, ‘local people’, ‘Tondano people’, ‘orang Indonesia’, ‘orang Papua’, ‘Papuans,’ ‘Dani’, ‘Valley Dani’, ‘Western Dani’, ‘Lani’, ‘Yali’, ‘Wamena people’, and ‘highlanders’. These terms reflect the ways my informants describe themselves and the people they live amongst in Wamena, in other parts of Papua, and in North Sulawesi. In quoting their statements, I can do little to simplify the diversity of terms. I attempt to align the terms with the setting in my writing. Thus, I write of ‘Manadonese’ when Manado is the specific context, and ‘Tondano people’ when I am describing events that took place in Tondano. However, since this thesis is concerned, at a broad level, with what transpires between Indonesians and Papuans, I follow the usage of other scholars investigating this subject and use ‘Indonesian’ when referring to the general population of non-Papuans. Rutherford (2003), Timmer (2000), and others writing about Papua do not specify the island of origin for Indonesians in Papua. I use *orang Indonesia* to refer to the constructed image of Indonesians as experienced and described by Dani informants. I use *orang Papua* in a similar way, to draw attention to the fact *orang Papua* are constructed by
Indonesian and Papuan discourses; they are not ‘Papuans’.

When discussing students as a whole I use ‘Dani’ or ‘Wamena students’. This category breaks down into ‘Valley Dani’ and ‘Western Dani’. I use ‘Valley Dani’ to refer to the ‘Baliem Valley Dani’, because it reflects the terminology used by students, who distinguish between lembah (valley) Dani and barat (western) Dani (see Ploeg 2004 in footnote 6).9 ‘Lani’ refers to people originally inhabiting areas further west than the Western Dani. ‘Yali’ people originate from areas to the south and east of the Baliem Valley. To complicate matters further, administrative regions, called regencies (kabupaten), may also provide identity terms. Thus, a student might be referred to as a ‘Tolikara person’ or a ‘Puncak [Jaya] person’.

Dani students in North Sulawesi also identify themselves as ‘Wamena people’. This links them to the main city in the central highlands as well as to Lani and Yali students who also consider themselves ‘Wamena people’. The use of ‘Wamena people’ acknowledges shared experiences and similar cultural values. It is sometimes used interchangeably with ‘mountain people’ (lit. orang gunung), or highlanders. Students believe that ‘mountain people’ share certain attributes and values that are different from coastal Papuans.

Dani students use varying terms to describe Indonesians in North Sulawesi, including orang Indonesia, orang sini (people from here), masyarakat lokal (the local community), orang Sulut (North Sulawesi people), orang Manado (Manado people) or orang Tondano (Tondano people) after the urban settlements, or orang Minahasa (Minahasa people, the main cultural group in North Sulawesi). The terms most commonly used to refer to Indonesians are orang Indonesia or orang sini. Indonesians in North Sulawesi use the terms orang Papua or orang Irian10 to refer to Papuans.

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9 The Baliem Valley is sometimes referred to in earlier ethnographic works as the Grand Valley, home to Grand Valley Dani (Heider 1979, for example).

10 ‘Irian’ refers to ‘Irian Jaya’, one of the former names of Papua province used from the time Indonesia’s control over Papua was recognized by the United Nations in 1969 to 1999 when President Habibie consented to changing the name to ‘Papua’ in accordance with the wishes of Papuan leaders.
Chapter 1, Discourses of Diminishment in the Baliem Valley, examines in further detail the forms of diminishment created by foreign constructions of the Dani and other orang Papua. I examine discursive constructions from a historical perspective and demonstrate the development of a view of orang Papua as innately inferior to Indonesians and lacking in skills and capacities. My argument is that overt references to racially-determined characteristics is replaced, over time, with an emphasis on cultural differences and ways of denigrating the Dani and other Papuans that invoke increasingly technical, internationally-approved development concepts, such as human resource (SDM, sumber daya manusia) quality.

Chapter 2, Experiences of ‘Progress’ in the Baliem Valley, examines Dani engagements with formal education and becoming maju (modern) in and around Wamena, based on interviews and participant observation conducted in July and August 2006. Case studies suggest that rural and semi-rural Dani experience diminishment, self-criticism, and scrutiny in response to potent

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11 Adapted from Papua Province Statistics Office, ‘Sketsa peta wilayah administrasi Papua’ by Y.W.T. Pramono; http://bps.papua.go.id.
pressures to ‘get ahead’.

Chapter 3, “Where’s the City?!” Newcomers in North Sulawesi, provides an ethnographic introduction to the circumstances, perspectives, and activities of Dani students in Tondano and Manado, and the social environment provided by so-called host communities. This chapter suggests that, from the outset of their educational journeys abroad, students’ desires to adjust to fit in with local Indonesians and to experience new cultures are challenged by their living conditions, characterized by dormitory residences, sparse sponsorship funds from home, gardening and cooking over fire pits, pig feasts, and the obligation to share whatever they have with other Dani students. These characteristics help distinguish Dani students as poor, backward, and strange, and at odds with local imaginings of North Sulawesi as a place that is developed, prosperous, and where, according to the local Manado city motto, ‘We are all family’.

Chapter 4, *Orang Indonesia* and *Orang Papua*, begins by looking at how Dani students generally perceive their relationships with *orang Indonesia*, who are often seen as agents and representatives of the Indonesian state. However, I go beyond analysing criticism of Indonesia to look at how students have come to the conclusion, for instance, that, “Indonesia does not want black people.” I do so by examining relationships and encounters between Dani students and local Indonesians in Manado and Tondano. Case studies then provide examples of situations where students say they feel ashamed, embarrassed, or humiliated (*malu*) by, or in front of, Indonesians. Experiences of diminishment shape students activities and ambitions in North Sulawesi, and give direction to their understanding of what it means for *orang Wamena* to become modern.

Chapter 5, “Discipline is Important”: Skills and Stigma on Campus, looks more closely at students’ hopes for their education and the challenges they face in trying to acquire knowledge, discipline, skills, and morality in North Sulawesi. On campus, students’ efforts to develop and assert skills as human resources are limited by discriminating and embarrassing interactions with staff and Indonesian students, as well as education practices and norms that fail to deliver on promised forms of experience and knowledge. Campus experiences provide an opportunity to examine the interaction of stigma and bureaucracy for Dani students.

Chapter 6, Distinguishing *Orang Wamena*, looks at some of the moral
and cultural distinctions students make between themselves and everyone else in North Sulawesi, and the skills and ideals they struggle to achieve together. Despite their stated plans to ‘broaden their horizons’, Dani students spend most of their time in a tight-knit, exclusive community. It is with other orang Wamena that Dani students come closest to gaining sought-after quality that they hope will allow them to transform social, political, and economic conditions back home. Formal student organization activities often provide the setting for moments of prowess: a successful speech, a well-organized fundraiser, or an enjoyable celebration with friends. Group activities suggest ways that students refashion the somewhat disappointing skills they have acquired on campus into the great skills expected of them by their sponsors in Wamena. Scrutiny, stigma, and criticism within the group complicate these endeavours.

In Chapter 7, The Limits of Shame and Stigma, I look at some of the ways that students challenge diminishment in North Sulawesi, asserting independence because they have attained a certain level of quality through education, experience, and migration away from home. I analyse specific challenges to the local expectation that young people ‘finish first’, or complete their education before having sex, getting married, or starting a family. As students question the need to ‘finish first’ they reveal discourses of confidence and achievement that place limits around the significance of experiences of shame and stigma.

Chapter 8, Dreams Made Small? ‘Results’ in a Dani Modernity, provides a view of the results that recent graduates from North Sulawesi are producing back home by looking at the status of indigenous employment in Wamena, and the ways that students are using their education to support a particular construction of what it means to be modern Dani. I argue that graduates experience compelling demands to use their education to ‘do good things for others’, and also embrace this expectation as an appropriate measure of sukses for orang Wamena. Besides government employment and NGO work, graduates are helping other orang Wamena with Indonesian bureaucracies and state institutions using skills they developed abroad. In doing so, they suggest that they are helping others avoid humiliating experiences, in a sense, using their education to interrupt diminishment. Because of diminishment and the experiences and lessons that come with embracing the call to improve quality,
students have to refashion and reduce dreams of transforming the highlands. Conditions of stigma, humiliation, and discrimination influence Dani graduates to imagine a modernity characterized by segregation, protection, and high levels of control over how, when, where, and why orang Wamena encounter Indonesians and their institutions. While the results I report on in this thesis focus on the period immediately after graduation, there is good reason to believe that these graduates, and others like them, will be the future leaders of government, business, and Papuan nationalist movements.
CHAPTER 1

Discourses of Diminishment in the Baliem Valley

Naylor (1974: 172) made the following observations of interactions between Indonesian migrants and Dani people in a market in Wamena in the 1970s:

1. People attempt to pay less than the Dani asks for his vegetables.
2. Disputes that arise are generally handled by the police on duty to the advantage of the buyer and the disadvantage of the Dani.
3. Government employees and labourers from outside of Irian Jaya [Papua] display superior attitudes in dealing with locals

This chapter explores “discourses of diminishment” (Robbins 2005: 11) in the Baliem Valley. A variety of discourses, even those originating prior to Indonesian governance, inform how Indonesians presently view the Dani and other Papuans, and ultimately how Dani people experience colonialism, education, and Indonesian modernity. In looking at these discourses I follow the perspective of Clark (2000: xiv) that “Colonialism too has its culture. Therefore it must also be arbitrary, inconsistent, and paradoxical” (see also Thomas 1994). Although the politics of racialization are important for many Dani informants, particularly the way constructs of orang Papua and orang Indonesia feature in colonial and anti-colonial agendas (see Giay 2000: 3-7; Kirsch 2007: 52), I support Ballard’s (2008b: 343) statement that, “These days, as in the past, the question to be posed in addressing any classification or hierarchy is what purpose and which agenda it serves, rather than seeking to determine its fit with any presumed reality.” This chapter begins with a discussion of racial thought.
on the ‘difference’ of orang Papua that persists, and shifts, into the 1960s, when ras (race) eventually became a banned subject of discussion under Suharto’s regime (Sen and Hill 2000). I then look at discourses produced by Dutch administration and anthropology in the Baliem Valley prior to Indonesian rule. The remainder of the chapter focuses on developing an understanding of specific, shifting Indonesian discourses at work in the Baliem Valley. In all of these discussions, my aim is to put together a picture of the representations and claims about Dani people and orang Papua that Dani informants may have encountered prior to and during Indonesian rule, and to better understand the conditions for present-day experiences of discrimination and stigma.

**Constructions of the Papuan**

The concept of orang Papua and the distinction from Malay people emerged as a subject of interest for explorers and naturalists as far back as the 16th century (see Ballard 2008a; Giay and Ballard 2003; on the Malay race, see Elson 2005, Kahn 2005). In discussing the concept of race, I employ McCallum’s (2005: 100) understanding of the term as relating to difference that is imagined as innate:

[R]acialization takes place when differences between human beings are simplified and transformed into Difference, overvaluing particular bodily differences by imbuing them with lasting meaning of social, political, cultural, economic, even psychological significance. Racialization is produced and reproduced through ideological, institutional, interactive, and linguistic practices that support a particular construction of Difference.

The history of discourses of diminishment in Papua does not start with the European explorers, or Dutch colonialists. According to Pouwer (1999: 160), “Voyages of trade and plunder were undertaken by the people of eastern Indonesia, Ceram, Goram, Ternate and Tidore from as early as the 17th century, later to be joined by Makassars, Buginese, Arabs and Chinese.” Historians suggest that the name ‘Papua’ comes from the term for ‘heathen’ used by Islamic people of the kingdom of Tidore (see Ballard 2008; Ploeg 2002).

While initial presumptions and definitions of orang Papua varied in name
and content, by the 19th century a pervasive, if inconsistent, “colonial racial logic” had developed (Ballard 2008a; Giay and Ballard 2003; Ploeg 1995). This racial thought was initially influenced by a science of race in which key external diacritics (“observations”) come to stand for morality, intelligence, and abilities (Giay and Ballard 2003). These observations position indigenous populations “within a gradient or hierarchy of value” (Giay and Ballard 2003; Douglas and Ballard 2008). Perhaps the most significant legacy of these early writings is the emphasis on the racial difference of Papuans and Malays, though proponents of racial difference frequently disagreed on the character and relative ‘value’ of Papuans and Malays.

The simple opposition of Malay and Papuan propounded by Crawfurd, Earl, and Wallace has profoundly influenced western representations of difference in the Malay Archipelago and continues to find expression in contemporary political debate. Despite the obvious flaws in detail in each of their arguments, the caricatures of Malay and Papuan created through this opposition have become entrenched in popular conception….

George Earl, a British anthropologist who wrote several volumes on Papuans but never visited New Guinea, (Earl 1849-50: 67, cited in Ballard 2008a: 173-174) writes, “The physical characteristics of the Malayu-Polynesians are so distinct from those of the Papuans, that a single glance is sufficient to detect the difference between the races.” Moreover, according to Earl (1849-50: 3), “The Malayu-Polynesians had left their influence even in New Guinea in a 'line of improvement' that extended along the northern coast and eastwards into the Pacific” (Ballard 2008a: 174). Later, the Dutch and other European explorers in the highlands in the 1920s-1930s were interested in assessing the capacities of ‘the natives’ for labour, just as they wished to learn of the region’s exploitable natural resources. They based their assessments in part on so-called racial characteristics (Ploeg 1995) which were thought to reveal Papuans’ innate qualities, and thus their suitability for labour, and whether they were hostile or submissive.12 The earliest research in the highlands, undertaken as part of European explorations, focused on assessing the racial characteristics and capacities of highlanders. Ploeg (1995: 231) describes the ‘scientific’ flavour of

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12 For more on racial ideologies apparent in Dutch colonialism, see Alatas (1977), Fasseur (1994), Gouda (1993, 1995) and Stoler (2002).
early expeditions into the highlands, during which explorers collected artefacts, botanical samples, wordlists, and “body measurements.” The measurements “were to provide information about the ‘racial’ composition of New Guinea’s population” (Ploeg 1995: 231).

Papua in the 1930s was seen as the final frontier of the Dutch colony, the last place where officials could experience isolation and ‘strange natives’ and bring peace, order, and law (Rhys 1947). In the Paniai Lakes area of the western highlands, District Officer de Bruijn opened up the first administrative post in the late 1930s (Rhys 1947). Born to Dutch parents in Java, he reportedly wanted to be posted to this area of Papua because of the recent ‘discovery’ of the population there and because of the alleged freedom and authority that junior civil servants could experience in such a region (Rhys 1947:22). At the post, he describes “Indonesians, native police, Papuan coolies, and Javanese convicts (Rhys 1947: 22).” He describes the Ekari tribes in the area as “the most primitive people on earth...they are dark...almost black” (Rhys 1947: 22).

Dutch and Indonesian constructions of orang Papua intensified in the post-WWII period. Though the rest of the Netherlands’ East Indies colony formally gained independence in 1949, the Dutch argued that they could not give up Papua, then called Netherlands New Guinea, to Indonesia. From 1949-1962, the Netherlands was in a dispute with Indonesia over the territory of present-day Papua (see Penders 2002, Saltford 2003). The Dutch side argued, “Any form of Indonesian influence...will lead to infiltrations and agitation in a region which needs a complete and undisturbed tranquility in view of the stage of development of the population” (Lijphart 1966: 161-162). Rutherford (1998: 268) has argued that the Dutch desire to retain Papua as a colony was also influenced by plans to create a space where colonial racial hierarchies could be safely maintained. “Conveniently, the primitive Papuans seemed to cry out for guidance and protection” (Rutherford 1998: 269) in Dutch discourses of the time.

Prior to the 1950s, Van den Broek (2001: 77) proposes that the Dutch saw Papuans as possessing a “strong disinclination to accept authority,” and this was regarded as an impediment to their ‘advancement’ and participation in economic and administrative sectors. Yet, under pressure, as Pouwer (above) suggests, the Dutch found Papuans much more ‘amenable’ to development
than previously imagined.

Discourses of diminishment played a direct role in the events surrounding the conflict between Indonesia and the Dutch. Papuans, viewed as primitive cannibals, were excluded from the negotiations (Drooglever 2005; Saltford 2003). Primitiveness was used by Indonesia as justification for taking over Papua from the Dutch. According to Chauvel and Bakti (2004: 7), Indonesian leaders asserted,

The Dutch had done little to develop the territory. What had been achieved for the people of the coastal areas had largely been done by the missionaries. The people of the interior were naked and lived in the Stone Age. They had little contact with coastal Irianese, let alone the people outside Irian. They lived in primitive conditions found nowhere else in the world.

Pouwer (1999: 157-158), commenting on the shifting reputation of orang Papua from the opinions of the first explorers to the perspectives of Dutch colonialists in the 20th century, writes,

The dangerous savage of the early colonial period has become the crude but amicable natural man situated on the lowest rung of civilisation, amenable to ‘development and uplifting’ to which the missionary enterprise will no doubt make a major contribution. The later ‘development aid’ is not only a function of economics, religion and politics, but also serves as an autonomous ideology – from savages to fellow citizens – to legitimise all these activities.

Representations played a part in Dutch administration, setting up racialized inequalities between Indonesians and Papuans. For example, Indonesians from the Kei Islands located west of Papua became teachers under Dutch administration in the Timika area of the southern highlands; coming from highly stratified societies that even included Papuans as slaves, they reportedly treated the local population with contempt (Suwada 1984 [1971]).\(^{13}\) Thus, Pouwer (1999: 157-158) argues,

It is important to bear in mind that Dutch assistance in the development of West New Guinea has always drawn heavily upon the activities of Indonesians, ranging from the sultans of Ceram, Ternate and Tidore, both during and after the era of the Dutch East India Company...local ‘rajahs’, porters, sailors, police officers, soldiers, medical and technical

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\(^{13}\) For more on Indonesian education in the southern highlands of Papua, see Nawipa (1995). For more on education in Papua, see Van Nunen (1952).
staff to religious ministers, teachers, and the lower and intermediate ranks of the civil service….

Similarly, Chauvel (2007: 33) suggests,

Indonesian settlers were a small but influential part of society in Papua under the Dutch colonial administration. Christians from eastern Indonesia—mostly Ambonese, Menadonese and Keiese—served in the colonial administration as officials, teachers, missionaries, police and military.

In other words, the Dutch placed some Indonesians into positions of power over Papuans, and these positions served to legitimize ideas of Papuan inferiority, either those that predated Dutch rule, or those that developed under Dutch rule. The following section explores manifestations of diminishment in the highlands of Papua leading up to Indonesian colonization.

‘Uplifting’ in the Baliem Valley

The Archbold Expedition first sighted the Baliem Valley on 21 June 1938, but throughout the early 20th century, Dutch, American, and British expeditions reached other parts of the highlands and encountered Dani people and other highlanders (Ballard et al 2001; see Heider 1970: 303). Further expeditions, as well as government and missionary activities which were well under way in coastal areas, were halted during World War II when Japanese forces occupied parts of coastal Papua, imprisoned administrators in camps, and put Papuans to work as labourers under the watch of Indonesian supervisors (Pouwer 1999). In 1954, in the midst of the upsurge of colonial interest in development and heightened politicization of the supposed primitiveness of Papuans (Pouwer 1999: 167), the Christian and Missionary Alliance (CMA) landed some of its personnel on the Baliem River (Naylor 1974: 11). The first Dutch administrative post was established in the Baliem Valley in 1956. This marked the first permanent presence of foreigners in the Valley.

The bulk of the first formal education effort was in the hands of the missions, while the Dutch government provided financial subsidies (Naylor 1974: 198). Lessons in the missionary-run schools primarily involved bible literacy and Christian ideology. The Christian and Missionary Alliance focused
on spreading the gospel and training local people to become pastors. Farhadian (2003: 55) suggests that evangelical missionaries, possessing unbelievable material wealth, focused on telling the Dani about the Christian heaven, and spreading the message that Jesus would save them from their sins. Missionaries brought “a new organization with new rules and social expectations,” (Farhadian 2003: 64) sometimes using forceful techniques. A missionary report asserts, “If a group resists the Gospel, they should be roughed up, and then they will ‘find their hearts’ and embrace the Gospel” (cited in Farhadian 2003: 56). Evangelical missionaries, like colonial authorities, had a particular vision for the new life they would create for the Dani.

Numerous Dani cultural particularities – such as polygamy, men’s long hair, greasing with pig fat, finger cutting, bride price, and pig sacrifice were discouraged because they were part of the ‘former life’.... (Farhadian 2003: 64)

The Order of Saint Francis, a Catholic mission, which established a station in 1958, was interested in development activities, such as animal husbandry, a housing resettlement project, an agricultural co-operative, and a brickworks (Naylor 1974: 184-193). The Catholic missionaries opened the first schools. Formal education in this period consisted of two to three years of school. Graduates could carry on for another two years (Naylor 1974: 198). The prevailing perception of the Dani was that although they had many intricate cultural beliefs and practices of their own, they would have to abandon these traditions and learn ‘everything’ from foreign teachers. O’Brien (1962: 82) writes that schools were intended to bring “a whole new conditioning and change in basic psychological attitudes.”

Government efforts to put an end to Dani warfare started in 1958 (Ploeg 1966: 269). Baliem Valley Dani, according to Ploeg (1966: 270), resented the European presence and interference in political life, and would not work for the Dutch administrators. Police patrols did not end warfare. Ploeg (1966: 270) contrasts this tendency with the Western Dani reaction to Europeans. Western Dani reportedly responded to Christianization enthusiastically in 1960 by burning their sacred objects, representative of their former religious beliefs (Ploeg 1966: 270; see also Farhadian 2003, Hayward 1992 for more discussion of Christianity among the Western Dani). They were eager to work with
missionaries and administrators, and within a few years the old warrior leaders were, according to Ploeg (1966: 270), replaced by men involved with the church.

The highlands came under the focus of the Bureau of Native Affairs in the early 1960s, which sponsored various research activities designed to provide insights for use in governing the area. One such activity was the ‘Highlands Anthropological Conference’ held in Wamena in October 1962. The comments below represent some of the views of anthropologists, missionaries, and administrators at the conference.

O’ Brien (1962: 82) describes the Dani as people who do not realize their isolation, and who can scarcely grasp or be affected by political concepts and discussions with outsiders. There are “deficiencies” in the indigenous population that need to be corrected by solid administrative planning.

As Dani culture is modified and to some extent depleted by pacification imposed by the government and conversion implemented by the missions, the goals of any development program should be determined by the need to fill the gaps we have made as well as the desire to supplant the deficiencies which, from a Western point of view, existed prior to acculturation. (O’Brien 1962: 82)

Dubbeldam, a Dutch government official, supports the theory of ‘dislocation’. He writes,

The people concerned have lost their security as far as the reason of life is concerned. So many things in their life are anchored in myth, magic, or religion, that as soon as modern life is coming in they feel that feeling of uncertainty. (Dubbeldam 1962: 48)

In these views, Dani society and culture is presumed to be weak and easily ruined by contact with the allegedly superior cultures beyond the Valley. Management will attempt to control the experience of development to make it less disruptive. “It is advisable to deal as much as possible with the old-time leaders and to try to give them a suitable place in the new setting” (Dubbeldam 1962: 8) to avoid conflict between youth and elders. This management is to be achieved by helping them to desire certain “new crops, new projects…” by “a spread of ideas” (Bromley 1962: 64). Bromley (1962), of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, describes a variety of possible interventions in economic
development that administrators and missionaries could arrange on behalf of the Dani. He writes of improving the food supply, including deciding which techniques, foods, and tools to introduce, which new areas to open up for population expansion, and how to manage Dani participation in the world economy (Bromley 1962: 64-65). These views represent the Dani as barely having the capacity to think about development or to consider what they need or desire. In fact, first the Dani need to be taught to advance their thinking and to desire the right things. Thus,

Any plan for advancement must also be based [...] first on advance in ideas. It is to be noted that in areas where the populace has turned toward the Christian faith, there has been a desire for Western medicine, Western crops, Western ideas in other areas. It is the opinion of this writer that religious conversion gives the best hope for enlisting the cooperation of the present adult group in any advance program. Education goes hand in hand with such a program. The present adult leadership training programs being carried on in many areas are a key to guide advancement supported by those who are now leaders in the community. (Bromley 1962: 65)

Colonial agents saw education as the way to teach the Dani to want new practices and ideas. The dominant view of the Dani in this period was that they had suddenly been confronted with modernity as foreigners found their way into the Valley at last. In 1961, Robert Gardner, Peter Matthiesson and Michael Rockefeller explored the Baliem Valley “to study a living neolithic community” (Gardner and Heider 1968: 42). Their film, *Dead Birds*, released in 1963, dramatically portrays Dani warfare. Thus in addition to being “dark,” “frizzy-haired,” and “primitive,” other characterizations begin to take shape: highlanders have few capacities or capabilities suited to the modern world, thus they need strong intervention and guidance. They are constantly embroiled in tribal warfare, and exist in a Neolithic stage of development (Heider 1970; Gardner 1965). These perceptions set the stage for Indonesian control of the Valley, discussed below.

**The Development Era:**

*Indonesianizing the ‘Penis-Gourd’ People*
In 1963, Indonesia was allowed to take control of Papua under the condition that a plebiscite be held to determine the wishes of Papuans within six years. From 1963-1966, the Indonesian government worked to consolidate control over the Baliem Valley. From 1966, Indonesian soldiers filled the Baliem Valley in preparation for the “Act of Free Choice” referendum, to be held in 1969. During this time, the inhabitants experienced great brutality and oppression (Naylor 1974: 13). Human rights violations occurred prior to the United Nations-monitored vote giving Indonesia full control over the territory. In the Baliem Valley between October 1966 and January 1967, for example, Indonesian soldiers are alleged to have shot dead 103 Dani males and hanged a 10 year old boy (Van den Broek 2001: 78).

In the period immediately following the arrival of Indonesian administrators in the early 1960s, it was still possible to hear comments about the Papuans’ alleged racial difference. For example, “It is obvious from the body shape and racial characteristics that the inhabitants of Irian Jaya are different from other inhabitants of Indonesia” (Sutaarga and Koentjaraningrat 1994: 110). Sutaarga and Koentjaraningrat trace their anthropological assessments to earlier Dutch studies of “pygmy people” in Papua that focused on “qualitative differences” like hair colour, hair shape and type, skin colour, and eye color (1994: 110-113). Dani people, for instance, are described as having “frizzy hair, dark brown skin, and a height of approximately 1.6 meters” (Koentjaraningrat 1994: 259). Reacting to the New Order’s aggressive development agenda, couched in Indonesianization, former governor of Papua, Isaak Hindom, regarded these efforts in racialized terms, stating that, “within a decade all Irianese [Papuans] would have straight hair” (cited in Hastings 1984: 14).

Indonesia held its referendum in Papua in 1969. Although the United Nations ratified the result, the conditions under which a very small percentage of indigenous Papuans were forced to vote in favour of joining the Republic of Indonesia have led many scholars and other observers to declare Indonesia’s position in Papua colonial from the start (Budiardjo and Liong 1988; Osborne 1985; Sharp 1977). Beyond the political conditions of Indonesian rule, in calling the situation ‘colonial’ scholars also point to the violence perpetrated by Indonesian state forces instructed to enforce patriotism, development, and order.
in the province (see for example Kirsch 2007: 54; Elmslie 2003; Giay 2000). Recent reports are that military forces continue to murder, rape, torture, detain, disturb, and intimidate the indigenous population with impunity, particularly in the highlands (Human Rights Watch 2007a, 2007b).

Other practices suit the term ‘colonial’: land seizures and the state-sponsored movement of Indonesian settlers to the province (McGibbon 2004; Bertrand 2004); the violation of indigenous peoples’ human rights (Hedman 2007); the systematic use of military and police to defend the nation-state and its capitalist allies against a largely non-violent indigenous population (Leith 2003); and the closure of the province to foreign researchers, journalists and political figures. Papuan resistance movements, which predate Indonesian rule, continue to draw attention to political and economic inequality, human rights violations, and to dispute Indonesia’s takeover in 1969 (Giy 2000; Osborne 1985; Raweyai 2002). It is perhaps these local discourses and practices of resistance, which proclaim Papua to be an independent nation-state unfairly governed by a minority non-Papuan settler population supported by the military against the wishes of the indigenous majority, that sets Papua apart from other sites of state violence as a colony within Indonesia. To add injury to thwarted Papuan nationalism that initially emerged in the 1950s and 1960s, in no other contested or violated area of Indonesia have those in power relied on a philosophy of racial superiority to justify their status and ways of treating the indigenous inhabitants.

Under former dictator Suharto’s New Order government (1965-1998), the government enforced development programs throughout Indonesia (Heryanto 1988; Van Langenberg 1990). The military provided ‘order’ so that development could proceed unhindered, ostensibly in the name of progress for all Indonesia’s citizens. This ideology had particular implications for so-called tribal populations, referred to as ‘isolated tribes’ or ‘estranged populations’ (masyarakat terasing). They were denigrated as “different and deficient” (Li 1999: 3). According to Persoon (1998: 281, 289),

The government looks upon these groups as deviating from the cultural mainstream, and policies are aimed at bringing these people back into the mainstream of Indonesian life….The official view is that for a variety of reasons and at various stages in history these groups have lost touch with the main processes of social, religious, political and economic
change, and it is the obligation of the state to help them return to the mainstream.

Most of Indonesia’s *masyarakat terasing* are in fact, according to the government, located in Papua (Lenhart 1997). Moreover, Duncan (2004) proposes that the concept has had a significant impact on mainstream Indonesians. He writes, “The concept of isolated community or isolated tribe, has also filtered into general Indonesian discourse on both ethnicity and development, and the phrase is commonly used to signify groups that elsewhere are often called ‘tribal people’” (Duncan 2004: 90). But the ‘isolated populations’ concept, and the interventions that are supposed to follow this designation, do not fully capture or account for discourses of diminishment in Papua. Where other ‘isolated populations’ are arguably able to overcome their primitive conditions and capabilities and become part of the Indonesian *bangsa* (race-nation-people), Papuans have never been afforded this opportunity, a concern that this thesis explores by looking at the everyday experiences of some of those Papuans who are deeply engaged in trying to prove their modern capabilities.

Pouwer (1999: 178) describes Indonesian ideology on Papuans as following on from the Dutch era, but taking on new ideas as well.

The ignorance and prejudices about the way of life of the Papuans to be found among Indonesian transmigrants, civil servants and the military were considerable and apparently ineradicable. The cultural arrogance and abuse of power that were already present at the local level in the Indonesian colonial intermediate stratum both during and before the period of Dutch rule were still manifested openly and unreservedly.

These ideas certainly appear reflected in the subsequent policies and actions towards Papuans, particularly in the highlands. The presidential decrees passed with the Act of Free Choice in 1969 outlined plans for developing Papua’s “inland” (*pedalaman*) communities (Naylor 1974). In the highlands, Heider (1979) reports that the first thing Indonesian bureaucrats wanted to do after colonisation was to send all Dani children to boarding schools on Papua’s coast. This view indicates that where Dutch colonists thought that modernization could at least partially be accomplished in the Baliem Valley itself, the initial sense from Indonesian authorities was that there was little of
value to develop in the highlands, and modernity was more prominent on the coast.

Developing the formal education system was a core element of inland development, and was part of what the state perceived to be an aggressive civilizing agenda. Teams of Indonesians were deployed to develop education. So-called “Task Force” schools created programs aimed at technical education, resettlement, and agriculture, in which 636 children registered in 1971-1972 (Naylor 1974: 147). Naylor reports that the students of one particular program (KPPD, kursus pelopor pembangunan desa, or village development program) spent most of their time playing volleyball in the school courtyard (1974: 148).

A wider reaching civilizing program called Operasi Koteka after the traditional penis gourd worn by men throughout the highlands came into effect in 1971. According to the military agents instructed to modernize the Dani,

We herewith resolve firmly to carry out a civilizing programme among the inland communities of West Irian. We aim to elevate with due urgency the standard of civilization, the social, economic and political conditions of the inland of West Irian, as a starting point for further development. (Operasi Koteka 1971: 1, cited in Naylor 1974: 149)

The plan...is directed toward elevating living standards and know-how among the people in the inland areas (who now stand at the threshold of their development), so that they may become an integral part of Indonesian society and thereby realize the just and prosperous social conditions of life, physical as well as mental, embodied in the Pantjasila and the Constitution of 1945. (Operasi Koteka 1971: 2, cited in Naylor 1974: 149)

The objectives of this operation are abbreviated as follows (Naylor 1974: 149-150):

1. To accelerate, achieve and extend the development of the inland communities;
2. To carry out a civilizing operation designed to change radically, improve and develop living patterns and standards among the communities;
3. To create social, cultural, economic and political conditions that can further improve and develop living patterns and standards;
4. To introduce the wearing of clothes and decent social customs;
5. To educate and encourage their own efforts towards development;
6. To establish strong territorial defence, especially in the interior.
Pouwer (1999: 178) argues that “‘Operation Penis Gourd’ illustrates a barely concealed scorn of Papuan cultures [...] widespread among Indonesians.” Although the development agenda captured under the term ‘Koteka Operation’ entrenched the image of nearly-nude Dani in public perceptions, scientists also constructed an image of Dani primitiveness through detailed descriptions of practices, belief, and living conditions through which they emphasized the extreme difference of the Dani from the rest of the Indonesian population. For example, Indonesian anthropologists describe the “Neolithic culture” of the Dani, referring to highlanders by their (lack of) clothing with the term “koteka [penis-gourd] people” (Koentjaraningrat 1994: 104-105). Koentjaraningrat (1994: 262, 264, 268) describes his observations of Dani life, including what they grow and how, what they eat, the importance of pigs, how they carry things, what they use for plates, mugs and knives, how they make fire and weapons, where they live and what their houses are made of, what they wear: “just a genital cover,” where men sleep, where women sleep, and where they have intimate relations. He concludes, “There is no system of leadership” (Koentjaraningrat 1994: 288-289). Everything the Dani do, readers are informed, is completely different from, and inferior to, mainstream Indonesia.

Guiding Dani modernization took place through military violence as well as the aforementioned development programs, some of which were led by members of the armed forces. In 1977, the Indonesian military invaded the Baliem Valley on the pretence of ending a tribal war between the Dani and the Western Dani. It is not known how many Dani were killed in subsequent napalm attacks by Indonesian forces (Bertrand 2004: 149). Butt (2008: 118) suggests that in 2005 there were around three thousand police and military in Wamena, a ratio of one for every eight persons. Fear of Papuan nationalism has kept the Valley militarized as part of state efforts to convey Indonesian power and superiority to the Dani.

**Becoming Indonesian in School**

When President Yudhoyono visited Wamena in July 2006, he carried on the tradition of promoting education as a way to encourage Papuan patriotism
to Indonesia. A reporter for Papua’s major newspaper writes,

President SBY pays great attention to children’s education. This was demonstrated yesterday when, on his way to Kurima, he found the opportunity to drop in on Junior High School #3 in Wamena. The president gave a lesson on the importance of loving one’s country and requested that the students study well. “All of Indonesia’s children are the same, because of this Papua’s children are also Indonesia’s children and so they all need to study diligently…I am proud of Papua’s many high achieving children…so you must study diligently so you can become intelligent people and useful [berguna] people.” The president asked one of the students what he dreamed of becoming in the future, and the student said he wished to become a doctor. The president stated that all of Indonesia’s children have the same chance to achieve success, including children of Papua. The president also taught children about school manners, which require students to always respect their teachers and their parents…he also asked for the children to sing songs, such as ‘Fly My Flag’, ‘Indonesia Raya’, and ‘From Sabang to Merauke’.

Scholarly work by Parker (2003), Shiraishi (1996), Soepangat (1986) and Hutagaol (1985) situates education as the state’s attempt at producing modern Indonesians who are devoted to national principles, particularly development, but also educated in common sense messages about modernity, gender, and state power (Parker 2003, Shiraishi 1996). School revolves around national symbols and state structures (Parker 2003: 248, 258), as well as key vocabulary, school uniforms and neatness. Education provides socialization in modern practices and values, and “the weight and immutability of the Indonesian state” (Parker 2003: 248).

The national messages and displays of power described by Parker (2003) and others are no less significant in Baliem Valley schools than in western Indonesian locations. However, prevailing ideas about the Dani also influenced the construction and implementation of formal education. Dani people are seen as obstacles to national development. Soepangat, an Indonesian scholar, conducted doctoral research on Dani perceptions of schooling in the 1980s. She writes, “The Indonesian nation-state has been explicit about the political aims of education in Wamena: to transform primitive tribal orang lembah [Baliem Valley Dani] into modern Indonesians (who can benefit from and contribute to national development)” (Soepangat 1986: 321).

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14 *Cenderawasih Pos*, 28 July 2006
Soepangat criticizes Dani informants for not seeing the broader ‘modern’ value of education promoted by the state. She argues, “The value of schooling to the orang lembah [Baliem Valley Dani] is a means to acquire a diploma to get a government job” (1986: 303). Dutch educators and missionaries certainly emphasized this kind of training for Dani youth, and Hutagaol (1985) argues that this supposedly pragmatic view of education is in fact the dominant perception of Indonesians toward higher education. Soepangat is critical of the fact that Dani people wish to utilize education for this specific purpose, but are not getting the message that they are primitive and need to change their ways. She expresses disappointment that almost all of the 30 students in her class sample imagined themselves as “primitive adults” (Soepangat 1986: 302, 305) who did not see anything wrong with wearing traditional penis gourds and grass skirts. She concludes that education is not doing a good job of modernizing the Dani, and the government must implement other strategies. Soepangat's conclusions support the government’s policy of attracting Indonesian migrants to the area to provide examples of “modern men” for the Dani (Soepangat 1986: 330). As I discuss later in this chapter, so-called modern men and women were moving into Wamena in large numbers during this period, influencing, and influenced by, dominant discourses on Dani and orang Papua more generally.

One such extremely important discourse concerns the need to develop good quality ‘human resources’ (sumber daya manusia or SDM), explored below.

**Developing Good Quality ‘Human Resources’**

In the 1990s, Indonesian state discourse on education began describing Dani youth as human resources in need of preparation. Schooling is very important to increase community health in the central highlands. In school, from a young age children can be taught to take care of bodily and environmental cleanliness, the causes and spread of diseases, and knowledge about nutrition and healthy eating. This effort needs to be undertaken immediately to prepare the human resources which will implement development projects in the agricultural industry that are planned by the government with the large capital investment of Repelita VI. There is a need to prepare an indigenous workforce that is educated, skilled, healthy and strong in large quantity to become
Stereotypes about the Dani and other Papuans are couched in technical terms in discourse about human resources (for example, Bandiyono 1996; Rusman 1998; Suparlan 1997, 1998, 2001). Analyses of Papuan human resource quality give new authority and currency to existing stereotypes of primitiveness and innate inferiority. For instance, a typical report on development in Papua discusses the qualities of Indonesian migrants and indigenous Papuans in Papua according to factors listed in the Human Development Index (Bandiyono 1996). Based on nine measurements, Bandiyono concludes that migrants possess characteristics that are more modern than indigenous Papuans in social, economic, demographic, physical, and household environment dimensions. He suggests that, 

Non-migrants need to accelerate their self-adjustment in the process of modernization so they are not left behind. If they are incapable of eliminating their left-behindness then they will be increasingly marginalized in the city. (Bandiyono 1996: 80)

This is one example of an Indonesian ‘expert’ using development concepts to diminish Papuans and contribute to a particular representation of orang Papua. In this case, it is the human development index, but in many other instances, Papuans are criticized in terms of human resource quality or level of human resource development.

The concept of human resource development means that “human beings are understood as resources in need of modification, adaptation and change – in other words, development” (Du Bois 1991: 10). The World Bank-derived concept has occupied a prominent position in Indonesian development discourse since the 1990s. Human resource development locates “the explanatory weight of why economies grow [in] personal qualities, social institutions…or people’s capacities, attitudes, values, and beliefs” (Toye 1987: 62). In Indonesia, the concept of developing good quality human resources or SDM (sumber daya manusia) means more than the development of a skilled workforce. Yahya (1997: 43), for example, describes physical, mental, and spiritual qualities of “human resources” that emphasize “discipline,” “modernity,”
and having the right “culture.” He describes good quality human resources as “enthusiastic, tested, idealistic, productive, creative, and patriotic” (Yahya 1997: 43). He prefers physical qualities such as “health, posture, abilities, with a minimum height of 170 cm, well-nourished, energetic” (Yahya 1997: 44-45). The concept of quality also dominates the state’s education agenda.

The national vision for education is “to create an education system […] that empowers all Indonesian citizens to develop into people of high quality who are capable and proactive in answering the ever-changing challenges of our time.” National Education is described in recent legislation as follows:

National education functions to develop abilities and to form norms and national civilities that are essential to national enlightenment, with the aim of developing participants’ educational potential to become human beings who are faithful to God, moral, healthy, knowledgeable, creative, independent and can become democratic and responsible citizens. (Law 20/2003, Section 2, paragraph 3)

Human resource ideology focuses on “isolated rural populations” as well as young people. In fact, Means (1985) states that Indonesia’s interest in human resource development started to evolve when international experts identified rural isolated populations as an impediment to national progress. Low SDM is widely used as a euphemism for just about anything negative, including dumb, poor, oppositional or recalcitrant, traditional, villager, or criminal. Human resource development may be analysed in Foucauldian terms as a governmental discourse that makes moral claims about how citizens should behave, and sets out terms for judging individuals and populations deemed low quality (Munro 2004; see Foucault 1988, 1991; Li 1999b). My interest here is less how SDM promotes conformity, and more in its manipulation into a discourse of diminishment for orang Papua. For example, a government official is quoted as saying,

The weakness of the human resources in Irian Jaya [Papua] is the major problem faced by the local government. The lifestyle, ways of thinking, and a variety of local cultural practices have hindered their ability to follow the agenda of development…. Because of that, the local

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15 For more on SDM, see Danim (1995) and Tjiptoherijanto (1996).
16 http://www.depdiknas.go.id/
government must make bigger sacrifices to improve the human resources of the young generation. It is not easy to guide and educate the young generation of Irian Jaya [Papua], but it must be done.\textsuperscript{17}

Koentjaraningrat, like the anthropologists and government authorities of the early 1960s, argues that the Dani are not able to contribute much to development in the highlands.

The interior is the most ‘poor’ in terms of workforce, and is the area most difficult to develop. In the central highlands, there are no traditional skills and abilities or natural resources that can be used as a basis for development ‘from below’. Thus, the most important effort for development in the area is the increase in the quality of the human resources, meaning increasing education and health of the population. (Koentjaraningrat 1994: 458)

In these cases, it is not just that “These subjects are called to account in a discourse that defines them as failing to exhibit in their cultures or persons the qualities of developed persons” (Karp 2002: 82). These kinds of projections also invoke racialized presumptions made by Europeans and Indonesians about \textit{orang Papua}. Highlanders supposedly have very little in the way of ‘skills’ or capabilities. Thus, the improvement of their human resources must be a priority for the government. Having a modern culture, awareness, and sense of responsibility are factors that determine human resource quality, and therefore regional development:

The improvement and enhancement of the quality of Papua’s human resources is the essential requirement for the achievement of an improvement in regional development, including in the mineral and energy sectors. With the development of technology that is increasingly modern, natural resources play a decreasing role. Technology is becoming increasingly the determining factor in this era, and technology is a product of human reason, such that it is obvious that the human factor most prominently determines success or failure in development. In the mineral and energy resource sector, developing people and the quality of Papua’s people (\textit{manusia Papua}) has no other meaning except to develop Papuan people who possess a modern culture, who possess awareness and a sense of responsibility and who hold professional skills to answer the challenges in the mineral and energy resource sector.\textsuperscript{18}

\textsuperscript{17} Kompas, ‘Irja Hadapi Masalah Pelaksanaan Otonomi’, 7 Feb 2001.

\textsuperscript{18} 2004 Dinas Pertambangan dan Energi Provinsi Papua. http://www.papua.go.id/ddppertamben/
Besides employing stereotypical constructions of orang Papua as backward and irresponsible, the human resources problem is frequently described in amplified terms, or, as a problem of critical importance for Papua. In one example, parents in Papua are said to be unaware of the importance of “guiding the growth and development” of their babies and toddlers. According to the head of the Papua branch of Dharma Wanita Persatuan (Civil Servants Wives’ Association, a national women’s group), Nur Andi Baso Basaleng,

The role of the parents is deemed a determining factor in the creation of children’s human resource quality that impacts adulthood. One factor that causes parents to give insufficient guidance and attention to children is their attention to making a living and the mother’s knowledge about the growth and development of the ‘under fives’, which is commonly still quite low. The ‘under five’ age group is a golden age that needs serious attention. This is the phase in which the character of the child is formed, and cannot be changed in later years. 19

To correct this problem, Dharma Wanita supports the government’s “Guidance for Families with Children under Five Years” (Bina Keluarga Balita or BKB) initiative, “a strategic program in the effort to enhance human resources from the start of life…. “ These representations of Papuans and Dani people help us understand a key feature of contemporary discourses of diminishment. In these views, Papuans’ alleged innate problems and inadequacies are attributed to culture and, to a lesser extent, upbringing. Without directly referring to ras or racial difference, these representations suggest that orang Papua possess certain characteristic weaknesses that differentiate them from the rest of the so-called modern, mainstream Indonesian population. In doing so, they evoke earlier racial distinctions commonly heard in official discourses prior to the Suharto era, which disappeared from public view when Suharto banned discussion of issues related to tribe, class, race, and religion as sources of possible social conflict that could destabilize the nation and inhibit development. In other parts of Indonesia, scholars have documented the ways that that New Order ideology on culture obscured inequality. Kahn (1999), for example, argues that inequalities in rural Sumatra were glossed in the New Order period

as merely cultural differences between ethnic groups. In the case of Papua, there is evidence to suggest that, among public officials and in state discourse, discussion of cultural difference replaced assertions about racial difference, without altering the basic assumptions of racial thought. At the same time, as research in Papua has demonstrated, and as this thesis will demonstrate in detail, the idea that orang Papua possess innate inferiorities continues to define relations between Papuans and Indonesians.

Representations of primitiveness in Papua are longstanding, and always serve a political agenda (Ballard 2002; Kirksey 2002; Kirsch 2002). It is worthwhile to point to some underpinnings of the so-called human resource problem in Papua. Pouwer (1999: 178-179) characterizes Indonesian governance as a “slow-moving, centralised bureaucracy, with changing and often contradictory objectives, interests and practices at central, provincial, and local levels” (see also Rathgeber 2005). Although the Indonesian government articulated education as a priority for development, education was not well implemented in the Baliem Valley. Scholars observe that Indonesia has built a great quantity of schools but the quality of schools, teachers, materials, and infrastructure remains poor (Rathgeber 2005; Soepangat 1986). Dani informants agree, saying things like,

There are no medicines at the hospital! The staff did not get paid their salaries so they sold all the supplies to nearby pharmacies. (Jally Inggibal)

The flights to Wamena are always full, and only Trigana is still operating, so if you want to get to Wamena you have to buy a ticket ‘outside’ – they ask for as much money as they want. (Nelly)

There is no electricity anywhere, do not bother bringing your mobile phone! (William Matuan)

In other words, medical services, transportation, and utilities are also dysfunctional, according to local people in Wamena. In spite of these assessments, it is still common to hear that Papuans might be to blame for this state of affairs.

Under Dutch and Indonesian rule, moreover, with the exception of a brief period of so-called Papuanisation of the bureaucracy immediately before the end of Dutch rule, Papuans have been excluded from employment. Papuans in
urban areas resented the Netherlands administration’s induction of Indonesians into the civil service and its perceived encouragement of their commercial activities (Van den Broek 2001: 77). Under Suharto, Indonesian rule was centralised in Jakarta, with very little local participation by Indonesians or Papuans, except for the military (Pouwer 1999: 167). When Indonesia took over from the Dutch, Papuans were removed from positions of power (Pouwer 1999: 177). In the few instances where Papuans have been allowed to take part in resource-based employment, they have been excluded from “all but the most menial forms of employment” and treated to different salaries and working conditions than Indonesians and foreign employees (Pouwer 1999: 178; Leith 2003).

Not surprisingly, evidence challenging the notion that Papuans, if they lack human resource quality, are backward or deficient, does not change the stereotypical view of Papuans. Discourses of diminishment have a strong influence on how so-called mainstream Indonesians view Papuans, and often underpin racist treatment. The next section briefly summarizes how these beliefs dominate relations between Indonesians and Dani in the Baliem Valley.

**Migrants and Diminishment in the Baliem Valley**

Wamena combines some 15,000 indigenous residents with an equal number of settlers from other parts of Indonesia. Settlers are usually of Indo-Malay descent, glossed as ‘straight hairs’ (*rambut lurus*) or ‘migrants’ (*pendatang*) by Papuans, who identify themselves as ‘curly hairs’ (*rambut keriting*) or ‘indigenous’ (*asli*) in contrast. Conservative estimates suggest that since 1960, the number of Indonesian settlers in Papua has increased 40-fold; in 2000, Indonesians constituted at least 35 per cent of the population (Chauvel and Bhakti 2004: 2-3). A portion of this migration has been officially supported by state transmigration programs on the grounds that migrants would assist in development and in the progress of Papuans (Koentjaraningrat 1994: 430); a more significant portion of migration has also been assisted by the government through informal avenues. According to Leslie Butt, an anthropologist who has worked in the Baliem Valley since the mid-1990s,
At the local level, civilian *pendatang*, many of whom aspire to upward economic and class mobility, emphasise perceived negative differences between themselves and the indigenous Dani as a means to better themselves. In addition, newcomers from outside Irian Jaya have full authority to run the regional government offices, the military barracks, the police station, and the few non-profit organisations, all of which are located in the Valley centre. Inequality in the Baliem Valley follows closely along the lines of race and class. (Butt 2001: 67)

Most of the migration of Indonesians to Wamena is not part of official transmigration programs. Unlike many areas of Papua, migrants in Wamena are rarely engaged in farming or rural activities, but work in government offices and private shops, factors that connect migrants to emergent forms of urban wealth and consumption. Because of national ideologies, Indonesians come into Wamena already differentiated from the indigenous population. Once there, stratification and separation continue to characterize relationships between migrants and Dani people.

Although there are indications of the emergence of Papuan elites in Wamena (Butt 2008: 118), it is still the case that most Dani men and women work in their gardens and sell produce to migrants to earn a living, while migrants who do not work for the government, the military, or the police typically operate eateries, shops, or market stalls. The streets of Wamena are usually full of Dani going about their business on foot. Migrants tend to drive cars, motorbikes, or ride in pedicabs (*becak*) driven by Dani youth.

Scholars suggest that migrants also hold racist and denigrating views of indigenous people. Indonesian anthropologists write,

> Migrants put down indigenous inhabitants, whom they regard as primitive, stupid, lazy drunks. They regard themselves as cleverer and more civilized. (Koentjaraningrat and Ajamiseba 1994: 434)

Administrators reportedly “look down on the indigenous people as second-class citizens” (Lieutenant General Kahpi Suriaadireja 1987: 64 cited in Chauvel and Bakti 2004: 23), and bring to life judgments that find Dani to be inferior and deficient in relatively undisguised ways (Butt 1998, 2005; Giay 2000).

It is, despite officially professed equality in law and educational opportunity, a constant sense of second-class citizenship, second-class employment status, and a denigration of cultural and psychological self-
worth for tens of thousands of Papuans in their homeland. It is the perpetuation in Indonesian form of the old Dutch colonial opheffter (uplifter) whose native charges must be 'civilised' by official government decree. (Van der Kroef 1975: 236 in Gietzelt 1989: 210-211)

Timmer (2000: 32) describes government officials who promote the view that Papuans are primitive, backward, and inferior to orang Indonesia in terms of their abilities to conform to development programs and other national agendas (see also (Van der Kroef 1975: 236). Migrants become agents of the Indonesianization process (Gietzelt 1989). Orang Indonesia in Papua represent Indonesian state values and practices, whether they want to or not (McGibbon 2004; Munro 2004; Rutherford 2003). Benedict Anderson (1991: 178) suggests,

A scattering of missionaries, anthropologists, and officials might know about the Ndansis, the Asmats and the Baudis. But the state itself, and through it the Indonesian population as a whole, saw only a phantom ‘Irianese’ (orang Irian) named after the map; because phantom, to be imagined in quasi-logo form: ‘negroid’ features, penis-sheaths, and so on.

Papuans are viewed “not as Indonesians but as ‘objects’, ‘possessions,’ ‘servants,’ and ‘obstacles’” (Anderson 1999: 5). Butt (2001: 67) writes, “Military and civilian immigrants (pendatang) import and enact government ideologies as well as express cultural values from their homeland.”

The alleged inadequacies of orang Papua are convenient terms to fall back on to explain why progress is lacking in Papua. These discourses of diminishment are handy, simple, flexible, and can be safely couched in technical terminology and concepts that appear to have international approval. To say that orang Papua lack skills and capacities, responsibility, modern awareness, and the right culture for development allows Indonesian authorities, and indeed Indonesians who follow current events in Papua, to continue to pretend that Papuans are treated the same as any other underdeveloped population. Thus, the view of orang Papua as inadequately skilled has become a common-sense notion, losing its shock value over time, even for Papuan activists and resistance figures who are normally critical of Indonesian discrimination. It is because they stereotypes are deeply rooted in the sedimented layers set down by past cultural practices that they have become entrenched as powerful social myths (Pickering 2001: 49). These discourses,
following Stoler (2002: 13), produce Indonesian power as much as they legitimise it.

**An Indonesian Gaze?**

Scholars use the term 'gaze' to highlight the relations of power inherent in ways of looking (Lutz and Collins 1993) or to mean 'dominant perspective’ in the context of unequal power relations (Stoller 1989).

‘Gaze’ is the act of seeing; it is an act of selective perception. Much of what we see is shaped by our experiences, and our ‘gaze’ has a direct bearing on what we think. (Stoller 1989: 38-39)

Volkman (1990) and Urry (1990) examine the effects and productions of a ‘tourist gaze’. Elsewhere, I have argued that the term gaze can be used to capture the effect that the dominant Indonesian perspective, rooted in national ideology, may have on Dani (Butt and Munro 2007). Indonesian national ideals foreground a nexus of supposedly modern and proper practices for citizens. National development (*pembangunan*) comes first and authorizes correct practices and beliefs (Li 1999a: 3; Parker 2003: 150; Vatikiotis 1993). In Wamena specifically, indigenous people are commonly labelled as left behind (*tertinggal*), backward (*terbelakang*), or stupid (*bodoh*) (Munro 2004: 48). These views influence Indonesians and Papuans. The concept of an Indonesian gaze suggests that as they position themselves as modern and correct according to national values, Indonesians may take on particular ways of viewing and knowing, and certain assumptions about Papuans are part of this point of view. This is not to suggest that there is a single, unchallenged Indonesian gaze, relevant throughout time and void of local specificity. The use of the term ‘gaze’ is useful for emphasizing the way that judgments can be felt or experienced by Papuans without words being exchanged. Gaze also does a better job of capturing the atmosphere of direct surveillance and scrutiny experienced in Papua, and, as this thesis demonstrates, elsewhere.

According to Farhadian (2003: 60), as Papuans and others began to speak publicly about experiences of violence and racism at the hands of
Indonesians in Papua, facilitated by some of the churches, “a revalorized concept of ‘Papuanness’ began to overcome the pejorative and humiliating connotations formerly attached to the term: uncivilized, ‘cultureless’, black natives.” Discourses of diminishment such as these are criticized by Benny Giay (2000) and other Papuans. The point of this chapter is to flesh out some discourses of diminishment but not to suggest an absence of criticism or alternate views. Rather, it is central to the argument of this thesis that criticism, distinction, Papuanness and other ways of “reversing the gaze” (Rudolph et al 2002; Gillespie 2006) are also potent factors which shape Dani engagements in projects of education and modernity.

The next chapter examines how education and colonialism feature in the everyday lives of Baliem Valley Dani.
CHAPTER 2

Experiences of Progress in the Baliem Valley

In early June 2006 in Wamena, I wrote about the following conversation after it took place outside my hut:

“Eman, get ready for school! Where’s Eman?? Eman, have you bathed yet?” called out Eman’s older brother Laurence, home from university on holidays.

A forlorn looking Eman appeared outside my hut, holding a garden spade that towered over his petite ten year old frame.

“Do I have to go to school? I’m helping with the garden,” Eman implored.

“Nayak [Dani language, ‘friend’, greeting used between males], you have to go to school. If you don’t go to school we’ll marry you off. Do you want to get married? You better get your pigs ready so you can get married,” teased Laurence.

Rather than bathe in the icy, turbulent We River and go to school on an empty stomach, children like Eman become enthusiastic about labouring in the garden. Around them in Wouma village, women are in motion, collecting cabbage and sweet potatoes from their gardens and piling them into netbags to carry to the local Misi market, a 15-minute walk that takes them over the We Bridge. Older children chase younger siblings to get them to bathe and put on their school uniforms while elderly men squat and smoke cigarettes, keeping warm in the chilly dawn air. After the fog lifts, the sun will heat the rocks along the river to a perfect temperature for warming up after a lunch-time swim. Women who are not going to sell vegetables in town wash clothes along the
riverbank at this hour of the day, and then bathe, drying off in the temperate heat. A handful of children never do make it to school; they run off with their friends, play in the woods, and regroup at the river to swim with their aunties and sisters.

The conversation between Eman and Laurence captures the main argument of this chapter, which concerns the ways that Dani people experience new values and perspectives. In the foregoing, school is seen as the normal activity for a young person, not marriage, garden work, or other traditional activities.

Very little is known about Dani perspectives on formal education and modernity. The Dani in the Baliem Valley were averse, if not actively opposed, to the influence of administrators and missionaries (Ploeg 2004: 305), and missionaries reportedly had little success in the 1960s (Heider 1979: 160). Gietzelt (1989:210) describes Papuans’ resentment, animosity, grievances, and perceptions of discrimination and humiliation at the hands of the Indonesians (see also Aditjondro 2000; Browne 1998). This chapter is about how some Dani view, and experience, formal education and modernity.

I visited the Baliem Valley after nine months of fieldwork in North Sulawesi to build my understanding of students’ seemingly immense dreams for transforming their homeland. These dreams appeared incongruous with their circumstances abroad: often, they had barely enough to eat, were plagued by stereotypes and ‘Intel’ officers, bogged down in administrative delays on campus, and spent a great deal of time enhancing one another’s level of ‘discipline’ during extracurricular activities. In Wamena, I spent much of my time with rural parents and young children, those individuals who see most of what goes into formal education and probably least of the results it may produce. Had I spent time in government offices with Dani employees, I would have had an entirely different experience. I would have learned about where Dani university students might be going, but missed learning about where they are coming from.

I cannot offer a geological, archaeological, or meteorological description of the Baliem Valley. I can tell you what it feels like, and what I saw when I arrived there. Although it is only an hour’s flight from the provincial capital, the Baliem Valley feels different from the coast. Those arriving on a morning flight,
one of approximately four a day that connect Wamena to the coast, will be
greeted by a blast of cold, crisp air while descending the stairs from the Trigana
Air ATR-72 to the tarmac. There is no baggage carousel at this airport. Instead,
baggage is placed in a corner of the arrival hall behind a wooden barrier.
Passengers are required to climb over the wooden barrier and drag their
luggage back over the wall. A chorus of becak (pedicabs), the most common
form of public transport in Wamena city, surrounds the entrance to the airport.
No flights will land at the airport after 4:00 pm; this is when the clouds descend
from the mountains and obscure the entrance to the Valley. On the ground, this
is the time of day when the Kurima wind (angin Kurima) starts to blow. People
without jackets chew betel nut and walk fast to stay warm. It is a nice time of
day to be settled around a kitchen fire, heating sweet potatoes.

Wamena and smaller settlements in the central highlands remain
accessible by air only. There is no massive outmigration for labour, and not
much in the way of remittances is sent back to relatives in the highlands. If
anything, Baliem Valley crops and pigs are used to help support relatives
outside the region. Small communities of Dani live on the coast in and around
Jayapura, enjoying the bustle of urban living and the tropical climate. Dani
relatives swap tropical and temperate produce by putting large packages of
betel nut, vegetables, tubers, and fruit wrapped in used rice sacs or plastic bags
on the daily flights between Wamena and Sentani airport in Jayapura. Those on
the coast receive cabbage, tuber greens, avocado, sweet potatoes or taro; highlanders hope to receive a package of prized betel nut that can be sold for
up to 2000 rupiah per nut. Nuts are typically chewed at least two at a time, and
are purchased in bulk to share with friends. Thus, a small bag of betel nut can
cost as much as two or three sweet potatoes or a kilogram of rice. Some Dani
men and women fly to Timika, the city that serves the Freeport McMoRan gold
mine in the southern highlands, to search for gold pieces in the mine’s tailings
or to sell their produce at inflated prices. Within the central highlands, there is
migration of young people to Wamena city for schooling as well as to seek cash
by providing manual labour to construction projects. In rural areas, there are
typically only primary schools, so any students continuing their education must
relocate to Wamena.
Indonesian migrants and ‘Wamena people’ (Dani, Lani, Yali) share the streets of Wamena but appear to be strangers to one another. During public celebrations surrounding Independence Day (17 August) and the visit of president Yudhoyono (July 2006), Dani and settlers flooded the streets but rarely interacted. In one particularly divided part of town, Dani and settlers watched the parade in mixed space, but did not speak to each other. In this area, most Dani and settlers are in fact strangers to one another, even though the same shopkeepers open up the same rows of stalls each morning, and the same Dani sell produce or drive peddle-bikes each day, activities that involve quite a bit of hanging around idly in the area.

This chapter demonstrates that some Dani experience pressure to see themselves through Indonesian perspectives and adopt a particular ‘modern’ view of propriety and quality. I also demonstrate how they complicate those notions and inject criticism of the dominant perspective. The Indonesian takeover continues to frame understandings of quality, intellect, and education. The desire some Dani express to regain influence and manipulate the current system is complicated by the fact that it is still experienced as ‘foreign’ and still difficult for Dani to enter into. This chapter also develops the argument that Dani people continue to experience shame associated with being uneducated, backward, and village-based, even though they endeavour to engage formal education and other visions that are central to Indonesian modernity.

Influencing the Future: Dani Discourses on Formal Education

Before moving into case studies, this chapter highlights some general trends in Dani discourses on formal education. These insights were gained using informal interviewing among 15 Baliem Valley Dani informants living in Wouma village, Misi (on the outskirts of Wamena city) and Pugima village. I sought opportunities to ask about the first school experiences of men and women approximately aged 30-55, and to get their views on how things have changed since the start of formal education. I also made note of comments regarding education, colonialism, and reactions to Indonesian governance. The following sections illustrate two strong trends in Dani discourses on education.
First, informants describe formal education as new knowledge and experience brought by missionaries and the Dutch which the Dani took advantage of, and which strengthens traditional systems. Second, people portray formal education as a way to decolonize their area in the present by becoming smart, and leading Dani people to urban, prosperous lives. In this instance, education is a way out of subsistence gardening, which is no longer seen as a source of prestige and influence, but simply hard physical labour and poverty. These discourses are entangled with desires not to give up on custom, traditional land, oral histories, and indicate a need for education and modern prosperity to be used in accordance with longstanding values.

**Controlling Efficacy**

Dani informants describe how they and their parents saw the first foreign educators, namely Christian missionaries, as offering something that could change social status. For instance, Frans Haluk, a government employee at the local library aged about 40 years old, suggests the following history:

> When the first education started at the mission stations, some of the parents took their children to the missionaries. They left them there and the missionaries raised them. Almost all of those children were the children of big men. If they were good students the missionaries sent them to Biak or Jayapura to high school, otherwise after three years of school the students were able to lead church services and spread the gospel. Some of those first students are still alive. One of the men who went to the coast became the Regent of Jayawijaya. The people who got this first education used it to their advantage and they got their children into education and so on. (Frans)

In Frans’ narrative, it is not clear why the ‘big men’ took their children to the missionaries, but it is clear to him that it resulted in long-term benefits. Viewed retrospectively, education creates positions of status and leadership, and the benefits are intergenerational.

Another informant, a Wouma big man, Kisogo Lagowan, argued that he was among the first to be baptized as a Catholic. By his account, he took advantage of the funds that the Catholic missionaries were offering to build a house, which he used as the first church in the area. He still uses the building
as his home, as a new church was built in later years to service the Wouma population. Kisogo explained his decision as follows:

I saw what they were doing as a good opportunity for my people, and I thought we needed the right kind of place for this activity. We could not do it properly in our traditional huts. Therefore, I asked them for money and built the house and we used it for religious services.

Kisogo indicates that he and others wished to take advantage of a new activity that appeared efficacious. Building the church helped him with his goal of doing good things for his community, and therefore supported traditional forms of leadership.

According to Alua (2006), the three most important qualities of a good Dani leader are that he a) has a heart, and a good heart, b) has good hands, and c) has a good voice (Alua 2006: 154). The meaning of ‘having a good heart’ is that, “A leader who has a good heart can make decisions for the greater good. He will prioritize the needs and interests of the people over his personal needs and the interests of his family” (Alua 2006: 154). In the above perspectives, Dani take advantage of formal education. Alua (2006: 171) and others remember things differently:

[I] was born into a family who wore koteka [penis gourd] and cawat [fibre skirt] in the Kurulu region in Yiwika, Baliem Valley, Wamena. Because of this my exact date of birth is unknown, but it is estimated that I was born in late 1960....A team of elementary school teachers on patrol at night time looking for new students captured me and I was forced to attend school by missionaries against the wishes of my parents.

The contributors to Alua’s (2006) volume on Baliem Valley culture express similar viewpoints. Still, my informants argue that they knew formal education was essential and beneficial. These statements tell us about the current politics of education, in which formal education is a mainstay of the nation state’s effort to modernise and develop citizens. By asserting that they took advantage of education, and were not victimized by it, Dani people may see themselves not as backward, in the dominant Indonesian view, but as intuitive agents of change. A contributing factor to this discourse is that Dani informants associate the entrance of formal education with their experiences of Dutch colonialism and Christianity. Dani informants recall Dutch colonialism, which most
experienced only briefly, in terms of present conditions of marginalization. Formal education began with the arrival of Christian missionaries, and in the present day Dani people tend to interpret Christianity as a potent, positive force. Looking back, therefore, formal education is associated with ‘the word’, ‘the light’, and becoming Christians. Formal education is not, interestingly, very often associated with the Indonesian state. A simple comment made by a male informant home on vacation from university in Manado who sat together listening to the recollections of Frans and Kisogo stands out from the general discourse:

School, clothes, these things are from the government (pemerintah). They are good things that we did not have before. (Markus Lagowan)

School may not be typically associated with the government because of the large number of Christian-operated, public schools in Wamena. The non-Christian public schools, by contrast, are said to be Islamic schools and are therefore more closely associated with the nation. Although formal education may be linked to strategies for influence and status, in which Dani are said to take advantage of new forms of efficacy, other perspectives suggest that lack of formal education epitomizes Dani powerlessness. Indonesia was able to take over the Valley precisely because the Dani were powerless without formal education. I explore this perspective below.

Colonisation and Decolonisation: Education as a Way Forward

Some of my children will be farmers [petani], because not everyone can go to school and succeed. It is good if young people go to school because working on the garden is very hard work, and it is difficult to succeed. We work hard, but we still do not have anything. Why can other people do it but we can't? Everywhere we go now we run into pendatang [migrants], they have taken our land in the city and now we must fight with Westerners [Western Dani] who have moved into our area here too. We still have a war to fight with Indonesia. In the past, we did not know anything, so Indonesia was able to come in and to cheat us.

This statement by a Wouma big man, Wenabu Wetipo, raises several thematic
points. Education (or lack thereof) is used to help explain present-day struggles and marginalization. Education also offers a chance to gain power that can change difficult living conditions. The gardening lifestyle that enabled success for men like Wenabu is seen as less efficacious than schooling. Again, formal education seems to be connected to other experiences and analyses. The overwhelming feeling associated with colonisation for some Dani is that they did (and to a lesser extent continue to) not know things compared to Indonesians. On the other hand, since the 1960s Indonesian authorities have argued that Wamena’s indigenous inhabitants ‘do not know anything’. This means that education is difficult to separate both from Dani experiences of powerlessness around colonisation and from the dominant discourse of the colonial power. Older Dani express feelings of dissatisfaction and disorientation under Indonesian governance, and hope that schooling will offer some way for young people to gain confidence and knowledge that will be used to the benefit of Dani society.

We used to have all of these families, Lago-Matuan, Hubi-Kossy, and so forth, and we used to control this land. We had leaders for war, leaders for peace, leaders for the rain and natural elements, and we listened to them. We had the marriage festival. We had everything organized. Now under this government system, we do not know what to do. We do not come together as we used to, with all this splitting and dividing (pemekaran- pemekaran). The system now is chaos….It is too much for old people to manage. We just hope the younger generation will become educated and they will figure out these problems, these land problems, these organizational problems. (Kisogo Lagowan)

Not knowing exactly how to succeed in the ‘new’ system does not prevent leaders like Kisogo from attempting to engage Indonesian institutions. But it is youth who are seen to have the potential for truly understanding the Indonesian system. Formal education is a way to foster this understanding. The development of young people through education follows an imagined trajectory in which they use skills and experience not only in Wamena, but to help bridge a divide between Dani systems and Indonesian systems. Although some Dani hold views of education as a political strategy, others reflect on hardship in their lives, and the arrival of Indonesians has little to do with their desires for education. As Iren Matuan, a Wouma grandmother who has two sons in university, explained,
I do not really want anything for myself, except maybe a few cigarettes or some betel nut. I just want my son to be independent, and take care of himself and his family. I will keep taking care of these sweet potatoes until I die. I will take them to my son in his house in the city and we’ll sit together and eat. His children will have an easier life than he did. It is cold in the women’s hut and we cannot breathe for the smoke and the mosquitoes, and the dog has fleas. It is nicer in a house in the city, even if it has no lights or television.

Mama Iren’s comments were echoed by many Wouma mothers and young people. Even though many informants point to the need for education for purposes of Papuan nationalism and anti-colonialism, it is not only colonial politics that influences the way Dani experience education. Becoming modern offers new responsibilities and challenges, as I demonstrate in the case studies that follow, but it may also offer tangible rewards.

**Embracing Progress**

The case studies below, based on participant observation and interviews conducted in Wamena in 2006 and 2009, highlight specific ways that dominant Indonesian perspectives influence Dani experiences and perspectives. In particular, they show Dani considerations of how to manage, achieve, or embrace *kemajuan*, or progress.

**Viktor and Nelly: Showing Goodness in Wouma**

Wouma is perhaps the most troubled area of Wamena. The village is located just over the bridge from the city, markets, migrants, shops, and a military base. Perspectives from Wouma are not generalisable to all Dani, but it is one of the few areas where inhabitants are arguably deeply engaged in living according to *adat* (traditional customs), but also heavily affected by the modern installations across the river. Modernity here is mostly associated with new trouble.

Viktor Ikinia and Nelly Lagowan are two young people in their final year of high school. Everyone talks about the achievements of Viktor and Nelly, particularly that they will be graduating high school soon and are making plans
for university. People in the village speak of both young people highly. People say Viktor is smart (pintar), is good at school, works diligently (rajin kerja), is polite (sopan) and helpful to others, and exhibits good behaviour. According to Viktor’s neighbour, “he does not go drinking, he does not chase women or get into fights, and he is a good boy.” Nelly is also highly regarded by people in Wouma. Clan members and neighbours praise her for offering her pocket money to help with their purchases and for bringing meals to sick people.

Nelly’s identity as a good student is linked with her identity as a good Christian woman. She is known in the village as a devoted member of the local congregation who participates actively in church-related activities such as fundraising and special events, and who encourages other people in Wouma to attend services. Viktor and Nelly are usually well dressed, perhaps even overdressed compared to the majority of the congregation at their small neighbourhood church (kappela), wear worn sandals or go barefoot.

Nelly does not smoke cigarettes like most of the other women in Wouma, although she does chew some betel nut occasionally, carefully so as not to leave visible traces of red on her lips. With her meticulous grooming, noticeably clean clothes, and often some spending money in her pocket, Nelly does not look like she lives amongst villagers, but rather more like she lives in Wamena city. Still, I would run into Nelly’s mother on the Wouma road, indistinguishable from other women villagers going to the market carrying a netbag (noken in Indonesian, su in Dani) full of garden produce.

Nelly expresses that she wants to marry her boyfriend, Allan Matuan, another Wouma resident, but she also wants to go to university. If Allan were also going to university, she says, they could get married and live together in Jayapura. Since Allan is not going to attend university, Nelly’s parents do not approve of him as a potential husband. Nelly has encouraged Allan to become more suitable. She has suggested that he try again to get his high school diploma so he can go to university with her, and she encourages him to get more involved in their local church. She writes out bible passages and tapes them up in his hut.

This case suggests that formal education is strongly associated with morality and propriety, for men and women. Farmers, villagers, and people without much formal education idealize Viktor and Nelly, while Nelly and Viktor
are concerned to live up to this ideal image and to do their part to promote education and Christianity as proper activities for all Wouma villagers. Their activities are seen as unquestionably more important than the regular, everyday gardening and community activities of other Dani, and people talk about them as though, by virtue of formal education, they are superior to other villagers in almost every way. At the same time, the way Wouma residents describe their achievements suggests that Viktor and Nelly are valued not just because of their schooling, but because they are good to others. These statements indicate the ongoing importance of Dani ideals, which confer status on those who are generous and helpful.

**Keeping Impropriety out of Sight**

Sonia Matuan lives in Wouma with her grandmother, Kisogo’s second wife. Sonia’s grandmother is often ill, and is among the oldest women in Wouma who still gardens and sells sweet potatoes and cabbage at the market in Misi. Sonia’s mother and father had her young and never married. Her father went on to university in North Sulawesi and is now married with two young children. Her mother has been absent for much of Sonia’s childhood, marrying, travelling, and seeking her fortune in Jayapura and Timika. Sonia was raised by her uncle and grandmother. Sonia has a bad reputation among people in Wouma village, including Kisogo’s clan. People in the area say she is only eleven years old, but that she is ‘big’ and ‘already has breasts’, which some argue is a result of smoking, sniffing glue, and having sexual relations with men. Sonia is about to go into her last year of elementary school, and confirms that she goes through stages of being disciplined about school, and then ignoring school in favour of other activities. If her mother is in town, she often follows her around to socialize, work in gardens, or help gather sand and rocks from the river to sell. Her grandmother says that Sonia has not really been devoted to school (tidak sekolah baik) and that she herself is too old to be in charge of Sonia if Sonia wants to be stubborn.

Lina Lagowan, Kisogo’s younger sister, is one of the relatives who most frequently complains about Sonia. Each time she sees Sonia hanging around in
the Misi market area of Wamena city, a 15-minute walk from Wouma, she tells everyone in the village. Misi begins across the bridge from Wouma. The river below is a hub of activity, as women and youth line the banks and, during the dry season, occupy small rocky islands in the middle of the river. They wash clothes, bathe, and wash produce. Somewhere along the river, a group of males is usually collecting sand and rocks to sell for construction purposes. Migrants visit the river to wash their cars and collect drinking water. Along the single main road through Misi, women sell garden produce. Other Dani chat with relatives and friends, share betel nut, or purchase small items at the migrant-owned shops that line the street. Lina and others suggest that in this area of the city it is easy for Dani youth to get into trouble. Rumours are that the small family-run eateries house Indonesian sex workers and that the televisions that young people pay to watch in other establishments feature pornographic films. Moreover, it is an open environment where Dani easily observe each other’s behaviour and are observed by migrant shop owners and by military personnel. Lina asserts, “It is embarrassing to see Sonia and others like that in Misi, hanging around with men. Our young men get drunk and walk around over there too. It is better to keep this activity in the village, I think, do not take it into the city. These youth have no shame.” Clan members express similar thoughts about the behaviour of another family member, a young mother named Margaretta. Margaretta’s father Kisogo allowed her to move back home to Wouma after she left her husband, a man from Pugima village. Her family claims that the relationship ended because Margaretta’s husband believed he was not the father of her second child. When I first met Margaretta in 2006, people in the family complained that she simply was not a good mother because she left her own mother with the responsibility of caring for her two sons much of the time. Three years later, the same people had a different understanding of her behaviour. Margaretta’s relatives barely acknowledged her existence because she was accused of taking money for sex and spending her time drinking alcohol with men. This new behaviour was strongly associated with her tendency to be in Misi at all hours of the day and night. People claimed to see her walking around dishevelled and drunk. Her father, in particular, expresses anger that she is doing ‘improper’ things in Misi where everyone can see her behaviour. He usually refers to her as “the prostitute” (perempuan
This case suggests that some Dani experience a pressing need to demonstrate proper behaviour in urban, public places, particularly where their behaviour may be observed by Indonesian migrants. Misi, an urban market area, emerges as a place where people must be extra careful about the impressions others may come to hold. It is a place where it is said to be easy to be drawn into immoral activities, and easy to become associated with impropriety. Criticism of Sonia and Margaretta not only exists in the village, it begins there among clan members. Whatever criticism Margaretta’s family made of her after her marriage ended and she returned to Wouma, their feelings of anger and shame dramatically increased when she began allowing people in town to associate her with immoral behaviour. It is common for male clan members to want to control the behaviour of female relatives, and for kin to scrutinize one another’s behaviour to assess wrongdoing. Dani customs typically address transgressive behaviour through sanctions against men who have premarital or extramarital sex with women. The woman’s husband, if she is married, or her maternal uncle, if she is unmarried, enacts these sanctions. Thus, a certain amount of frustration expressed by relatives relates to their inability to influence women’s behaviour or punish men’s actions in a changed environment. Both Sonia and Margaretta, it is revealed, are rumoured to have had so many male partners going unchecked over a long period that her family members hardly know where to begin to address the situation, especially in the absence of Sonia’s mother and father, and Margaretta’s husband. Nonetheless, supposed personal moral failures take on new significance when they are exposed to others outside the village. All Papuans, especially the Dani, are nowadays associated with ‘promiscuous’ sexual behaviour (seks bebas) in Indonesian state and popular discourses (Butt, Numbery and Morin 2002; Butt 2005; Munro 2004). The traditional practice of polygamy among the Dani is seen as an example of primitiveness, in that they apparently do not know that monogamy is the proper way to marry, and as an example of promiscuity and unrestrained sexual desire. Thus, the need to hide alleged promiscuity from Indonesian eyes indicates that Kisogo and others are aware of these stereotypes about Dani people and wish to avoid negative judgments (see Butt and Munro 2007 for further discussion of Dani views of behaviour seen as
appropriate for the city and the village).

**A Daily Struggle to Get Ahead**

Mateus and Veronica Haluk are about nine and six years old, respectively. Their mother, Mama Mateus, as she is known, is about 30 years old, and was born and raised in Wouma. She is proud, she says, to be one of two females from her age set in Wouma who graduated high school. Her family wanted to marry her off when she was young, she says, but her older sister’s husband (Kisogo, a Wouma big man) supposedly asserted that she was intelligent and should go to school. Her husband Frans Haluk, 40, also a high school graduate, has acquired a government job after many years of applying for a position. The family lives near the We River behind the busy Misi market. Their three-bedroom house is a patchwork of wood panels and woven fibres. Mama Mateus cooks over a fire in the outdoor kitchen, next to the pigpen. Birds, mice, and puppies have taken over the semi-enclosed pantry where she stores cooking implements, plates, and dry goods. Next to the kitchen, where the family bathes, a few planks of wooden fencing and a pile of old tires prevent the neighbours from looking in from their gardens. The floor is thatched bamboo with patchy plastic laminate laid on top. In 2006, the home had no electricity and the children struggled to do their homework by candlelight. When I visited in 2009, Frans had connected the house to the local grid. The main outlet was overflowing with a cascade of cables. The family now has plugged in at any given time: several mobile phone chargers, a television, a digital video disc player, a cable box, a water dispenser, an old computer, and a large set of speakers. The lights in the bedrooms must also be plugged in by extension cord to the main outlet, which dangles from the ceiling of the living room. Water is pulled up from a well in the front yard using an old cooking oil container on a rope. Besides Mama Mateus, her husband Frans, and their children, a host of relatives come and go, staying for a night or a month. There are posters of the alphabet and Indonesian/Dani/English pronouns on the wall in the living room.

‘Getting ahead’ (kemajuan) is a daily focus for Mama Mateus. She works hard at home and she spends several hours a day over the bridge in Wouma
tending sweet potatoes. She has applied for government employment three times, and criticizes the local government for what she sees as nepotistic practices – she points out that most of the new government employees announced in the newspaper are relatives of the Regent (a district administrator). “It is really difficult for us here,” she says,

We heard about some scholarships to send the children to foreign schools when they are older. We wanted to put in our names but we could never get any clear information. Then someone showed us some photographs of children already in Australia at their new school. We do not know what happened, and we do not know who was behind this, *pendatang* [migrants] or the Regent [*Bupati*] and his relatives.

Mama Mateus expresses frustration that she has not been able to get a job because unemployment limits her ability to help her children succeed. Her husband’s salary is not enough to feed the family, partly because Mama Mateus says she has to share what they have to eat with hungry relatives who come to visit. Because of these obligations and insufficient income, she asks her uncle to pay for some expenses, especially school fees and uniforms. Because she asks for school money from her uncle, she is obliged to help his wife watch their children and do their cooking and laundry whenever they need assistance, but this takes her away from her own household, her garden activities, and the other relatives she says she ought to assist. In a typical day, Mama Mateus leaves home early in the morning around 6:30 am to help with chores at her uncle’s house, then goes straight to her Wouma garden. Midday, she stops by home to drop off tubers for dinner or money for rice and vegetables, heads to the river for to bathe if it’s sunny, then leaves again for a community meeting, study group, or church-related activity in the afternoon. Her older sister’s teenage daughter usually comes from Wouma to cook dinner for Mateus and Veronica; if not, Mama Mateus boils water for tea and roasts sweet potato over a fire at around 9:00 pm when her other activities finish. She frequently apologizes to her children for the late dinner and for being away all day. Frans usually arrives home at this hour as well. They huddle together for warmth and stay up for an hour or two watching Indonesian soap operas on their small television set.

Mama Mateus has so many plans to get ahead: she wants to make
handicrafts and sell them, she wants to start buying betel nut from friends in Jayapura and selling it in Wamena, and she frequently submits proposals to the government to get funding for what she refers to as ‘empowerment’ activities. The latest proposal she has submitted seeks funding to open a donut stand in Misi. What she wants, she tells her children, is a big, solid house and on a large piece of land. The house would have an indoor kitchen and she would not have to cook over fire anymore, which irritates her eyes. The house would also have a proper indoor bathroom and a squat toilet with a tiled floor. She says to her son, “When you have done well in school, you can become an official (pejabat) and build Mama a good house.”

Mama Mateus insists on sending her children to a Catholic elementary school, which is more expensive but is seen as better quality than the local public schools. Her children frequently express a desire to skip school like their cousins in Wouma do, but Mama Mateus argues that Mateus and Veronica are ‘city children’ (anak-anak kota), though they still have to participate in village-based activities like funerals and communal labour. Mama Mateus regards the schoolteacher (a woman from Manado) highly, saying, “It is a good opportunity that we have her. She brings good influence to the children.” Mama Mateus explains that the teacher is from a modern (maju) place, she is a good Christian, and her husband does not drink or smoke. Mama Mateus frequently complains about the practice of her relatives who smoke and her own husband who occasionally spends his paycheque drinking with other government employees.

In 2006, Mama Mateus and her family were active in the Wouma village church, but when I met them again three years later they were attending services at the main cathedral in Wamena. Two main factors influenced their decision to go to church in the city. First, Mama Mateus has signed Mateus up to be an altar boy. This requires special training, extra commitment, and is only possible at the cathedral. Second, according to Mama Mateus, church in Wouma is not serious enough. In the village church, the man who leads mass is not even really a priest, she points out, and they do not offer communion. Inter-related Wouma families make up the majority of the congregation. To support their participation in the urban church, which is often dominated by Indonesian migrants, the family has formed a small church group with two to three other
urban-based Dani families who attend services at the cathedral. They meet up at church and eat together at one of their homes after mass. All of the children are active participants in Sunday school and mark milestones in their religious development together.

This case shows the central importance of the ideology of progress or ‘getting ahead’, captured by the Indonesian term kemajuan, and indicates some of the central values of kemajuan. High-quality private schooling, Christian development and discipline, urban-based activities with people other than close family, clean living (no smoking or drinking), appreciating the example set by some migrants, and earning money to invest in children’s education and development are some of the values that Mama Mateus and others associate with ‘getting ahead’. Though their formal education has not helped them progress very far, Mama Mateus and her husband assert that educating, disciplining, and otherwise ‘developing’ Mateus and Veronica is their most vital and pressing task, and is a marker of their progress as parents and the potential progress of their family. The strategies they invoke to get ahead reflect their complex positioning in Dani and Indonesian society. They try to earn money through employment, but also by selling garden produce. Garden produce becomes a back-up meal when money runs out. They try to get ahead using government-initiated strategies, and by keeping strong reciprocal relations open with their relatives, especially those with money, like Mama Mateus’ uncle. Though they might ‘get ahead’ more easily if they stopped spending Frans’ paycheque feeding their relatives, they identify that obligation as something they cannot, and for now, do not want to forsake. This suggests that although Mama Mateus and Frans are very aware of the logic of progress in the Indonesian era, they also insist on recognizing alternate notions of propriety and success.

A Big Man’s Shame

The village of Wouma has had the same ‘chief’ (kepala kampung, a government position) for over 20 years. Villagers often refer to a Dani man, Mr. Alua, as the “village chief for life” (kepala kampung seumur hidup) because he
has occupied this elected position for so long. Over the years, he has been embroiled in scandals in which villagers accuse him of stealing money. He also supposedly submits forged reports to his superiors that detail the villagers’ satisfaction with him. He retains his position, in part because, according to other Dani, he has ‘no shame’. Sometimes this characterization explains his theft and cheating, but it is also used to describe the courage he shows when dealing with Indonesian officials. When his citizens are not complaining about his corrupt acts, they describe Mr. Alua as a man who fearlessly enters into government offices to promote the agendas of his constituents.

In 2006, Wouma villagers were to receive cash from the government as part of nation-wide payouts to compensate poor people for the rise in fuel prices in October 2005. The village chief allegedly corrupted several aspects of this process, which involved registering names of eligible villagers to submit to higher authorities and distributing cards that villagers were then to take to the post office to collect their money. He allegedly charged the villagers money to register their names in the first place, then, after the amount owing was calculated by upper level government offices, he altered the list of recipients so some villagers found their names removed from the list of payees. In the end, Mr. Alua allegedly distributed very little of the money and fled the area.

Throughout this process of corruption, certain village big men, having heard about or experienced the official’s trickery, became concerned and tried to find a way to intervene in the process. They held meetings and compiled their own list of payees and a list of names of people who complained of being charged money by the village chief to register themselves for the government money. These older men, and some younger male farmers, said they were building a case against the village chief. However, they found themselves unable to get the attention of higher officials in order to get the information they wanted to catch the village chief in his lies. When they eventually got an audience, due to the assistance of two visiting university students, they waited outside the government office with other farmers while the students spoke with the officials inside.

The head of the office of Statistics (BPS), a migrant, emerged to address the crowd of about forty Wouma residents. The women, dressed in typical attire—skirt, t-shirt, netbag, no shoes, were sitting in small groups scattered around the
yard of the office. Some men squatted in one corner, while others squatted or stood just outside the fence around the office, many still wearing their tall rubber gardening boots. The official yelled at the group to sit down. He asked who had received money, and ordered them to raise their hands if they had. He instructed the crowd to create a team of villagers to investigate and document who had received money and who had not. Then the official went back inside the building, leaving villagers to mull over the instructions. One of the big men, Wenabu Wetipo, had done most of the work on the lists, had hand-written them, had met and discussed with other villagers, and had carried the paperwork around town in between the pages of a tattered notebook. He expressed that he would have liked to deal with the officials, but that he felt embarrassed (malu) to enter into such a place, with such people, in his tattered old clothes. Although he approached the door of the building with the young students and a few other men, only the students were invited inside.

This case shows an example of how Dani people who live on the outskirts of Wamena city engage with state institutions and Indonesians. Government officials do not take local political leaders such as Wenabu seriously even though they may attempt to conform to modern bureaucratic expectations by using literacy to document important information and prepare written reports. Seeing themselves from the perspective of Indonesian officials, the encounters leave Wenabu and others feeling they are judged inadequate because of their clothes and language abilities. On prior occasions, while the villagers approached other government offices in an effort to figure out just which office they needed to deal with, farmers in knee-high plastic boots and cut off pants consistently hung back, often waiting in the street, while younger educated people ‘wearing clothes’, as the farmers said, knocked on doors. These educated representatives explained that although the farmers can speak Indonesian, officials tend to ‘talk in circles’ (putar-putar bahasa). As in other case studies, where education is not enough for financial gain or employment, literacy, leadership skills, and status among Dani is not enough to gain respect in the eyes of Indonesians in power.
Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated some trends in what Dani people want from formal education, and how formal education is linked to broader concerns about becoming modern. Educated youth may be seen as possessing a novel kind of superiority that elders must acknowledge, especially if government officials favour younger educated people over established community leaders. People without access to formal education express feelings of inferiority, while those considered educated, like Nelly and Viktor, are defined by this status and the need to uphold expectations. Parents like Mama Mateus fear judgments from Indonesians and other Dani. They may judge themselves according to standards of wealth and moral displays that are hard to achieve, as Mama Mateus finds when she tries to ensure the school fees are paid on time, the children are not late for school, the electricity at home is working, there is a television to watch, there are books to read, and that her husband does not go drinking with his friends after work. Urban parents have been educated themselves, they may have jobs in the government or the church, and, concerned about providing a good-quality education, they would be more than devastated if circumstances forced their children out of school. This feeling takes shape not just in relation to the chance for modern jobs, but in relation to Indonesian successes, Indonesian teachers and urban norms. Going to school, as they have seen, is the norm, and not sending kids to school makes a statement about one’s orientation to the modern world. Even for rural families, the appropriateness of not going to school is situated in relation to what other activities are taken up by the young person. School, rather than hanging out in town, is the more appropriate activity, although getting married and gardening are still valued paths.

Schooling is embedded in other concerns about family appearances – not looking poor, not looking like bad Christians or drinkers, not looking like school is unimportant, and not looking ignorant of the value of education. Schooling is the appearance of doing something increasingly understood to be normal. It takes shape in relation to the perceptions and practices of others, be they other Dani or Indonesians. For parents in Wouma, school uniforms and associated supplies (along with bathing and getting off to school) are at the
forefront of the everyday practice of schooling. Schooling children is a very public activity, parents’ commitment to it is put on display every time children walk to school, every time women scrub uniforms in the river, or when parents turn up to celebrate their child’s participation in public activities attended by large numbers of Indonesian parents.

The pressure to achieve a novel way of life represented by Indonesian migrants is potent and palpable. Garden work is not just devalued because of state messages or school curriculum, but because it is hard work and does not generate money. These comparisons are made with the apparent lifestyles of Indonesians and some Dani who seem to live in prosperous circumstances in the city. School is situated within the context of other new activities and obligations. Children want and need money for everything these days, parents complain, and school is just another cost they feel they have to make money to pay for. Their own desires for cigarettes, betel nut, or a peddle-bike ride into town take a back seat. School, like laundry and bathing soap, rice, instant noodles, chocolate biscuits, and pocket change, is, in daily life, often another hassle that makes women’s days in the garden and at the market longer and the stakes of making sales higher. As a young man in his twenties remarked to me, when he was young, his mother was home from the market in the afternoon, in time to rest, collect more potatoes for dinner, and cook in the daylight. Today, women are often at the market until well after dark, waiting for last minute sales that will help them be able to put some money away, or to buy cigarettes, firewood, and things children want to eat – cooking oil, salt, noodles, and rice. Feelings of inferiority among mothers and fathers who cannot read or write contribute to the need to sacrifice and struggle to finance children’s modern lifestyles as much as new consumptive desires.

Nonetheless, although school is a hassle for the work it requires, it is an obligation that can hardly be ignored. Literacy (wielding the pen, as people say) is not just important because it is a requirement of modern jobs, or Christian commitment, but takes shape in relation to feelings many Dani have about being ’cheated’ by Indonesia and Indonesians in the area because they ‘did not know’. Dani informants argue that formal education only gained wide appeal in the last 10-20 years as people began to see some of the hasil (results) of the first few Dani to become formally educated, and as more and more migrants
arrive in the Valley and use their skills and/or education to their advantage.

The case studies show the efficacy of discourses of diminishment described in Chapter 1, both in the sense that some Dani see themselves as backward, and in the sense that other Dani say they are aware that this is the dominant Indonesian perception and they wish to avoid being seen this way. The need to show quality to others in the city may lead rural Dani to take a harsher stance against members of their household who do not conform to high moral standards. In other cases, Dani experience diminishment directly from Indonesians who refuse to acknowledge them because they seem uneducated or backward.

Thus, concerns over propriety, (re)gaining organization, land, and power, and helping to create easier, more prosperous urban lifestyles, as well as experiences of humiliation, are some of the ways that Dani experience formal education in the Baliem Valley. Supported by the gardening work described in this chapter, Dani youth may be able to leave the valley for university. A university degree offers more prospects for employment, and is seen as the ultimate educational achievement. As we have seen in this chapter, educated Dani youth experience high ideals and complex expectations, and are made aware of the sacrifices that go into sponsoring their education abroad. The next chapter begins an examination of Dani university students’ experiences in North Sulawesi, where they hope to mix with more cosmopolitan Indonesians and develop modern skills and qualities.
CHAPTER 3

“Where’s the city!?”
Newcomers in North Sulawesi

Some Dani students may find the bustling urban life they imagine in the North Sulawesi capital, Manado, but a significant number of others find themselves studying in locations outside the city.

My relatives took me to the docks in Jayapura [Papua]. It was nighttime, around 8pm. I had a small bag of clothes and some fruit – bananas and avocados, I think. I had my last ubi [sweet potato] with me, for the boat ride. I had about 500,000 rupiah with me, too. When I got on board I found some other Wamena people [orang Wamena] and we stayed in the same part of the ship for the whole four days. It was late afternoon when we docked at Bitung [North Sulawesi port]. My ‘uncle’ Etinus met me there. He took me to Tondano. I woke up in the morning and looked outside, and I said, “Where’s the city?!” All I could see was green fields and forest. (Minke Kenelak)

Minke found herself in a relative’s tiny brick shack on the campus of the National University of Manado (Unima), which is located not in Manado but more than an hour’s drive south winding into dramatic mountains. Locals say the location was chosen by a wealthy Tondano person (orang Tondano) who wanted to see some development in his area and who later became the first Dean of Unima. This chapter provides an introductory ethnographic account of the circumstances of Dani students in North Sulawesi, and of local ‘host’
communities, as a way to understand the experiences of difference, discrimination, and stigma that are examined in Chapters 4-5. If Dani students are struggling with labels such as primitive, Minahasans are celebrating their progress and quality.

Map 5: The route from Jayapura to Manado by PELNI ship

Host Communities

Minahasans have developed a distinctive bias in favour of modernity. (Buchholt and Mai 1994: 6)

North Sulawesi province is home to approximately two million people, of whom over 600,000 claim Minahasa cultural origins (BPS 2000). Duncan (2005: 28) describes a long history of regional movement among the peoples of North Sulawesi, Gorontalo, the Sangir archipelago, and the Maluku Islands. In the present day, North Sulawesi comprises a mix of ethnic groups from eastern Indonesia. ‘Local’ people in North Sulawesi may also be descendants of Dutch, Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese and Indian immigrants, traders, and colonists. Migrants have long been attracted to the North Sulawesi’s stability and
Prosperity, and have typically settled in Manado (Duncan 2005: 28).

North Sulawesi is approximately 70% Christian, though Minahasa regency which surrounds the capital city of Manado (population 434,000) is estimated to be 90% Christian (Ananta et al 2004: 15 check). Since the province of Gorontalo seceded from North Sulawesi in 2000, Minahasa Christians have become the dominant ethnic and religious group in the province (Jacobsen 2002: 36). Jacobsen (2002) proposes that this has led to a revitalized interest in Minahasa as a ‘race-nation-people’ (suku-bangsa). At the same time, Duncan (2005: 28) suggests that Minahasans pride themselves on their willingness to incorporate newcomers from other ethnic groups in their urban centres. I found that local people were equally proud to identify themselves as Minahasan, Tondano people, by their linguistic heritage, or as Manadonese. Any of these labels could be used to identify oneself with ‘the majority’ – typically described by Minahasans themselves as a kindred community of educated, forward-thinking, open-hearted, Christian people with local heritage (and diverse ethnic roots) who tolerated others (including Muslims) using the kinship metaphor of saudara (family). While Jacobsen (2002: 55) asserts that Minahasans are struggling to define themselves as a group without drawing on the historical interventions of missionaries and Dutch colonialists, who inaugurated the concept of bangsa Minahasa (Minahasa people), I found the opposite: local people confidently engaged these histories to assert superiority and to explain their distinction from other Indonesians. Locals described North Sulawesi as a province blessed by God with high levels of education, prosperity, and stability; these features distinguished the area from the rest of Indonesia. They cited the fact that North Sulawesi seemed immune to ethnic and religious conflicts that resulted in communal violence to the south and east as evidence of their province’s special, blessed, and superior standing.

During the Dutch colonial period, Minahasans were the first people in Indonesia to experience formal education from missionaries, and for a time the region was home to the most literate population in the country (Bucholt and Mai 1994; Jones 1977). The Dutch established an early presence in North Sulawesi to support the trading activities of its Dutch East India Company, which were primarily based in the nearby Maluku (also known as Molucca) Islands (Henley
In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the Dutch East India Company expanded from its North Moluccan base on the spice island of Ternate to become the dominant power across the Maluku Sea in the northern half of Sulawesi. By 1750 this peripheral area contained as many as a dozen VOC [Dutch East India Company] forts, stretched out over a distance of some 800 km. Another century later the Dutch colonial state exercised direct rule over a total of perhaps 180,000 people in Minahasa and Gorontalo, obliging 100,000 Minahasans to spend up to half of their working time on compulsory coffee cultivation and road building duties. In 1910, by which time the whole of Central Sulawesi had also been brought under its authority, the colonial administrative regency of Manado controlled and taxed a population of almost a million souls inhabiting a territory the size of Portugal.

In the present day, Northern Sulawesi is also described as modern and well-integrated into the Indonesian state.

The process of modernization is taking place very rapidly; roads are being paved and improved and the road networks are being extended. Most of the villages have already been connected to public services. Public transportation is improving in quality as well as quantity, and an ever increasing number of private cars and motor-cycles can be seen. The traditional wooden or bamboo-build houses have given way to modern buildings, constructed with bricks and covered with sheet zinc roof. In nearly every village, impressive church-building projects are either already completed or are presently under construction. A large number of village development projects are also being implemented. Besides the improvement of the physical structure of the villages, one can also find in relation to the still agriculturally-based Minahasa economy a high level of formal education. The increasing number of middle (SMP) and high school (SMA) students, the rising enrolment at the state university in Manado and the numerous private institutions underline the importance of formal education as a household strategy in planning for the future. (Weber 1994: 199)

The area is not rich in natural resources, but has a history of producing agricultural commodities. Visitors arriving by airplane will notice the sea of coconut groves, a well-groomed plantation landscape. During the Suharto era, the region benefited from government investment. These funds were used to help produce a good communication network, electrification, water supply, and to improve the educational system and the road network (Buchholt and Mai
Literacy and educational attainment levels remain high in the area; low-level public servants must hold four-year tertiary degrees to be competitive in the job market (Jones 1977).

Minahasan Christians are predominantly Protestant, members of the Christian Evangelical Church in Minahasa (Gereja Masehi Injili di Minahasa). As in other parts of Indonesia, Church and state have a tangled history. Proselytizing continues to be infused with a modernization platform, encouraging villagers to participate in state projects, and religious rhetoric informs local evaluations of progress and success (see Aragon 2000: 275; Weber 1994). Christianity is itself seen as modern, as people identify it with prosperous, developed countries like America, Singapore, and Korea. Manado has its own television station – Pacific TV – which frequently broadcasts Christian services and other programming from around the world. Christianity is not the only link to modernity or ‘the foreign’. Manado’s Sam Ratulangi International airport provides direct flights to Singapore, the Philippines, and Taiwan. North Sulawesi is described as belonging to an international ‘growth triangle’ because of economic ties to the southern Philippines, Brunei, and East Malaysia (Jacobsen 2002: 35). Local Indonesians assert that they see manifestations of their own level of modernity in stores such as ‘Golden’, and are aware of their global connections:

We never used to have plastic things like these, colourful plastic toys and clocks, spoons, dishes and pails. But this area is very modern and we get these things imported directly from China now. If we go to the market, to the used clothing stalls [cabo, cakar bongkar] we get clothes directly from Korea. See these, these are Korean peoples’ clothes!
(Nancy W., Manadonese housewife)

Manadonese people like Nancy suggest that the term Manadonese identifies people who have lived in Manado for a long time. Manadonese value their urban lifestyle and consider the relative peace and prosperity of their area to be a reflection of their progressive, open, and sophisticated nature. People I spoke with generally expressed that they feel they are doing better than most Indonesians, in terms of modernization, prosperity, and living in harmony. Many point to Christianity, arguing that their living conditions are a blessing for being of the ‘right’ faith. Generally speaking, Manadonese say that they do not get
enough credit for the level of development in their area because they are Christian and therefore ignored by the nation-state, which centres on Java and, in their views, favours Muslims over non-Muslims. As a result, Manado may be one of the only places in Indonesia where visitors might see American flags or Stars of David pasted proudly around town, particularly on the back windows of the public transport buses. These symbols are markers of Christian identity. Here, people sit around in the afternoon drinking tea and expressing hopes that, as expressed in the negative fantasies of Muslim extremists, America might take over the country. Other Manadonese explain their region’s progress less in terms of Christianity or the early establishment of formal education and more in terms of innate cultural characteristics that give Minahasans advantage over others, and allow them to produce high-quality human resources (see for example Sondakh 2002). Sondakh (2002), for instance, argues that the Minahasan people of North Sulawesi are more cosmopolitan, educated, and successful than other cultural groups because of their “ST4” (Si Tou Timou Tumou Tou, or “Man lives to educate others” in the Minahasa language) ideology that foreshadows democratic principles, work ethic, appreciation for scientific knowledge, and self-confidence among Minahasan people.

In official terms, Manado appreciates its diversity, captured in the descriptor kota tinutuan – a reference to a Manadonese stew that has many mixed ingredients – rice, fish, tubers, corn, leafy greens, and is topped with spices. Although they describe themselves as maju, Manadonese also describe themselves as farmers: “pegi kebon” (the Manadonese way of saying ‘going to the garden’) is a common feature of many peoples’ lives beyond the city. Many Manadonese maintain rural roots in the Minahasa hinterlands where they travel during holidays. Although some express confidence in the ‘modern’ character of their region, others, particularly poorer inhabitants I met living on the fringes of the city, joke about choosing to own traditional furniture, housing, toys and kitchen implements. This suggests that the way Manado is imagined by some people – prosperous, developed, and blessed - is not how it is experienced by all.

North Sulawesi is not the Indonesian nation writ small. Local people consider themselves different from other Indonesians, yet, as this thesis will show, they criticize Papuans in ways that parallel mainstream views, using the
dominant language of the nation-state, and sound very much like other Indonesians. They express that eastern Indonesia is typically associated with backwardness, poverty, and tribal populations, but that Minahasans are modern and cosmopolitan, having been ‘civilized’ quite some time ago. While we might predict that this sense of cultural advancement may underpin stigma against Papuans, there are also counter-discourses of Christian kinship and care around which locals and Papuans might build social connections. Some of these connections, and disconnections, become clearer in the following section, where I begin to situate ‘Wamena people’ in Tondano and Manado.

‘Wamena People’ in North Sulawesi

Students who call themselves orang Wamena (Wamena people) originate from one of three dominant cultural groups in the Papuan central highlands – Dani, Lani, and Yali. These cultures have many similarities but some differences. Within the group called Dani there are ‘Valley people’ (orang lembah) or ‘westerners’ (orang barat). These Valley people and westerners speak different dialects and originate from different areas of the central highlands around Wamena. Students also belong to different Christian religions, and to different political units. The terms for these administrative areas, called regencies (kabupaten) are sometimes used to denote identity. Thus it is common to hear that someone is a Jayawijaya person, a Tolikara person, or a Yahukimo person, rather than employing the terms for cultural groups such as Dani or Yali (see Table 1).

Table 1: Cultural Groups and Regencies in Central Highlands, Papua

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cultural Groups</th>
<th>Regency (Kabupaten)</th>
<th>Capital City</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dani</td>
<td>Jayawijaya</td>
<td>Wamena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dani, Lani</td>
<td>Puncak Jaya</td>
<td>Mulia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lani</td>
<td>Tolikara</td>
<td>Karubaga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yali, Dani</td>
<td>Yahukimo</td>
<td>Sumohai, Dekai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no clear-cut historical flows between the populations of Papua’s central mountain valleys and North Sulawesi that can be used to
explain the particular movement of today’s youth. Coastal Papuan populations were involved in flows of people and goods with the Islamic kingdom of Tidore in the Maluku islands prior to European exploration and contact (Rutherford 2003). In the Dutch colonial period, the Dutch used educated eastern Indonesians as teachers and administrative staff in coastal Papua. The missions in Papua employed Christians from eastern Indonesia as teachers and missionaries, including people from North Sulawesi and Toraja (located in South Sulawesi) (McGibbon 2004).

Highlanders have been coming to North Sulawesi to attend institutes of higher education since the late 1980s. This is around the time when the first students began to complete Indonesian secondary school in the highlands. North Sulawesi emerged as an accessible education destination when Papua’s Cenderawasih University was offering limited programs and no graduate-level programs. This does not fully explain the popularity of North Sulawesi. Students say that they come to North Sulawesi for the modern city, because it is safe, and because it is Christian. As I develop further in Chapter 6, students are also following the paths set by their kin and sponsors, and attracted to the security of living where other Wamena people congregate.

The majority of Dani people in Manado and Tondano are in fact students. There are only a handful of non-students. These are mainly former students who married local Indonesian women and never returned to the highlands. Male students far outnumber female students (approximately 4:1), though this also varies by origins within the highlands. Female students from Puncak Jaya regency, for instance, appear to be numerous, while female students from Yahukimo regency are few. In 2006, there were no new female Valley Dani students starting school in North Sulawesi. Overall, there are more Wamena students at Unima in Tondano, but there are more female Wamena students at Unsrat in Manado.

There are more Papuans in the rural area of Tondano than there are in Manado. If you ask Manadonese about Papuans, they will direct you to visit Tondano. Approximately half of the Dani students in North Sulawesi do not live in Manado at all, but live in the Lake Tondano area adjacent to the National University of Manado (Unima). Tondano is not a cosmopolitan place. Most locals are in fact, orang Tondano (Tondano people), born and raised, or at least
from other parts of Minahasa area. Tondano has an urban area, but it is some distance (and two bus rides) from campus. Thus, what passes for urban near the campus is the settlement of Tata Aran II, at the intersection of the road into Tondano town and the road up to campus. Occasionally students make their way to this market zone, two blocks of kiosks selling instant noodles, soap, withered farm produce, simple meals, and mobile phone credit, but more often, they are on the streets walking to other friends’ residences, to and from campus, or to and from the buses that take them down to Manado. Wealthier Papuan and Indonesian students regularly go to the market area on Friday and Saturday nights to eat, drink, or hang around shops chatting and passing time with friends. Because of the large groups of Indonesian youth hanging around the area after dark, sometimes drinking alcohol, Dani students say the area is a place where they are likely to get into conflict with Indonesians and thus they do not spend much time there.

Map 6: Significant sites for Dani students, Tondano area
In Manado, Wamena students regularly visit the crowded street markets, but say they never go into the shops, supermarkets or ‘Megamall’ where young locals hang out and are said to ‘show off’ (pasang gaya). They say they have the sense that they do not belong in the mall, even if they have just been sent money from home and could afford to buy items or food inside. As Ana, a confident Lani girl in hip-hugger jeans and pink lipstick, explained to me when I arranged to meet her and some other girls in front of the mall before heading to another location, “I never get close to this place, I never stand in front of the mall, let’s go, I’m scared!” As she commented, “People have been staring at us non-stop.” The following sections give insights into how, from the outset, Dani students distinguish themselves, and are seen as different from the local Indonesian populations in Manado and Tondano.
Dormitory Living

There are dormitories for other migrant students, such as the dorm for students from Ternate on the Unima campus, but by far, it is Papuan students who most inhabit dorms. A smaller percentage of students in Tondano, approximately 10%, live in crowded thatched huts or run-down old houses. Living in dorms helps segregate Papuans students from the rest of the Indonesian population, while the highlanders’ practice of living in makeshift huts promotes the perception that orang Papua are inferior. Because they often lack money to pay for bus fare, which is the most common way of getting around the hilly area, Dani students tend to walk wherever they go. Their activities and whereabouts are visible for others to see and to scrutinize.

Dorms are funded by regency governments, so students live with others from the same regency. They also form student organizations based on these regencies. Not all affiliations are determined by regency, as some students live with members of their clan, and others live with members of the same Christian religion.

Many migrant students (not just Papuans) live on campus grounds or in Tata Aran II, a small urban settlement about 1.5 km from the campus housing area. Housing choice reflects income levels, and is thus stratified by ethnicity, with Minahasan students and other Indonesians living primarily in boarding houses. Indonesians suggest that a small, gender-segregated boarding house with a friendly ‘house-mother’ is the most stable, pleasant, and protected place to live. As a second choice, or for those who desire and can afford more independence, students may live in the campus-housing complex (perumahan) in a small brick unit. These units have no ceiling, only angled roofing positioned atop walls, so they are accessible to many rodents and mosquitoes. The electrical power is only sufficient to turn on a single light bulb. The bathroom is located behind the small house. The housing complex is for university staff but staff members rarely inhabit the small, unfinished, units, which tend to flood when it rains. Instead, lecturers sometimes allow students to rent their unit for 100,000 rupiah per semester or allow them to stay free in exchange for taking care of the place.

There are Dani students living in three different dorms on Unima
campus, namely Yepmum, Fransiskan, and Kaonak, but there are other Wamena students (Lani and Yali) living in three other dorms (see Table 2).

**Table 2: Dormitories of Wamena Students in North Sulawesi**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dorm Name</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Sponsor</th>
<th>Number of Wamena students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yepmum</td>
<td>Tondano</td>
<td>Jayawijaya Regency</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puteri</td>
<td>Manado</td>
<td>Jayawijaya Regency</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jayawijaya</td>
<td>Manado</td>
<td>Jayawijaya Regency</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nayak</td>
<td>Manado</td>
<td>Jayawijaya Regency</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisma Walak</td>
<td>Manado</td>
<td>Clan</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PMKRI (Union of Catholic Students of Indonesia)</td>
<td>Manado</td>
<td>Catholic – Manado branch of PMKRI</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBMKJ-T (Big Family of Catholic Students of Jayapura-Timika Archdiocese)</td>
<td>Manado</td>
<td>Catholic – Archdiocese of Jayapura-Timika (Papua)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fransiskan</td>
<td>Tondano</td>
<td>Catholic – private funds</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lotta</td>
<td>Manado</td>
<td>Catholic – private funds</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yahukimo</td>
<td>Tondano</td>
<td>Yahukimo Regency</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yahukimo</td>
<td>Tondano</td>
<td>Yahukimo Regency</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yahukimo</td>
<td>Manado</td>
<td>Yahukimo Regency</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yahukimo</td>
<td>Manado</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yahukimo</td>
<td>Manado</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yahukimo</td>
<td>Tomohon</td>
<td>Yahukimo Regency</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaonak</td>
<td>Tondano</td>
<td>Puncak Jaya Regency</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puncak Jaya</td>
<td>Manado</td>
<td>Puncak Jaya Regency</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutiara</td>
<td>Tondano</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamasan</td>
<td>Manado</td>
<td>Papua Province</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>291</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Yepmum is the main dorm on the Unima campus for Dani students from Jayawijaya regency. It is located at the bottom of the first short, steep hill upon entering campus from the south side. The Jayawijaya regency government built the dorm in 1998. Though the government covers the electric bill and students do not pay rent, residents are responsible for buying water that flows through a pipe from Lake Tondano into holding tanks on campus. If there is enough water in these tanks on campus, the water flows toYepmum dorm and other student residences. The dorm is two levels, with five bedrooms on the bottom and six bedrooms on the top. At any given time between 10 and 20 students live in the
dorm. There have been Catholic Dani students living in the dorm in the past, but the vast majority have been Protestant students from the northern and western parts of the Baliem Valley. Protestant Dani from the Wolo Valley now dominate the dorm. These students call themselves Walak people: there are ten Walak students of the seventeen at Yepmum. Three other students are from Pyramid, north of Wamena, and the Pass Valley, northeast of Wamena.

In 2005, every room inYepmum dorm held at least two students, but some students moved to new dorms after Jayawijaya regency was divided. This newly created Yahukimo regency leases two residences on campus in Tondano. One of these has a few Dani students, the rest are Yali. Puncak Jaya regency pays for another residence; just one Dani student lives there. Students suggest that the newer regencies have the most funding to offer them because they have large ‘start-up’ budgets from the provincial government. The new Yahukimo residences have kitchens equipped with more than one kerosene stove and a good supply of plastic dishes and cooking implements. One of the Yahukimo residences also has a television and DVD player, carpet, plastic chairs, a computer, and a colour printer.

Off Uniima campus but still near Tondano, approximately ten Catholic Dani men live in a two-level house rented using a private trust fund set up by a Dutch priest who once worked in Papua. Another Dutch priest who lives just outside Manado city now administers the trust fund. Amidst the paddies and farmland there are several other Catholic Dani students living in small thatch houses with their young children. Normally if students have children, they live with their spouse in a boarding house or a thatched house. Another house with a dramatic view over rice fields holds ten Lani students who are members of the Baptist church.

In Manado, the residences of Dani and other ‘Wamena people’ are dispersed around the area; one small house is even on the outskirts of the city. Sario is home to approximately ten Dani students in boarding houses. Slightly further from Unsrat, the dorm for women from Jayawijaya regency (inhabited by eight Western Dani women and two Lani women), a four-bedroom house for Walak Dani men from the Wolo Valley, the dorm for men from Jayawijaya regency, and a large co-ed dorm for students from Yahukimo regency are located in an area called Batu Kota (see Table 2 above for a list of dorm names
and affiliations). The Kamasan dorm funded by the Papua provincial government is also in the area. Closer to the centre of Manado city, five Catholic Valley Dani men share a dorm operated by the Union of Catholic Students of Indonesia (PMKRI) with seven Indonesians. Four Valley Dani live in a small house leased by the Archdiocese of Jayapura-Timika on the edge of the city. There are also Dani students living in several of six residences leased by the Yahukimo regency government.

Dorms exhibit various states of disrepair. In 2006 the original women’s dorm (asrama puteri) leased by Jayawijaya regency located in Sario was abandoned so the owners could rebuild. The indoor squat toilet had stopped functioning some time ago, the ceiling was falling in, strangers were getting into the dorm through a broken fence that led into the backyard where the house had no walls, and the corrugated steel door on the temporary outdoor toilet and bathing area was falling off its hinges. Women simply bathed out in the open after dark. The inhabitants moved into a new dorm. The new dorm is in much better shape, but with ten women and an infant sharing four small, fan-less bedrooms, half of the inhabitants sleep on the tile floor in the living room. Students use bedrooms for storing clothes and toiletries. Another dorm supported by the Dutch priest’s trust fund is located on the northern outskirts of Manado in a landslide prone area that students call a ‘danger zone’ (daerah rawan), implying that both the geography and the human occupants of the area are wild and uncivilized. Built from woven tree fibres, mosquito-ridden, without electricity, and 15 minutes hike from the nearest paved road, four male students live there because they do not have to pay rent and because they attend institutes close by. They say they are in frequent conflict with the neighbours, who do not acknowledge that students lease the location and consider it their property. In these urban and urban-fringe locations, students are unable to tend gardens or collect vegetables for sustenance. When Minke and I would ride the bus down from Tondano to visit her relatives in the women’s dorm, we would bring raw and roasted tubers hidden in our backpacks. While we grew bored of eating roasted tubers, the women in Manado saw these as a treat, and a sign that they would not have to worry about buying rice, kerosene and vegetables for dinner. Similarly, when I returned to Manado after visiting Wamena, Minke’s relatives took a large duffel bag of carrots, cabbage, and tubers that I had
brought from the highlands back to their dorm. Without gardens, students in Manado are even more dependent on their sponsors in the highlands than are students living in Tondano, and the kinship system of responsibility and reciprocity that I describe in detail in Chapter 6, is more important for everyday living. At the same time, in the 'big city' it is more acceptable, and possible, for students to go off in groups of two or three and spend money furtively. These experiences of freedom and danger in urban Manado relate to the economic circumstances of Dani students, explored in the next section.

**Sponsorship**

Students depend on money sent from Wamena to finance their education, and this money comes mainly from horticultural activities. Family members tend to send large amounts of money sporadically (maybe once or twice a year) rather than small amounts on a regular basis. Students are expected to share what they receive rather than hold on to it and spend it bit by bit on rent, food, and school costs. Daily life for students is thus “characterized by the informal flow and mutual aid between households linked by kinship ties,” (McKeown 2006: 374) except that students also produce kinship ties out of hierarchical, non-kinship relations. Any senior student becomes an ‘older sibling’ (*kakak*) to a junior student, who is termed a ‘younger sibling’ (*adik*). The point is, reciprocity underpins students survival abroad, and contributes to the feeling of being poorer than other non-Dani and non-highlanders. They assert that other Papuan and Indonesian students receive regular dependable financial support from their parents who have urban employment, while they depend on what their sponsors (often but not exclusively their kin) can earn from selling sweet potatoes and cabbages. In reality, students also have relatives with jobs in the government, but many of these salaries are too low to support junior relatives abroad in any regular fashion, and the same rules of reciprocity apply to remittances procured from urban employment.

Besides remittances from Wamena, students may also receive government scholarships. Representatives from the local highlands governments (and, to a lesser extent, the Papua provincial government) normally visit students in North Sulawesi (and other locations around Indonesia)
to distribute these scholarships to students in their final years of study. It is also possible to receive a scholarship by creating a letter of request and submitting it to the local regency government in Wamena.

Difficult living conditions and cash shortages frame students’ campus experiences – both in terms of how they perceive themselves in relation to other students, and in terms of how they are able to relate to campus figures. Besides limited support from Papuan governments in the form of dormitories and scholarships, agricultural work supports students in North Sulawesi. Their relatives acquire wealth in Wamena by selling vegetables or pigs, or through marriage or death payments. Marriage and death payments are major prestations, often including several transactions, involving the transfer of wealth from certain individuals and groups, such as a bride’s father, or paternal kin, to others (Hayward 1983: 8-9, O’Brien 1969). The agricultural basis of support is an important part of students’ sense of being Wamena people (orang Wamena) and ‘mountain people’ (orang gunung), even though some students have the financial support of a family member employed in the public service (see also Farhadian 2005: 57, for descriptions of highlanders studying in Jayapura, Papua). Students are quick to emphasize the garden work their families do to send them money, even though some have relatives employed in the public service. In Wamena, a relative takes cash to the bank and fills out the transfer paperwork to send money to the student’s account abroad. Not every student has a bank account, and sometimes money is sent via someone else’s account. It is challenging to convince relatives to send money regularly, as university students are often considered adults who should be taking care of themselves. They are, nonetheless, family, and thus it is possible to gain support even into adulthood. When students want to leave Wamena to start their education, they can draw on obligations and relationships to get money together. Potential sponsors include people who are likely to have money, or with whom aspiring students have a close emotional relationship. A favourite uncle may not have money, but if he loves his nephew, he will do his best to get some money from other people by drawing on his own social network. An older cousin who works for the government may not feel obligated to help an adik (younger sibling) in Manado, but he or she, having been a student, feels sympathetic and also understands the potential future rewards when the younger sibling eventually
comes home grateful and indebted.

During their time abroad, students’ sense of purpose waxes and wanes with the flow of money from Wamena. Students argue that they experience a feeling of belonging and connection when sponsors send them money because it means that someone is thinking of them or working on their behalf. When I met students’ rural relatives in Wamena, they often asked about the progress of the students they were sponsoring. For instance, on 15 July 2006 I was called out of my friend’s kitchen to visit with a woman in her fifties referred to as “Taddeus’ mother.” When I arrived at her house, she poked her head out the kitchen door and asked about her son. She was not entirely certain where he was studying, and at first, neither was I, but we managed to place him by the family names of some of his friends from Wamena who were also studying in Manado. The last I had heard of Taddeus, he was unofficially married to a local Manadonese woman and not in school, but I was not certain and did not want to spread such bad, and possibly incorrect, news. Therefore, I said that he was well and I had seen him at the students’ Easter celebration, which was true. Taddeus’ mother’s voice cracked as she told me that she had been longing to know of her son’s progress but since she had no money to send, and had not had any money to send for some time, she felt he was certainly disappointed with her. She asked me to tell him that she was thinking of him and she had not forgotten about him, even though she had not sent him money. What Taddeus’ mother told me corresponds exactly to the way that students say they feel if no one sends money: forgotten.

More than cash for fees and snacks, a ‘blessing’ (berkat) from Wamena, as students sometimes refer to these electronic bank deposits, is a gift wrapped in a poignant net of social and political relations. If financial support deteriorates, it is a sign that sponsors (who are often relatives) and other members of the family are no longer thinking of students. The implication is that relationships have deteriorated (for more on the role of giving in social relations in New Guinea see Brown 1995; Lederman 1986; Strathern 1971). While students are physically absent from the highlands, they are unable to give, or be good kin to people in Wamena in typical ways. They cannot raise and give pigs at funerals, earn money for funeral payments or medical expenses, help with gardening or with other projects, lend support and influence, or even spend
small amounts of money on gifts such as rice or cooking oil. They cannot sit together, chew betel nut, smoke a cigarette and sympathize with someone’s plight. Instead, they hope others will reciprocate on their behalf by helping and otherwise acknowledging the assistance provided by the sponsor. If no one sends money, it is as if students are cut out of exchange relations and the family. This is certainly the impression students give when they say they experience great stress when no one sends money. To avoid being severed from the family, for some students, the solution is to show one’s face (taruh muka) in Wamena, or at least show one’s face to relatives in Jayapura. Being at home again allows students to help others and to remind sponsors and others that their generosity is still needed. Showing one’s face back home is so successful a strategy for securing financial assistance that students will take a small remittance and use it to ride the ship back to Papua or use a scholarship (or portion thereof) to travel home to the highlands, rather than using the money directly for school fees and living expenses in North Sulawesi.

Students from the Wolo Valley have an organized, formal system for ‘showing their faces’ in the highlands: when students are in year three and they are required to conduct a research project, they return to Wolo, where a community fundraiser is organized. For the price of travel by ship and airfare to the highlands (perhaps totalling USD 150), two students I met in 2006 were able to each secure approximately USD 2000 or 20 million rupiah from their community event. The event centred on a typical highlands pig feast at which village men and women donated tubers and pigs, except there was a village leader sitting at a table counting money and recording the amounts in his book.

Sponsorship often seems like a prestation, the most common kind of formal transfer of wealth in the highlands (see for example Lederman 1986; Ploeg 2004; Strathern 1971). In other words, sponsors may send large amounts of money, perhaps double what a student might need in a year (five million rupiah, for example) on an irregular basis. If a student receives five million rupiah, he or she will likely not receive money again for a year or two. All Wamena students know, however, that trying to hang onto their money is not a strategy that will last. There will not be enough money for a year, or a semester, because they are obliged to share with relatives and friends, both to be ‘good’ kin and ‘Wamena people’ and to reciprocate to others whom they have relied on
in times of need. Many students try to be cautious with their money, but strategically spend money on themselves and others in order to foster relations that they can draw on when they inevitably run out of money or food. It is not a perfect system, however, and there are periods of time during which no one seems to have any money. There are students who never seem to have money and rely on others for daily meals. There are others who have reasonably regular support from home.

Although they say they prefer to live with other Wamena people anyway, students express that they wonder if living together and being obliged to take care of one another is conducive to the kind of quality development they are seeking. As Jhon asked me one day, “We want to ask you something Jenny. You have seen how we live. We all eat or nobody eats. But do you think we would be more successful if we went out on our own?” Some students do decide to go out on their own. Mainly they live in shanties or in rundown campus housing that they cannot afford to rehabilitate. Jally, who lived this way for a time, explained to me that he wanted “to live independently,” to see if he could manage, “on his own.”

A Spiritual Place

One of the reasons students usually say they come to North Sulawesi is because it offers a supportive Christian atmosphere. The majority of local Indonesians are Christian, and students create groups based on church affiliation to support their religious development. I discuss these activities in more detail in Chapter 4 and Chapter 6. There are approximately six churches located on Unima campus within walking distance of the Dani dorms, and more churches are situated in Tata Aran II and in Tondano city. Protestant Dani living on Unima campus typically attend the small Eben Haezer Bethel Tabernacle Church. There, ‘Wamena students’ make up approximately 60% of the congregation, which usually totals around fifty people. The other members of this church tend to be student migrants from Maluku and Central Sulawesi, and a handful of local Indonesians who live near the church on Unima campus grounds. This church and the Pentecostal churches on campus tend to attract poorer residents, especially farmers. Wealthier and more prominent Indonesian
locals attend the New Life Minahasa Evangelical Church (GMIM). This pattern is repeated throughout North Sulawesi. Though Pentecostal churches do attract some wealthy individuals, the GMIM churches attract the area’s most prominent citizens. Small Pentecostal and other evangelical non-GMIM churches proliferate in neighbourhoods all over Manado, funded by community donations and projects, attracting followers to their strong ideological emphasis on the end of poverty - rewards that good Christians will soon experience in heaven. Students are often drawn into these personal, intimate groupings where they take up an intense schedule of daily worship.

The Catholic churches in North Sulawesi are comprised of large congregations where small numbers of Dani may go unnoticed. Though a centre of Dani Catholic activities exists at Lotta near Manado, supported by a Dutch priest who once served in Papua (discussed in Chapter 4), religious activities are not as intense among Catholic Dani as they are among Protestant Dani. The messages from Catholic clergy are, overall, less critical, and large groups of worshippers make it difficult to personalize the messages the way that evangelical ministers do in small neighbourhood churches. When I attended the Bethel Tabernacle Church on Unima campus from November to March 2006, I witnessed approximately three occasions when students in the congregation walked out in the middle of the minister’s sermon because he seemed, in their views, to be attacking them personally. Students express feelings of affiliation with local Indonesians of the same denomination, but these bonds do not exist very far beyond church settings, and seem to do little to alter negative preconceptions held by many Indonesians.

“Wherever we go, we garden”

For sustenance, Dani students require garden produce such as cassava, which they plant and tend on land borrowed from local farmers in Tondano, as well as green, leafy vegetables (kankung) collected from the irrigation ditches amongst Tondano’s rice paddies. They also fish amidst the rice paddies. To my knowledge, Dani are the only students around Unima who collect food in this way, leaving students like Jhon Hilapok to assert, “Wherever we go, we garden.” Gardening as an identity marker is examined further in Chapter 6.
Once the tubers are dug up, they are roasted over a fire. Indeed, cooking outside over a fire is the most common way that students in Yepmum dorm prepare meals, as kerosene is usually in short supply. One day, a few students repositioned the fire pit further behind the dorm so that, as one student explained, the pit (and the students sitting around it eating tubers) would no longer be visible from the street. Jally Inggibal, the dorm leader, said that students were embarrassed to be seen cooking tubers on the fire by the Indonesians who walked by on the street in front of the dorm. Cooking tubers over the fire is only one way in which students’ consumption practices distinguish them from the local population. *Bakar batu* pig feasts are common, and closely identified with the culture of ‘Wamena people’ by students and by Indonesians in the area. Heading off to the jungle around Unima campus carrying a dead pig and a few netbags of tubers is not the mainstream way of celebrating the end of the semester. Shaking the soot off a roasted tuber and tearing at large chunks of pork with one’s bare hands, sitting on the ground in the forest, is also not the local norm. When students create a *bakar batu* for Indonesian guests, they take the food out of the ground and bring it into a house or dorm, where they serve it on plates and offer spoons to eat with. Creating a cleaner and more civilized pig feast practice is one way that students attempt to shield themselves from local judgments while maintaining an important culturally-valued practice.

As the following chapter demonstrates, although students assert that they want to experience the cultures and peoples of North Sulawesi, their experiences with Indonesians whom they call *orang Indonesia* frame the relations and interactions that unfold in North Sulawesi. In fact, experiences of racial prejudice, embarrassment, and stereotypes in North Sulawesi make it difficult to achieve the kinds of outward-looking, open relationships Dani students say they are seeking.
CHAPTER 4

Orang Indonesia and Orang Papua

I began this thesis with the assertion that Dani people find themselves problematized by claims that they are backward and of poor quality. My use of term ‘problematized’ is intended to highlight the fact that Dani are indeed struggling with negative discourses about themselves and their culture. They struggle because they in fact express a great deal of pride about their cultural practices, heritage, and values. Though they experience discrimination and humiliation in interactions with Indonesians, and some Dani have adopted national values of progress and propriety (discussed in Chapter 2), they are not at all convinced that they are junior to others, Indonesian or Papuan, in terms of sophistication, knowledge, and traditions, though they experience compelling pressures to view themselves in this way. There are counter discourses to those of Indonesian modernity and superiority in which Dani argue that they used to be, in essence, of great quality but that their powers have been diminished by the Indonesian state. For example, there is a general discourse among male and female students that Dani people used to be healthier and physically bigger and stronger than they are nowadays. Young people link loss of physical prowess to broader conditions of loss of power and control over the conditions of life brought about by colonial influences. The wellbeing of individuals is linked to the wellbeing of the broader social group, clan or village. Discourses of political resistance are also well-entrenched, as this chapter will demonstrate. This chapter and the next explore what it means to be problematized in everyday life by examining stigmatization and shame.
experienced by Dani students in North Sulawesi, where they tend to become homogenized as *orang Papua*. Students also contribute to this categorization as a way to distinguish themselves from the Indonesian people around them whom they tend to refer to as *orang Indonesia* when talking about feelings of stigmatization.

In North Sulawesi, everyone gets along famously. Muslims and Christians, rich and poor, black and white, are family, and are blessed by God with happy, peaceful lives. This is typically how students and locals describe social relations. Although students suggest that living in Manado is an improvement over political conditions in Wamena or elsewhere in Papua, Manado’s motto, “We are all family,” (*torang samua basudara*) does not exactly reflect the experiences of Dani students in the region. The following sections explore how students experience racialization and stigma in a local, supposedly friendly setting. Students’ sense of being problematized in North Sulawesi is influenced by their sense of themselves as *orang Papua* colonized by *orang Indonesia*, but this section shows that their assertions are also based on experiences in their new location. They experience a locally specific racialized construction of *orang Papua*. I explore three broad trends that give insight into stigma and its effects, namely, a) stereotyping, b) brittle relationships, and c) differential treatment. For Goffman (1963), stigma is “an attribute that is deeply discrediting” (cited in Yang et al 2007: 1525). Similarly, stigma is a “special kind of relationship between an attribute and a stereotype” (Yang et al 2007: 1525). Stigma (1) consists of an attribute that marks people as different and leads to devaluation; and (2) is dependent both on relationship and context – that stigma is socially constructed (Major and O’Brien 2005 cited in Yang et al 2007: 1525). The experiences of Dani students support the notion that stigma is socially constructed, but if stigma is produced in interactions, it also may prevent interactions from taking place at all. Pre-existing ideas and judgments create conditions under which Dani students find it difficult to form sustainable, positive relationships with Indonesians. While as I will show, contact and interaction can leave indelible marks on students and deeply influence their perception of *orang Indonesia* and their own positioning as *orang Papua*, lack of interaction also results in feelings of stigmatization.
“We came to study, not play politics”

Students interpret their new experiences abroad in terms of ongoing colonial relations that position orang Papua against orang Indonesia, despite the fact that they express a strong desire for different experiences with orang Indonesia, and that they do not intend to ‘play politics’ during their studies. They make commitments to education as a way of ‘joining in’ with Indonesians. Jally Inggibal, one of the Yepmum dorm leaders, in technical studies at Unima, explained to me, “Bad-mouthing people is not good behaviour…even if they do it to us, we must hold back, and do what is right. If we talk about these things everyone [Indonesians and Papuans] begins to feel unsafe. We always have to remember, we came here to study, not to play politics.” The relationships that they would like to have are ones in which they learn from locals, they exchange assistance with locals, they are accepted by locals and are invited to become part of the community.

Before students come to North Sulawesi, they already see themselves as orang Papua in contrast to orang Indonesia, although the strategic unity of orang Papua fractures into orang gunung (people from the mountains) and orang pantai (people from the coast) and subsequently along specific regional and tribal lines. Students have a sense of themselves as suffering at the hands of orang Indonesia, particularly due to the practices of the military and police in the highlands and in Papua more generally. Civilian orang Indonesia appear to support and uphold state values and practices that position indigenous Papuans as enemies who must be monitored and controlled by violent means if necessary. The time during which Dani students I describe in this thesis were abroad in North Sulawesi was perhaps a particularly difficult time in which to form bonds with Indonesians, to learn from others, and to feel safe amongst non-Dani. Most of the students were in the latter stages of high school or had just left the highlands for university between 1999 and 2001 after the end of the 33-year Suharto dictatorship and at the height of the reformasi period– which in Papua was characterized by critiques of Indonesian governance, expressions of independence desires, and talking about suffering. As Mote and Rutherford (2001: 123) write,
The focus of activism at this time was not the economy or poverty, but rather the Papuans’ terrible experiences living as Indonesians, but feeling that they were colonized. Villagers began to speak openly about their relatives who had been killed by the Indonesian military. They bravely exposed aggressions perpetrated by the military and civil authorities: in many cases, for example, land that had been a family’s only source of livelihood was seized without compensation, and those who protested were shot on the spot. Papuans in urban areas discussed how migrants and transmigrants dominated the labor market for government positions, as well as the private sector and the informal economy. Many Papuans took the opportunity to voice their desire for independence, a desire that had been kept hidden in their hearts for more than thirty-five years.

On 6 October 2000, riots broke out after police shot an indigenous man during an operation to remove a Morning Star Papuan independence flag raised in Wamena:

In the Baliem Valley of Jayawijaya District, high in the province’s mountainous interior, a riot broke out after the police cut down the Morning Star flag, the emblem of an independent West Papua that has been flying throughout the province for many months. Shots were fired, and in the ensuing melee, dozens of ‘Indonesians’ were killed. Vivid accounts of atrocities filled the national papers in the days following the incident. Armed with spears, bows, and axes, local tribesmen set fire to houses belonging to traders, teachers, and bureaucrats from outside the Valley, then slaughtered their occupants as they fled. In a scene reminiscent of other Indonesian trouble spots, refugees flooded the police station, churches, mosques, and the airport. Most vowed they would leave the town of Wamena and never return. (Mote and Rutherford 2001: 115)

Some Dani students in North Sulawesi say they were involved in what they referred to as ‘the battle’ (perang), while others recall fleeing home from school in terror to help evacuate their young and elderly relatives from their residences. One student recalled being picked up on the street by his uncle, who was driving a van full of young Dani reportedly to keep them from being captured by Brimob paramilitary police. He was hiding in a ditch when his uncle drove by. As Mote and Rutherford (2001) point out, the incident in 2000 was the first time that indigenous peoples’ anger and resentment was directed towards migrants rather than the military or state agents. It is at this particular historical

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juncture that Dani students described in this thesis departed for experiences and relationships abroad. This helps to situate their aspirations for action and improvement, their assertions of being at the forefront of great changes for Dani people, and yet also their reluctance to be put into positions of vulnerability vis a vis orang Indonesia, a point I take up again in Chapter 8.

Experiences of suffering and oppression, as well as discourses of criticism and resistance, are well-entrenched and important for understanding conditions in North Sulawesi.

The conditions on the ground in Wamena are terrible; people are chased like animals by the military. (Penggu)

People are afraid, there are so many soldiers, they do sweeping [search operations], sometimes they get angry for no reason...If someone says something, it will create big problems. (Sam Gombo)

We want independence because it’s the only way we can develop and go forward. We are backward, that is what orang Indonesia say. (Lex Elosak)

The indigenous people have nothing, no clothes, sometimes they even starve. The ‘straight-hairs’ [rambut lurus, meaning Indonesians] have everything. (Lavinia Weya)

Pendatang [Indonesian migrants] never go into the villages, except for the military. Even in my village near the city, they never go there. We are here, they are there. (William Matuan)

Students are explicit about conditions of fear, abuse, and inequality in highlands Papua. They argue that highlanders occupy positions of weakness and powerlessness. They are limited and constrained by ‘Indonesia’: they cannot complain, they cannot progress, and they cannot live successfully. Students also attribute loss of traditional culture and loss of self-esteem to rapid social changes that have occurred under Indonesian administration.

Men and women used to be separated. They had a honai [Dani: traditional round thatched hut] for men and a honai for women. They did not get close and they did not mix. Young people these days do not listen to their parents, they do not want to heed their advice. Parents also leave children to their own devices. They have to find their own food, even pay their own school fees, all the more so if they live in the city. Many people have trouble with speaking Indonesian. The parents are embarrassed to
help their children go to school, they do not know what to do and they do not know how to sign their own name. If parents do not pay school fees the children drop out, drink, and this kind of behavior spreads easily in groups of friends. As I see it, many people just do not care. (Etinus)

Etinus Kenelak is a senior student, just about to graduate with a degree in economics. He is one of a handful of students to finish in four years - the ideal time for completing a degree. He is friendly, thoughtful, goes to church diligently, and is a leader among students in Tondano and Manado. Perhaps surprisingly, given the passionate way he speaks about political conditions back home, he is one of the students who argues that ‘we are here to study, not play politics’. Some of the students express a sense of loss of quality among Dani people who used to know ‘proper’ gender relations (i.e., separation), who used to respect their elders, who used to take better care of their children, and who are now unsuccessful and even experience feelings of hopelessness. A similar story describes the loss of bravery and courage among males.

Our fathers used to be experts at war, if they had a weapon, oh it was dangerous. But these days they do not feel like fighting. They say we are old, and politics is a problem for young people. If the young people want to do something, fine, go ahead. But they [the old people] usually tell us about developments in the village, or in the city. Like my father, he said that lately there are no pigs; they all died, so the people have to eat chicken. The old people feel bad, it is normal to hear the sound from the mosque, and now there are no pigs, they have to eat chicken. They complain to us but they do not take any action. (Sam Sorabut)

Chickens and Islam (or, hearing the mosque and eating chicken) stand for loss of Dani culture, which revolves around pigs and Christianity. Like Etinus, Mateus describes loss and negativity, particularly lack of courage and leadership from formerly influential men. The Indonesianization associated with hearing the mosque and eating chicken rather than pork pales in comparison to other common discourses criticizing Indonesian rule. It is widely believed by Papuans that the state holds a policy of genocide towards them.

I heard it said on Metro [television station] that Australia is hypocritical to give asylum to Papuans because when the English entered Australia they killed all the Aborigines. The government here wants to kill us too, like that. They sent family planning [birth control] everywhere; they flooded the place with family planning, to reduce the number of Papuans.
Women used to have ten children, but now they have just one or two. There is also a type of hard liquor for Papuans; it is 100% alcohol, it’s one of the government’s strategies to get rid of Papuans. Besides family planning, they send street women [prostitutes] who carry diseases. Men cannot resist, especially young men in the city, they go in these houses, get something, and then when they get married they spread AIDS to their wife and destroy her womb. Papuans have weak blood so the Indonesian government sends 'trans' [transmigrant] women to get together with Papuan men, and the children always look like the 'mama'. (Etinus)

Etinus' description of alleged genocidal intentions is extremely common among Papuans both in Papua and in other parts of Indonesia, including North Sulawesi. It forms part of official resistance politics and is promoted by resistance leaders (see for example speeches cited by Mote and Rutherford 2001). Although it is not something they talk about every day, most students support this discourse and hold great fears and strong suspicions about the underhanded motives of the Indonesian government and *orang Indonesia*. *Orang Indonesia* are allegedly complicit in this genocidal effort as they help to implement family planning, transmit infections like HIV, and marry Papuans to Indonesianize the next generation. Another component of this discourse is that Indonesia wants to obliterate Papuans in order to reap profits from natural resources, both discovered and undiscovered. Thus the Grasberg copper and gold mine located near Timika in south-central Papua (owned by American company Freeport McMoRan and locally operated by PT Freeport Indonesia) features strongly in discourses of criticism and resistance. ‘Freeport’, as it is normally referred to by students, is a symbol of Indonesian greed, violence, destruction, and colonialism. As one young man, Sam Gombo, explained, “Papua has great natural resources, it is very wealthy, but the people there have nothing, no television, no shoes, ah, this is because of Freeport.” The mine is seen as a situation dominated by unfairness towards indigenous Papuans that concretely demonstrates one aspect of oppression - Indonesia gains everything and gives nothing. A movement to close the mine is a core component of Papuan student activism.

Etinus’ comments also raise the issue of race when he says that intermarriage is a strategy to get rid of Papuans because the offspring of such relationships always look white. Indonesia is commonly accused of trying to dilute Papuan blood, make Papuans into white people with straight hair. These
are manifestations of racial labeling in Indonesia. Although it is not always stated explicitly in terms of race or ras, to use the Indonesian word, to talk of orang Papua and orang Indonesia already incorporates assumptions of racial difference. If and when Dani students and other do use the term ras (race), they locate themselves as part of the ras Melanesia:

They want to get rid of the black people, the Melanesian race, so they can claim all of the riches of Papua for themselves. They want the land, not us. Orang putih [lit. white people, a reference to Indonesians] regard orang Papua as the most primitive of all people. They look down on us and they would be pleased if we all were taken into custody or just died. But we do not want this, so we continue to struggle. (Petrus Gombo)

Indonesians touch our black skin and look at their fingers and say its black but it is not dirty, they are surprised. Indonesia does not want black people, so that is why we need our own country for black people. (Mika Kamoro)

In students’ perceptions, colonialism is racialized and so is its opposite, independence. Students argue that they experience the stigma of being black to mean being stereotyped as dirty, primitive, and unwanted by orang Indonesia who see themselves as white and advanced. They express frustration at the consequences: in a competition for kemajuan (progress), Papuans are accused of being backward and at the same time, students argue, prevented from ‘going forward.’

Over there [in Papua] we cannot advance because we are always oppressed by Indonesia. It must be true because we see black people in all these other countries, they can progress, be talented at music, acting, or sports and we think, why can't we? (Lavinia Weya)

At the level of resistance politics and criticism, experiences of stigma seem easy for students to pinpoint and describe. Sometimes these are not their personal experiences, but form part of the memoria passionis, or collective suffering (see Giay 2000: 55) of Papuans under Indonesian rule, and they make up part of an agenda for independence from the Indonesian state. It is more difficult for them to explain how ras (race) has an impact on everyday life, but in the following sections I demonstrate how stigma operates for them in less overt ways than the racialized battles they are apparently engaged in as part of their
struggle (*perjuangan*).

**Stereotyping and Hidden Feelings**

During a graduation ceremony for Dani students held at the Yepmum dorm on Unima grounds the local government representative gave a speech. The speech started out in official Indonesian but as he stumbled with the formal terminology he quickly slipped into the local way of speaking. “I am happy to see so many Papuan kids (*anak-anak Papua*) graduate. Papuans are good-hearted (*baik hati*). Minahasa people like to think of themselves as being white (*putih*) but I think Papuan students are black-skinned but with white hearts. I have only one bit of advice: students should value their parents’ money, and not go straight to the nearest roadside stall and spend it all. Some of you also have a problem with drinking. Except for the time when one of the kids stole from a shop, I am happy to have Papuans in the neighbourhood. Congratulations on your graduation.”

There were a few laughs in the audience of students, but most looked at their neighbours, perhaps wondering, as I was, if the official was trying to be critical or friendly? Was he paying them a compliment or trafficking in racialized stereotypes? Were *orang Papua* to feel good about being black with white hearts, or did he mean that Minahasans think too highly of themselves, when Papuans are just as good? It seemed like he was saying that *orang Papua* are black, but they are still good (to his surprise) except when some of them are not good. Perhaps above all, the speech seemed to reveal something normally hidden in the relationships between Papuans and Indonesians, namely that there is a construct of *orang Papua*; that there is some judgment by local people on the character of *orang Papua*; and that skin colour, as a racial marker, forms part of local hierarchies. These normally hidden assumptions were publicly revealed and acknowledged because the government official perhaps thought he was paying the students a compliment. For students, it is obvious that Indonesians hold stereotypical views of Papuans. They draw these conclusions from snippets of conversations, from actions and inactions, from euphemisms, and from feelings of being judged and scrutinized.
Before you [Jenny] came none of them ever visited or wanted to hang out but now they all want to come [to the dorm]. All straight-hairs [Indonesians] look down on us [gengsi] Papuan kids. Whether they are from Java or Toraja, they are all like that. They would never eat with us. (Albert Kenelak)

Nina Kobak, a Yali student, says she came to North Sulawesi to have new experiences and to meet people from other cultures. However, she argues that overall, “the local girls do not want to hang out with Papuans.” She has a few friends from Sangir and Toraja (regions of Sulawesi) but she only sees them on campus. They do not come to visit her dorm and she does not visit their boarding house. Nina’s explanation for her lack of Indonesian friends is that Indonesians think that orang Papua are not good. “They have heard that we get drunk, that we are promiscuous, we do not have money, I think that is why they are not friendly.” Nina is not certain why she has not yet experienced close relations with any Indonesian students but since they seem unfriendly, she thinks they believe stereotypical views of Papuans. In this way, it is possible to see how stereotypes gain power and result in feelings of stigmatization. In an atmosphere of stereotypes, not having a relationship is the same as having a bad relationship. Being ignored or avoided creates feelings similar to being criticized, called names or otherwise rejected in an outright fashion. Students thus suggest that stereotypes are actually extremely widespread and make them not bother trying to establish good relationships. Rather, they spend almost all of their time with other orang Wamena.

Gigi Gombo, like Nina, articulates that she does not have any Indonesian friends, partly due to the racist name-calling of some local Indonesians in Tondano:

The ones who try to cause trouble are the kids of the bosses, who have the big houses down by the lake, they usually just yell out bad names like monkey or dog. I do not usually associate with straight-hairs [Indonesians] around here, except for my friend Siska, who is really open and friendly with everybody.

Although students themselves do not very often hear stereotyping first hand from locals, I was for a time in a position of hearing what locals say about Papuans in their absence. Some comments made by local Indonesians about Papuan students:
Orang Papua have low SDM [human resources, a reference to quality], so they usually have to study for a long time. (Jerry, Unima professor)

The Papuan students are very poor, but good, polite, hardworking. If they come asking for work we usually give them some grass-cutting or laundry to do. (Mrs. L, wife of Pentecostal minister)

The students are really quiet, very shy, they are slow-thinkers, like you know ‘James’ and ‘Donald’ – they have been here for maybe 10 years already but they are still students! Their minds are not yet, not yet…good [baik]. (Mrs. C, wife of Unima professor)

I treat many Papuans at my hospital. They have careless sexual relationships [kawin sembarang], get pregnant and then no one takes any responsibility. (Dr. Yilly, obstetrician)

A Papuan and a monkey went to the zoo to join the exhibit. When they got there the boss asked, which one is the monkey?!? (Arthur, 12 year old son of Unima professor)

They still have low ‘socio-economic’ [status], they are below us, so just be careful. (Sonny, car salesman)

Papuans are stereotyped as having low intellect, sometimes using the term ‘SDM’ (human resources). Other particular alleged characteristics include a tendency toward negative behaviours such as intoxication and promiscuity. Poverty is part of the stigma, but it is seen as stemming from the various inadequacies in terms of skills, capacities, and the ability to achieve financial success. Orang Papua are said to be irresponsible in a variety of ways, including being unable to handle money. They are accused of being poor because they spend all their money without thinking. Local discourses of poverty play a role in this stereotype. The Christian church’s interpretation of poverty is particularly important. I attended Pentecostal church services at least once a week in Tondano for six months. Prosperity is fundamentally constructed as a blessing, or rather, reward, from God, for good behavior, proper Christian lifestyle, serving the Lord, and so forth. People who struggle in poverty are said to have inadequately embraced Christian values and practices. While it is not the case that all poor people are stigmatized as having lesser values and low morality, the dominant local perspective on poverty interacts with other
stereotypes about Papuan values and inabilities, adding to stigmatization.

Students’ interpretations of how they are stigmatized by Indonesians roughly match up with the kinds of expressions noted above. This matrix of beliefs and perceptions forms the backdrop for interactions and relationships, creating instability and mistrust from the outset, and amplifying the effects of stigma. Whenever a problem arises, local Indonesians may resort to assertions about orang Papua, and students argue that they are prejudged by orang Indonesia. Stigma derives from stereotyping. According to Pickering (2001:47):

Stereotypes are one-sided characterisations of others, and as a general process, stereotyping is a unilinear mode of representing them. While they occur in all sorts of discourse, and can draw on various ideological assumptions, stereotypes operate as a means of evaluatively placing, and attempting to fix in place, other people or cultures from a particular and privileged perspective.

Stereotypes are “powerful social myths” (Pickering 2001: 49) that may deny status, position, and belonging to others. The next two sections explore some of the consequences of stigmatization for Dani students. Stereotypes allow some Indonesians to treat Dani as ‘others’ who do not belong. This legitimates differential treatment. Second, they experience difficult relationships because local Indonesians tend to hold prejudices that are revealed in times of conflict.

Brittle Relationships

Some students assert that they develop good relations with their Indonesian neighbours, but if a conflict arises, the relationship quickly deteriorates and negative constructs of orang Papua are invoked by Indonesians. A common remark about relations is that ‘if we are good, they are good.’ Students cannot expect good treatment automatically; rather, if they go out of their way to create positive relations then they can often expect a certain amount of friendship in return.

One incident illustrates some important points about relations with locals. In the village of Tata Aran near Unima Dani students were holding an end of year celebration and a birthday party for a student’s daughter. After consuming
too much alcohol, two junior male students, Markus and John, went to rent a motorbike from one of the Indonesian neighbours. A few hours later Markus returned looking nervous and said that they had scratched up the motorbike and when they went to return it to the owner he demanded a very large sum of money. Senior students were very upset. They said that Markus and John should have asked a senior student who lives at the dorm to go with them to rent the bike because some of them had positive relations with some of the neighbours. The dorm leader, David Daby, who had just graduated, outlined that the neighbours around the dorm were safe, while the neighbours further down the street in Tata Aran and near the intersection of the main Manado-Tondano roads (which students refer to as the pertigaan) were not safe: “We know some of the neighbours around the dorm, we can deal with them, but in Tata Aran or at the pertigaan, we do not know them. Sometimes they call us names. We have to be careful there.” Had John and Markus been more careful, they would have been able to negotiate a fair payment to fix any damages to the bike. Secondly, senior students said that they should have been more careful because causing a problem with a few people in the neighbourhood may result in many more locals taking sides against Papuans. When some students and I went home that night we were accompanied on the walk to the bus stop by some long-time student residents to deter any attacks or other angry exchanges. Students were serious about the possible threat - similar events in the past had resulted in innocent students suffering at the hands of vengeful neighbours, who if not violent, were rude when they tried to purchase items or meals at the small road-side stores. As David explained, “They do not know who caused the problem, they just know he is orang Papua, and we all feel unsafe.”

This incident shows that while students can develop positive relationships with locals, relations easily break down. Local Indonesians who may not otherwise always get along themselves quickly form a unified front against students, who may be viewed as outsiders or troublemakers. Just below the surface of friendly relations there are deep divisions. In developing positive relationships students must continually negotiate safe and dangerous areas – areas where racism is more overt and aggressive.

A few students create quite strong relationships with Manadonese, but
most have a few acquaintances or casual friendships. Jally Inggibal, for instance, is an extroverted, confident, engineering student. Although he says he became a heavy drinker after he arrived in North Sulawesi, a relative took him to church and this inspired him to change his life. He went to his professor’s house in Tondano and asked for work. Several years on, he is in constant contact with his professor by mobile phone in case there is any work to be done. Jally helps with construction projects, does gardening and other yard work, and watches over the house in Tondano when no one is home. He gets paid about 50,000 rupiah for a day’s labour. He calls his professor ‘uncle’ (om), a term of address commonly used for older males in Manado. Partly because of his relationship with Uncle Yoppy, he has forged other relationships with other Manadonese for whom he sometimes does odd jobs. Relations are mostly based on work, although Jally may be invited over for socializing on special occasions such as Christmas or Uncle Yoppy’s daughter’s birthday party. Jally’s various Indonesian friends and acquaintances shout greetings to him when he walks around Unima campus. However, when the local village headman raided Jally’s dorm (discussed later in this chapter), the fact that Jally was ‘friends’ with some of the men and had gone out of his way to be friendly and helpful to the district officer did not improve the treatment received by Jally and other students. Again, relationships appear one-sided and are not generalisable to all situations. Even though Jally, somewhat differently than most students, said that it was important to show Indonesians that the stereotypes are untrue by forming relationships with them, the men who raided the dorm still applied the stereotype that orang Papua are dangerous outsiders who must be scrutinized to ensure local security and order is maintained.

Penggu, from Bokondini, north of the Baliem Valley, describes being one of the first Papuans in Tondano in the mid 1990s. He argues that he came to Sulawesi in search of a more modern life but found himself alone, isolated, homeless, hungry, and rejected by locals around Unima campus. Penggu also states that students have become better at establishing relationships with local people in the last ten years. Although locals do look down on orang Papua, it “depends on us, on our personal charisma, whether we can relate to them or not….We had to learn how to talk to them, and show them that we can be honest and trustworthy.” Penggu suggests that if students have negative
relationships it is probably their own fault: “If we are good, they are good.” Yet he admits that he does not have any close Indonesian friends despite having lived in Tondano for 11 years. He does consider members of his church to be people with whom he has a good relationship, even if he only interacts with them at church. I first met Penggu at this Pentecostal church, one of four located on Unima campus. Among his acquaintances at church, he was always extremely deferential and helpful, taking on chores around the church such as cleaning duties, painting, stacking chairs and so forth. Like other students described later in this chapter, he nearly always sat near the back of the church and never put himself in a prominent position amongst the other churchgoers, even other students from coastal Papua and eastern Indonesia. Penggu described the people at church as “good” and he considered this an example of a successful relationship between orang Papua and orang Indonesia.

Lastly, despite initial claims that North Sulawesi is ‘safe’ and ‘peaceful’, students have concerns about their safety.

Whenever there is political trouble in Papua, we find ourselves in trouble here. Papuan students in other cities report the same thing, especially for Wamena students. The security forces come to our dorms; we get chased, interrogated, hit with the back of their rifles. In Sulawesi here it was very serious when Manadonese people were killed in Wamena. The people here wanted to take revenge on us. (Laurence Lagowan)

Students advise each other not to go walking around alone, especially at night. They fear that local police or state spies will detain and question them. They fear that if this happens, police will gain information about where they live, their full name and other identifiers that would allow police to find them again during operations against Papuan students that usually take place following incidents in Papua. Another fear is that they will encounter intoxicated Indonesians who may assault or intimidate them. In the event that this happened and Papuan students fought back against assailants, the assumption among students is that they would become targets for other Indonesians looking for revenge, that conflict would escalate out of control, or that they would be taken into police custody. Students’ concerns about their safety can be linked to not being allowed to build supportive relationships with local Indonesians. In the event that Papuans were, for instance, targeted by police for questioning, it is assumed that local Indonesians could intervene and speak to police or
government officials on their behalf. Power is associated with having a strong social network with links to individuals in various positions in society who could offer assistance and protection. I frequently heard the expression, “We do not have many people here.” In North Sulawesi, Dani do not have local Indonesians in their social networks, just other Papuan highlanders. They have difficulty building good quality relationships because of stigma and discrimination. Students’ sense of themselves as already vulnerable to the assumptions of Indonesians is reinforced when they are treated differently by people in positions of authority.

**Being Treated Differently**

Even though Manado is a city with a population of 400,000 inhabitants, people tend to live in close-knit neighbourhoods (*kampung*) that operate much like the small neighbourhoods in Tondano. People coming and going are noticed and greeted, local residents talk about each other and share gossip, people shop and eat in the *kampung*, and the *kampung* is overseen by a government official. Herbert Mabel, a senior student living in Manado, angrily described a common scenario in his *kampung*.

The people on this street are difficult. A few weeks ago one of the students, Yohannes I think, was drunk and they were taunting him, the neighbours, calling him *Ale, Sobat* [see below]. It really pisses me off when they call us *Ale*. So Yohannes got angry with them, he did not punch anyone, just told them off. Then they told the *Pala* [*Kepala Lingkungan*, neighbourhood government official]. The *Pala* got angry at Yohannes about it. The *Pala* came to me and told me to keep the younger kids in line, and to tell Yohannes to go and apologize. I did not tell Yohannes to apologize though because the neighbourhood kids [*anak-anak kampung*, young men] make a ruckus constantly, they are always drinking and making a racket, but if a Papuan kid makes trouble they come and say we are disturbing local security.

*Ale* and *sobat* are names that some Indonesians call Papuans; the words literally mean ‘friend,’ or ‘buddy,’ I was told, in a local language from Ambon, a city in the nearby Maluku islands. Another informant present during Herbert’s story, Laurence Lagowan, said that sometimes Papuan males are called out to
by people on the street using these terms – sometimes they are meant to be aggressive and offensive, other times they are not meant this way. It is up to students to interpret the context. Still, it is a term used exclusively for Papuans. Papuans do not call each other by these names. As students describe their interactions with Indonesians students in Tondano and Manado, they argue that Indonesians sometimes attempt to incite conflict; that disagreements tend to escalate; and that they are insulted by the use of special names for Papuans. Herbert’s story also shows that Papuan students are asked to do humiliating things (like apologize to neighbours who start conflict with racist name-calling) in order to be accepted in the neighbourhood. Senior students may be called upon to support the discriminatory ‘security’ approach of neighbourhood officials by disciplining junior students. Another example students give of discriminatory treatment relates to the assumption that orang Papua are always the cause of social disruption.

In about the year 2000 in Tondano a group of us played volleyball against a group of Manadonese guys and we were winning but one of them got angry and came over and punched one of our guys in the head. This caused a big fight. But we thought it was over. Then they came back with more local men [orang sini] carrying sticks and started hitting us. We tried to fight them off and then we ran away. After that one of our friends took a bow and arrow to their dorm to scare them. They reported this to the Lurah [village headman]. Because of this incident the Lurah says we are a threat to security and so he ‘sweeps’ our dorm to look for weapons whenever he likes. But we were not the source of the problem. The behavior of the Manadonese was ignored. (Laurence Lagowan)

These descriptions of some common experiences reveal that forming relationships based on trust and mutual understanding is important to Dani students. Having no relationship is experienced as similar to having a bad relationship. Second, stereotyping, difficult relationships and differential treatment lead students to argue that they are treated differently than Indonesians, including other migrant students. Yang et al (2007: 1530) write, “Stigma, we hypothesize, threatens the loss or diminution of what is most at stake, or actually diminishes or destroys that lived value.” It is possible to argue that for Dani students, stigma most threatens their ability to form relationships with Indonesians. Relationships are the ultimate source of provision and protection for Dani students. The relationships they most privilege are gift
relationships – webs of obligation never to be closed (Lederman 1986). They argue that they feel powerful obligations to care for each other and to thrive together. Requesting assistance and being obliged to provide in return is not a debt that is to be feared or avoided, it is the sign of kinship. Stigma prevents students from achieving the kinds of bonds they hoped for with Indonesians in Manado and Tondano, for the most part, but it does not threaten everything that matters most. They simply live in enclaves of orang Wamena, trusting few others. These experiences mean that stigma entrenches, enables and enlivens the already politically-charged typologies of orang Papua and orang Indonesia. Stigma is the everyday experience of orang Papua amongst orang Indonesia, and it amplifies segregation. The following cases explore the positioning of orang Papua amongst Indonesians. Encounters frequently give rise to feelings of shame, anger, fear and self-doubt.

**Lex and the Village Headman**

Lex Elosak, a 25 year old social sciences student in his ninth semester at Unima, argues that it is important for Papuan ‘kids’ [anak-anak] to get out of Papua and see how things are done elsewhere. “Even though the Papuan ‘kids’ have to be careful with the locals, here we can meet with and talk with orang Indonesia. Here we can also join organizations and mix with other Papuans and Indonesian students.” Like other students, upon arriving Lex was advised about the local environment, the temptations to be wary of, and how to get along with the locals. Although the locals sell alcohol to Papuan students, Lex comments, “they also talk badly about them for drinking...in general we students feel that the locals [orang sini] are quite impolite, and we advise new students to be careful especially if they are drinking, not to get into fights with them.” “We have to be extremely polite to them,” Lex says, clasping his hands together and bowing his head a little. Alongside these views, however, Lex is a leading supporter of Papuan nationalism who has taken prominent roles in student demonstrations in North Sulawesi.

In January 2006, a local Lurah (Village Headman) and several of his friends (whom students refer to as anak buah, or protégé, but who are not
actually government employees) raided the Yepmum dorm where I lived with Dani students on Unima campus around midnight. Students who answered the door reported that the men said they had come to search for weapons. Jally, John, and Ally discussed the matter with them and tried to convince them to come back another time. Some students in their bedrooms upstairs heard the voices as I did and came out to peer down the stairway at the men. There were never visitors this late at night. After a few minutes two men came upstairs, banged on doors and made everyone open their bedroom doors so they could look for weapons. Most were alarmed and shaken at the events. Students telephoned their friends at the other Wamena dorms in the area to warn them. We all stayed awake talking after the incident until everyone’s nerves had calmed down.

A few days later, Lex was told to appear at the office of the *Lurah*. Coincidentally, I was also called to appear before the *Lurah* that day. Jally and I heard the entire conversation while we sat in the waiting area outside his office door.

In the office, surrounded by the same men who had raided the dorm, Lex was berated because, according to the men, Dani students had been telling their friends and Indonesians in the area that the men who came to the dorm were intoxicated. The *Lurah* argued that Lex had no proof and that this was slanderous. One of the men asked Lex if he was stupid. At one point, one of them announced that he was “very upset (*ganas sekali*) about this” and ought to “punch Lex in the head.” Lex tried to argue that the dormitory is under the protection of a former Wamena regent (*Bupati*) who lives in Manado and cannot be entered forcibly as it was that night. He also asserted an argument I heard among students after the incident, namely that the *Lurah* should have brought a letter of explanation signed by higher authorities or the police to legitimize the late-night search. Lex also argued that the men should not have come in the middle of the night, frightening students and disturbing them from their sleep. Jally and I could hear the emotion in his voice. The heated conversation continued on, with the *Lurah* and his men repeating their accusations and threats until Lex conceded that he agreed that it had been wrong for students to say the men were drunk and that the *Lurah* was within his rights to raid the dorm. The emotion in his voice suggested tears. At this point the *Lurah* further
asserted that raiding the dorm was necessary for local security and was therefore in the students’ best interest. “We know there have been a lot of problems of separatism in Papua,” he stated. He also referred to previous conflict between Manadonese youth and Dani students that resulted in injuries on both sides. Lex mumbled in agreement.

Lex emerged from the office and averted his eyes, suggesting to Jally and I that he was ashamed that we had heard this humiliating encounter. As we left, the Lurah demanded to know when the students were going to come and help with the construction of his house-office. Jally promised to get some students organized to assist with the labour. Jally tried to make light of the situation on the walk home. He said it was better not to speak at all or just to agree with everything because otherwise “they just go on and on.” Lex did not laugh. When another student joined us in the street and asked how things had gone Lex just said, “These people are difficult [susah], and I am sick and tired of talking to them.”

For the rest of the day, Lex stayed in his room. Jally and others argued that Lex was feeling ashamed. He was supposed to be the leader of the dorm and speak on our behalf but instead he was unconvincing and uninfluential in his encounter with the Lurah. Lex was in fact normally a strong leader, articulate, organized, and authoritative. Before the encounter with the Lurah, Lex expressed that he wished for new experiences abroad and advocated politeness and submissiveness as the best way to get along with locals, though he disagreed with allowing wrongdoers get away with their actions. The dorm raid and humiliating confrontation demonstrated for him and other students that whatever skills and status Lex had achieved among Dani students were of little use amongst Indonesians.

This case is not just about shame. Shame is only one part of Lex’s experience. It is also about the way that Dani students are singled out for treatment as ‘security threats’ by local officials, and the way they are made to feel that they have no rights or status, and that local Indonesians harbor negativity towards them. Students talked about the incident with their friends for many weeks, mostly astonished that even when drunk men come crashing into their bedrooms in the middle of the night, they are still wrong to criticize or challenge this treatment. It would be nice to be able to say that Lex recovered
from his shame and continued on as an authoritative dorm leader, but in fact Lex's confidence and strength seemed to wane around this time. He spent a few weeks living with some Dani friends in Manado and allowed other students to take more prominent positions in dorm leadership. He did however retain his commitment to political issues and was one of the leading organizers in a protest staged by Papuan students in Manado opposing the operation of the Freeport mine in February 2006.

**Surveillance and Intimidation**

On 4 February 2006, students held a meeting at the Yepmum dorm in Tondano to discuss a demonstration they wished to hold in Manado on the following Monday. The issue was the Freeport copper and gold mine at Tembagapura, outside of Timika, in the southern highlands of Papua. According to news reports heard in Manado, indigenous protestors had recently blocked the road to the mine, and demonstrations by Papuans subsequently erupted in key cities across Indonesia in support of closing Freeport mine until it could be operated in a just fashion, controlled by an independent Papuan government. As thirty students sat together on the floor of the dorm, agents from the Indonesian State Intelligence Agency (*Badan Intelijen Nasional*), referred to as ‘Intel’ or ‘BIN’, interrupted the meeting. The disruption and students’ reactions to it demonstrate the atmosphere of fear and suspicion that students live with in North Sulawesi. Papuan students in Bali, Java, and South Sulawesi have reported similar treatment by ‘Intel’ agents.

At one point during the discussion, a minibus pulled up in front of the dorm. Students sitting near the window turned to look outside as the room quietened. “No,” said Tadeus, one of the students from the Catholic dorm in Tata Aran II. Lex and Sam, the local leader of the Association of Central Highlands Students of Papua (AMPTPI, discussed further in Chapter 6), described various aspects of the planned demonstration, such as the roles that would be assigned to participants, the need to keep the demonstration calm and peaceful, and the need to focus on the ‘Close Freeport’ message without bringing up other issues, especially ‘M’ (*merdeka* or independence). As the discussion waned, I went to the kitchen at the back of the dorm. After a few
minutes, the happy chatter in the kitchen suddenly went dead. ‘Intel’, Minke said. We saw Lex and Sam rushing out the back door of the dorm, clutching papers and other belongings. I heard unfamiliar voices. Minke went to investigate and ordered me to stay in the kitchen and keep the door locked. Approximately ten minutes later, Minke returned and showed me a text message from Sam asking Minke to please bring Lex’s shoes up the steep hillside behind the dorm to a house in Block A where they were hiding out. After she delivered the shoes, we re-joined the students who had been present when ‘Intel’ arrived at the front door and heard their version of events. Jally said that the authorities (‘Intel’) were looking for Sam and Lex, who had identified themselves as the planned leaders in an application for permission to demonstrate submitted to authorities in Manado. The authorities wished to identify Sam and Lex in person and, supposedly, to tell them that any students who wished to participate in demonstrations had to obtain letters of permission from the local government officials in their areas. Tondano-based students needed a letter from the Village Head. Otherwise, they would be doing something illegal and would be arrested. Jally, uninterested in political activism, was angry with Sam and Lex for drawing attention to the dorm and then fleeing instead of taking responsibility. Jally said, “We had better all know exactly what we are doing here and what these political actions are about, because we will all have to answer questions about what we are doing.” When I talked to Lex later, he said he and Sam ran away and hid because they were afraid of being arrested or taken to the police station, or anything that might result in the demonstration being cancelled. “I have friends who have been intimidated, punched, or worse, by police in other cities. Once they know your name, your face, where you live, they never leave you alone. You can never live normally again. You always fear being taken in every time there is any political trouble here or in Papua, they will come and ask you about it.”

This case gives a sense of the everyday consequences of being stigmatized as separatist, dangerous, orang Papua. Political and social activism is a longstanding tradition for university students (mahasiswa) in Indonesia (Douglas 1970, Aspinall 1993, 1999) and in Papua. In Papua, students are at the forefront of political activism and criticism of the Indonesian government. University students hold public rallies, speeches, and demonstrations in Papua,
effectively becoming the faces of separatism. When news of political action in Papua leaks out to the rest of Indonesia, it contributes to an impression amongst local people in North Sulawesi that Papuans are violent, are not good Indonesians, and are worthy of suspicion and mistrust. Non-Papuan students in North Sulawesi from groups such as the Union of Catholic University Students of Indonesia (PMKRI), and the Indonesian University Students Movement (GMNI) regularly hold demonstrations in accordance with national and international days of action, such as International Workers Day and National Education Day. They raise issues concerning state policies, social injustice, and current events. Yet for Dani students, fears of detention and reprisal may keep them from participating in such events. Students say, police and ‘Intel’ agents do not just watch, but may also question, interrupt, intervene, detain, and intimidate them. Even if students have done nothing ‘wrong’, they are reluctant to face ‘Intel’ for fear of ongoing repercussions and because confrontations are uncomfortable, frightening and sometimes humiliating. Certain Dani student activists, such as Sam Sorabut, who produces leaflets with political messages and tries to organize demonstrations, report receiving threatening phone calls and text messages and being followed around the area. Others say that Intel agents approach them on the street and question them about their identities and activities. Students advise each other not to travel alone, particularly after dark, because they fear being confronted by Intel agents. In January 2006, Papuan asylum seekers arrived in Australia by boat seeking protection from Indonesian state violence, action that stirred emotional reactions across Indonesia. Shortly thereafter a rumour spread through Manado that Papuan students were planning to seek political asylum in the Philippines by travelling via Manado, and several students say police picked them up off the street and put them into a jail cell. They were interrogated and released unharmed.\(^{21}\) So far, students in North Sulawesi have managed to escape physical violence and punishment from the police, but the fate of fellow student activists tortured and

\(^{21}\) As someone involved with Papuan students, I also became a person of interest to ‘Intel’. I only became aware of this when I was in Jayapura in 2009, where I had the opportunity to meet with Agus Alua, leader of the Papuan People’s Assembly (Majelis Rakyat Papua, MRP). Upon arriving at the MRP office I was asked about myself by a security guard. Another security guard answered for me. He informed the senior guard that he remembered my appearance from when I met with Markus Haluk, the secretary of the Central Highlands University Students Association (AMPTPI), at their head office in Jayapura in 2006. The guard was right; I had met with Markus to discuss the student organization three years earlier.
murdered in detention in Papua is never far from their minds. In March 2006, I was with Dani students in Tondano watching television reports of street demonstrations in Abepura, Papua that resulted in the deaths of three Indonesian police officers (and subsequent detention and torture of alleged Papuan student participants in police custody). Students expressed concern that they would be subject to increased surveillance and possibly detention by local authorities in North Sulawesi, especially if any of the officers killed in Abepura were from North Sulawesi. Older students stated that relations with local people in North Sulawesi were not good following the 2000 Wamena Incident as a number of migrants from Manado were killed in Wamena.

“So, Wamena people are special??”

The Lorenzo Guest House is a Catholic meeting place in Lotta, a beautiful semi-rural area on the outskirts of Manado. The large property, next to a church, contains various meeting halls and dormitory-style accommodation for guests. A Dutch priest who has spent most of his life in Indonesia operates the guesthouse. Pastor Van Paassen has taken a special interest in helping young people from the highlands to succeed in their studies abroad. He donates rice to their dorms each month, lends money to individual students, and often provides initial funding for their Christmas and Easter events. He also oversees the funding of two dormitories for Catholic students.

The Pastor, as students call him, is 88 years old. His secretary, a Minahasan woman called Mrs. Anita is in charge of daily matters at the wisma and organizes the assistance the Pastor provides to Dani students. On the

According to a report by TAPOL, a UK-based NGO established in 1973 that promotes human rights in Indonesia: “The First Abepura incident occurred on 7 December 2000. On that day, the local police headquarters in Jayapura was attacked; one police officer and a security guard were killed. In response, police conducted ‘sweepings’ of three student dormitories and several other places at 2am the following morning. One hundred and fifty people, including nine women and a seven-year old child were rounded up and taken into custody. On the trucks that drove them away, they were maltreated and taunted with racist remarks...The men were later separated from the women and subjected to very harsh treatment. Their hair was shaved off and in some cases pulled out with flesh, which they were forced to eat. This has clear racist overtones as all Papuans have frizzy or curly hair unlike most other Indonesians who have straight hair. Another taunt was: ‘You eat pig meat which is why you look like pigs.’ During the round-up, two of the men died in their cells and one died during raids on the dormitories.”

http://tapol.gn.apc.org/reports/r070228.htm

124
priest’s birthday, 22 May 2006, Mrs. Anita helped organize a grand celebration attended by many clergy from the region, most of the members of the priest’s congregation, and Dani students, some of whom are also regular members of the congregation. The students organized a dance for the priest in which they wore somewhat traditional Papuan costumes. They had been preparing for the dance for about a week and were extremely nervous before the dance. After mass, in front of a crowd of approximately fifty Indonesian members of the congregation, students danced outside the church and while accompanying the priest during his five-minute walk down the street to his compound where the celebration was set to begin.

Guests were to sit themselves at one of the long tables lined with banana palm leaves and then send a few representatives to the kitchen to pick up large grilled fish and bowls of rice and vegetables to dish up onto banana leaves. By the time the Dani dancers had changed out of their costumes, there were no tables left. There were spaces for a few people at other tables, but no place for the Dani students to sit together and eat. They hung back, and sat around on benches outside the main eating area. Some commented that they were hungry and asked other Dani how they thought they should proceed without a table. Eventually a few of the younger students went to the kitchen, grabbed some plates, and started serving themselves. Mrs. Anita saw them doing this, came over, and yelled at them. She took the plate out of one of the men’s hands. Without waiting for an explanation, she sent them outside. After a minute, she came out and criticized loudly, asking them why they could not eat off leaves like everyone else was doing, and commenting that, “Wamena people are special eh?” One of the young men, Markus, dumped his food in the bush, tossed his plate on the ground and stormed off.

All of this took place approximately twenty feet from the main table reserved for the priest, who had not taken his place yet, and the main eating area, where approximately one hundred Indonesian guests had gathered. Mrs. Anita yelled at Markus for throwing his rice and said, ‘Wait until Pastor hears about this’. Some students surrounded the angry young man and pulled him from the kitchen. Soon other Dani students gathered there, some wanting to know what had happened. Markus said he could not believe how rude Mrs. Anita was. He said that she had humiliated him in front of others. He was sorry
about throwing food, but felt ashamed and angry about being yelled at by Mrs. Anita.

The students decided they would not eat, in protest. Some students left to buy snacks out on the street. They expressed that they were upset that they wanted to celebrate the priest’s birthday. The event had only just begun, and they had gone to the trouble of dancing for everyone, and they were hungry and now they felt unwelcome. One of the older students who says he has a good relationship with Mrs. Anita to apologize for the thrown food and to smooth things over. She still seemed angry and she loudly stated that it was terrible to throw rice in the bush, but after a few minutes, the priest emerged and took his place at his table. The few remaining Dani students found a space at the end of one of the long tables and ate from their banana leaves.

In this case, Mrs. Anita made Markus seem impolite, impatient, and arrogant in front of a group of Indonesians, many holding positions of status in the church. This made Markus feel _malu_ (ashamed), and he reacted angrily. Moreover, Dani students in attendance interpreted her comment that “Wamena people are special” to mean that Dani students are unable to adjust and be like ‘everyone else’. Students’ behaviour suggests that they were already uncomfortable with the situation and feeling _malu_ about splitting up into groups of two or three and joining Indonesians already seated at tables with banana leaves. Many had decided to delay eating rather than do this. Students were not able to explain in specific terms why they would not sit with others; it was just something they felt they could not do. Because of stigma and awkward relations, students are reluctant to mix with and to be noticed by Indonesians. The result of this incident was that students were more convinced that they should stay away from events involving Indonesians, who, in their views, just do not understand ‘Wamena people’ or _orang Papua_. _Orang Papua_, in their views, would never have come up with such a potentially embarrassing way to serve lunch in the first place.

This incident shows a manifestation of the powerful constructs of _orang Indonesia_ and _orang Papua_. Students, feeling stigmatized as _orang Papua_ due to experiences in Sulawesi and Papua, are unable to mesh with Indonesians as though there is no difference. Shyness, shame and stigma are mutually reinforcing. In their experiences, Indonesians like Mrs. Anita may be oblivious.
as to why Papuans feel uncomfortable, and may fail to see the consequences of humiliation in a setting dominated by Indonesians (many of whom are nuns and other clergy).

**Staying out of Sight at Eben Haezer Church**

Eben Haezer Bethel Tabernacle church, located on Unima campus in Tondano, is part church, part house. The minister (Javanese) and his wife (Minahasan) have lived there with their two children for two years. The front room in the house takes up some of the space for the congregation, such that people sitting too far to the right face the minister’s front door and living room. The space accommodates approximately 50 plastic lawn chairs, and a small band of singers, their guitars and amplifiers.

The minister and his wife are among the poorest religious leaders in the area. Their house-church remains unfinished, the kitchen and bathroom are outside: they are young, and just starting out. Outside of worship times or bible reading groups, they wear casual, even torn t-shirts and cutoff trousers. They are certainly the least affronting church leaders that I met, and they appear to work very hard to establish good relations with the students in their congregation, half of whom are orang Wamena. Not only does the minister make his sermons about them and youth-oriented issues and struggles, he and his wife take their worship sessions to the dormitories, where they sit on the floor, eat simple snacks of bread or juice, and make jokes and regular conversation. They act in a way that is friendly and egalitarian and seem aware that Dani student experience discomfort in certain settings and go out of their way to make them feel welcome. Still, as the minister explained to me, “We try and we try but they are always shy.”

During church services at Eben Haezer it is common for members of the congregation to stand in front of the congregation and ‘bear witness’ to God’s presence in their lives. In six months of Sundays that I was there, Dani students gave witness only twice. During the service, worshippers are asked to raise their hands, expected to sing loudly, clap, and generally express their love for Jesus with abandon. Despite the congregation being at least half Wamena
students, the vast majority of students are quiet, stiff, and do not raise their hands when instructed to do so.

Dani compete for seats at the back of the church. At church events, students create more rows of chairs at the back of the church if all the seats are taken. At a Christmas event, students moved chairs into the shadows and hidden parts of the church where they could not see the minister. This type of avoidance is interpreted by the minister and students to be a result of shame/embarrassment (*malu*). Students say they feel *malu* to sit at the front near the action. Still, even in small groups, such as when the minister comes to the dormitory to lead a worship session, students will distance themselves from the minister. During a post-baptism feast in December 2005 the minister and his wife attempted to sit with a group of students on the living room floor. Students gradually and subtly moved out to the yard.

After being told personally by the minister that services started at 9 am, and hearing many reminders in church about being prompt, I attempted to get there on time but found that my Dani friends at the Yepmum dorm, even students such as Jally who had recently been baptized and considered himself a committed Christian, were not interested in getting there at 9 am. It seemed based on my observations that arriving late was a strategy to enable students to sneak in the door quietly after the service had started and sit at the back of the church.

When students are alone with the minister and his wife, such as during a worship session at an all-Dani dormitory, most students are still shy but not to the extent they are in front of other Indonesians at church. At the dorms, some students have to take a more active role in the session because they have invited the minister to help them worship.

When Dani students hold their own religious gatherings, or when they run an event for their student groups (described in Chapter 6), participation is lively and uninhibited, if still usually respectful or serious depending on the situation. They are actively involved in the service, they act much more confident, and they sit in the front rows. My informant Mina said that she is not yet courageous enough to speak up in public. Some students said that they were not committed enough Christians to do so, but others said they were ashamed and embarrassed (*malu*) to stand up in front of everyone.
Thus, students are reluctant to accept the advances of friendship offered by the church leaders and put up strategic barriers (including physically distancing themselves) to keep the relationship impersonal. Put another way, students prefer the company of other Wamena people. Second, despite the efforts of church leaders to be welcoming and approachable, Dani students still claim to be shy and ashamed in front of them and continue to try to stay out of the centre of attention, especially in more formal, public events dominated by Indonesians. Students make an effort not to be noticed by Indonesians and would rather not interact. Even though the religious setting may influence feelings of shyness and discomfort, these behaviours are similar in other non-religious settings, and different to how students act in religious activities with other Papuans.

On the limits of Quality: *Malu*, Shame, Stigma

The first part of this chapter shows that students experience stereotyping which marks them as ‘other’. Although students reject the content of stereotyping, the practice of being marked as ‘other’ translates into experiences of awkwardness, shyness, discomfort, or what students generally call ‘*malu*’ amongst orang Indonesia. ‘*Malu*’ is the Indonesian word meaning “approximately shame, embarrassment, shyness or restraint and propriety” (Lindquist 2004: 487). *Malu* is described as “a highly productive concept that has effects in a wide array of personal and social realms” (Collins and Bahar 2000: 35). Dani students assert that their feelings relate to inexperience at public speaking or shyness in front of others, but they do not appear to suffer from shyness in front of other Wamena people or Papuans, even those they do not know well. For example, at the Christmas party for the Papuan Students Network (Imipa) held on 7 December 2005, a group of Dani students presented themselves in front of the crowd and sang songs. On another occasion, Wamena students organized a celebration that was attended by a number of Papuans; they led the events confidently and some students even participated spontaneously, giving advice to the group on successful study habits.

When Dani students say they feel *malu*, they seem to mean shyness or
embarrassment rather than shame because in their descriptions the opposite of *malu* is *berani* or courageous/confident. Yet at other times their expressions of *malu* also mean shame, particularly if we follow Reddy's (1997: 397) explication of ‘shame’: “Shame derives from thoughts about how one is seen by others…thus, shame can lead to withdrawal coupled with action aimed at managing appearances.” All of the above case studies refer to “situations in which one’s dignity and status are on the line” (Keeler 1983: 160). In the first two cases, students’ dignity is on the line because they assert themselves as educated people with the right and the ability to speak up, to criticize authority figures, and to be respected by others. In both cases, a sense of injustice resulting from discriminatory practices leads Lex and others to criticize Indonesians in positions of power. In the third case, students position themselves as lacking in education and experience (in public speaking) and thus explain their reluctance to put themselves ‘on the line’ by speaking up and being noticed in front of Indonesians.

In recent work on migrants on the island of Batam, in western Indonesia, Lindquist finds that informants experience being outside national propriety, particularly in the drive for progress (*kemajuan*) as shameful, and feel “inferior” and “not brave” (2004: 498). “In this context *malu* appears as an emotion that describes the failures to live up to the ideals of the nation” (Lindquist 2004: 503). It is possible to analyse the expressions of Dani students in terms of experiencing themselves as less progressive than Indonesians, in that they blame their own lack of experience and education (described in terms of confidence and speaking skills) for their feelings of shame and embarrassment amongst Indonesians. Perhaps it is in such settings that they seem to accept the claim that they have low human resource quality. However, Indonesians play roles in collectively making students feel uncomfortable, ‘other’, and scrutinized. Based on students’ descriptions, some local Indonesians practice shaming techniques. Shaming procedures include punishing actions such as a tone of contempt, specific types of rejection, denigrating looks, certain tones of speech, or outright belittling, mockery or pillorying (Leitch 1999: 6-7).

Students’ experiences of stigma are also experiences of racism. Cowlishaw (2004: 10) writes:
The ‘fact’ of race is not a material fact, but a fact of the imagination, as are the identities, rivalries, and hierarchies which surround it. Race is both a term and a tool, and tools and terms can be used for purposes other than those of their creators.

Mellor (2003) identifies experiences of racism. First, he identifies “verbal racism” in two forms, name calling (2003: 476) and other remarks interpreted to be racist (2003: 477) including “general overheard comments, overheard comments, direct deliberate comments, jokes and taunts, comments meant to be hurtful, intimidating comments, and threats.” Second, Mellor identifies “behavioral racism,” which involves “ignoring, avoiding, looking, patronization, segregation, harassment, assault, and denial of identity” (2003: 477). Third, he identifies “discrimination:” “underlying all racism is an element of differential treatment of people because of their race” (Mellor 2003: 479). Shaming experiences students describe are racialized: the Lurah singles out Dani students for midnight raids because orang Papua are separatists who disturb the security of local Indonesians in Tondano; Mrs. Anita complains about orang Wamena causing trouble and expecting preferential treatment. Overt negative expressions are not, however, the norm.

Students identify an invisible, unspeakable, un-named problem. They argue that they have to be friendly and accepting of orang sini (locals) because ‘this is their homeland’ (mereka yang tuan rumah). The trouble is, orang sini’(locals) seem friendly, but then they are not. They seem to like Dani students, but then they talk about them behind their backs. They smile to their faces and then exchange looks with other Indonesians. The meaning of such actions is clear to Dani students, and yet not clear, and difficult to articulate. They assert that they accept that they do not belong in North Sulawesi. They come to learn and to adjust to local conditions. It is not their place, thus how they are to be treated by the indigenous people is not for them to determine. In this way, Dani students expect to be treated like other migrants. Nevertheless, what they experience is that they do not belong because they are orang Papua: separatist, dangerous, intellectually impaired and unable to achieve the same kind of progressive socio-economic success as other citizens of Indonesia. Rather than build social connections, experience cultural blending, or ‘integrate’ with Manadonese, students are limited to occasional friendships and a degree of tolerance.
There is a direct link between shame and ‘othering’, or, “being identified as someone who does not belong” (Lindquist 2004: 503). The actual social consequences of shame are represented as being profoundly alienating and isolating, marking people out as unworthy or deficient (Kaufman and Raphael 1984: 59). According to Goffman (1967: 395):

In presenting ourselves to others, we risk rejection. The form rejection takes may be flagrant, but it is much more frequently quite subtle...depending on its intensity and obviousness, rejection usually leads inevitably to the painful emotions of embarrassment, shame, or humiliation.

I suggest that even before Dani students enter into situations of ‘interaction’ with Indonesians, experiences of stigmatization and discrimination set the conditions for them to feel out of place. Dani students avoid Indonesians because they are anticipating embarrassment, and because in their experiences, orang Indonesia think poorly of them. Students reject the grounds on which they are excluded, but the feeling of not belonging, or of being out of place, is harder to dispel. Discomfort, awkwardness, and the feeling of being scrutinized are perhaps the more insidious effects of stigma, because they place limits on students’ ability to assert themselves and take prominent positions.

Strathern (1975: 35) describes shame as “a notion of a loss of prestige or inadequacy caused by a confrontation with the power of the community.” Leitch (1999: 3) writes, “shaming is the process of actively eliciting the emotion of shame in another to the point where the individual will conform to the social norms and standards of the culture in order to avoid the ‘bad feelings’ aroused.” Epstein (1984: 32) proposes, “Shame tends to be elicited when one’s shortcomings are exposed to the concentrated gaze of others.” For Fanon (1970), shame is a social fact of colonial conditions (see also Marshall 2006: 187). But for a better understanding of shame in colonial political conditions we can consider concepts such as ‘the power of the community’, ‘social norms’, ‘exposure’ and ‘others’ evoked by Strathern (1975), Leitch (1999) and Epstein (1984). Stereotyping puts Dani students in a constant state of exposure to the power of the community. Malu is a moral affect (M. Rosaldo 1983: 136) that positions the individual within a social order (Lindquist 2004: 488). Are Dani students learning, as Collins and Bahar (2000: 39) assert regarding Indonesian
women, “appropriate shyness?” What are the implications of “appropriate shyness” of Papuans in terms of colonial politics?

As a result of stigma, Dani students are resistant, successful, and ‘high quality’ in private or in front of other Dani and shy, embarrassed, quiet and acquiescent in public in front of Indonesians. As orang Papua seek to improve their quality, they must change not only their personal attributes but they must change the way they are viewed by others; they can never ‘improve’ themselves enough to overcome the racial stigma that Indonesians associate with orang Papua.

This chapter demonstrates that humiliation makes students want to stay away from Indonesians, stay out of the limelight, and avoid situations where such experiences might be repeated. These lessons irrevocably alter their plans to learn from others and experience new cultures abroad. That North Sulawesi is Christian, safe, and developed does not dramatically improve relations between orang Papua and orang Indonesia. New opportunities to interact with Indonesians appear as new ways to experience shame and inadequacy. The confidence that allows Laurence, for example, to take action when he feels that local authorities have treated Dani students unfairly, is based on a sense of being educated and living in a place where it is more possible to express discontent. Both of these constructs are themselves problematized by humiliation. Rather than encouraging Dani students to view themselves according to the dominant perspective that finds them inferior, humiliation seems to make them desire to avoid the dominant perspective as much as possible. Nevertheless, their critical stance on Indonesia as a colonial state enables them to problematize those discourses that put Indonesians in positions of superiority while belittling orang Papua. As the next chapter demonstrates, students get more opportunities to develop criticism of Indonesian institutions and claims to quality as they experience classes, professors, and campus administration. Their experiences on campus contribute to a different understanding of quality that they ultimately take home with them to the highlands.
CHAPTER 5

“Discipline is Important”:
Skills and Stigma on Campus

Motto Study
Aku datang untuk belajar bukan untuk rekreasi
Aku datang untuk mendengar bukan untuk menolak
Aku datang untuk menerima bukan untuk membanta
Aku datang untuk sukses bukan untuk gagal
Aku datang untuk menderita bukan untuk bersenang (mabuk)
Disiplin itu penting

Study Motto
I come to study, not to enjoy
I come to listen, not to reject
I come to accept, not to deny
I come to succeed, not to fail
I come to suffer, not to have fun (get drunk)
Discipline is important

This chapter focuses on students’ experiences on campus. First, I give
details about Wamena students at the two main universities, Unima in Tondano
and Unsrat in Manado. I then look at students' motivations and aspirations for
education, including the pressure and desire to become human resources
(sumber daya manusia) and ideals associated with being university students.
Several case studies then introduce some of their experiences of campus. I

23 Declaration written on notebook paper and pinned on a student’s dorm room wall in Manado
explore experiences of bureaucratic delays, bribery, and poor treatment by campus figures. This chapter demonstrates that although campuses tend to be dominated by practices of special treatment, or what I call an ‘economy of friends and favours’, Papuan students are singled out for particular treatment and messages that emphasize their inferior status, attempt to embarrass them or put them ill at ease, and use racist claims about primitiveness.

The National University of Manado

The National University of Manado (Unima) is situated amidst banana palms, cornfields, and Lake Tondano. Horticulturalists dominate the hills while rice-growers surround the lake; on university grounds, a small population of local Indonesians operate shops and boarding houses.

Unima was originally a teacher-preparation college (Perguruan Tinggi Pendidikan Guru) built in 1955. From 1965 to 2000, the institute was called IKIP Manado. It became the National University of Manado (Universitas Negeri Manado, or Unima) in 2000, and according to government records has a student population of just over 11,000, with 900 academic staff. Since 2000, Unima has offered a variety of non-teaching degrees but it still maintains some teacher-oriented programs. Students choose whether they want a bachelor’s degree in Education (in their chosen faculty) or a ‘pure’ bachelor’s degree. Unima also offers four master’s degree programs and five diploma programs. Unima has seven faculties:

1. Economics
2. Technical Studies
3. Arts and Languages
4. Education
5. Physical Education and Sports
6. Mathematics and Science
7. Social Science

Some students at Unima are from rural areas of North Sulawesi province, but most students from Minahasa Regency prefer to take higher education in

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Manado at more prestigious institutes. Besides Papuans, significant numbers of migrant students at Unima come from nearby regions such as the Sangir-Talaud Islands, Central and Southeast Sulawesi, and the Maluku Islands. The student population is more diverse than the staff population. Dani students propose that most of the lecturers and other staff at Unima are locals (orang sini) or Minahasan (orang Minahasa).

**Sam Ratulangi University**

The campus of Sam Ratulangi University (Unsrat) occupies a hillside not far from central Manado with views of the beach and its newly developed boulevard of shops and eateries. Spacious, multi-level buildings with glass-less windows house many of the faculties at Unsrat. Rooms are furnished with heavy wooden chairs and desks. White tile predominates. Around campus, enthusiastic players occupy soccer fields. Banners proclaim upcoming events, offer motivational slogans, or welcome visiting conference attendees. Many students live in the hilly neighbourhood that surrounds Unsrat (Sario), where trudging up slippery dirt tracks yields majestic views of the city and the ocean.

Unsrat has over 1,700 academic staff members, 800 administrative staff members, 15,000 students, and 10 faculties:

1. Mathematics and Science
2. Literature
3. Social and Political Science
4. Law
5. Economics
6. Fisheries
7. Animal Husbandry
8. Agriculture
9. Technical Studies
10. Medicine

Using statistics provided by Unsrat it is possible to approximate the number of student migrants and their province of origin based on where they graduated high school (see Table 3). Based on 2008 figures, just under half of Unsrat students are migrants from outside North Sulawesi province. Approximately 700 students at Unsrat completed high school in Papua province. The next most common provinces of origin based on high school graduation were Central Sulawesi (347 students), North Maluku (317 students)
and Gorontalo (224 students). These figures corroborate the estimations of my Dani informants.

Academic and administrative staff members at Unsrat are primarily people from North Sulawesi. I viewed the list of academic staff in the Law Faculty at Unsrat along with Dani informants who had lived in Manado for over five years and could identify Minahasan family names. We estimated that of 220 staff in the Law Faculty, approximately 200 people originated from North Sulawesi province. The ethnic composition of campus is relevant to experiences of discrimination described by Dani students later in this chapter. It is also an important feature of what I call an ‘economy of friends and favours’ that operates on campuses in North Sulawesi. At Unsrat, it is not as if Dani students are the only migrants in an environment thoroughly dominated by local students from North Sulawesi. Dani students join significant numbers of student migrants from around the region, particularly the Maluku Islands and Central Sulawesi. Yet what Dani students describe is far from a celebration of diversity or a cultural exchange among educated, enthusiastic youth.

Table 3: Unsrat Students According to Province of High School Graduation, 2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province of origin</th>
<th>Number of students at Unsrat</th>
<th>Most common faculties</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North Sulawesi</td>
<td>7539</td>
<td>1. Technical Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. Medicine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papua</td>
<td>704</td>
<td>1. Social and Political Science</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Technical Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. Medicine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Sulawesi</td>
<td>347</td>
<td>1. Medicine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Technical Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. Economics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Maluku</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>1. Social and Political Science</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Medicine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. Technical Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gorontalo</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>1. Medicine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. Social and Political Science</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Jumlah Mahasiswa Menurut Provinsi Asal SMA Tahun 2008/2009
http://www.unsrat.ac.id
According to Unsrat’s 2008 statistics, most of the 704 students who graduated high school in Papua (see Table 4) are in Social and Political Science (185 students), Technical Studies (136), and Medicine (95). A significant number of students from Papua (118) are also studying resource-related subjects such as agriculture, fishing, and animal husbandry.

Table 4: Papua High School Graduates at Unsrat by Faculty, 2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Faculties at Unsrat</th>
<th>Number of students from Papua according to place of high school graduation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social and Political Science</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical Studies</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicine</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economics</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literature</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fisheries</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animal Husbandry</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics and Science</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>704</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The subjects most commonly taken by students from Papua, according to Unsrat statistics, are not necessarily the subjects most commonly taken by Dani and other highlands students. Social and Political Science is popular among highlanders, as are Technical Studies, Economics, Agriculture, and Law, in approximately this order. There is just one Papuan highlander in the Faculty of Medicine at Unsrat, and I do not recall meeting any one in Literature, Fisheries, or Mathematics.

The vast majority of Wamena students attend Unima and Unsrat, but some are in private institutions that focus on specific subject areas such as social and political science or economics. Table 5 lists institutes that Wamena students commonly attend, in order of popularity.
Economics, Social and Political Science, Education, Agriculture, Construction and Engineering are popular programs. Some programs finish with a teacher-training component. Students are required to complete courses, undertake a community service component, prepare a research proposal and present it for examination by a supervisory panel, conduct research (which many decide to do back in Papua), write up their data in a thesis, and take final oral examinations for graduation. Most students are engaged in four-year bachelor programs though there are also some in diploma programs (known as D3) and a handful in master’s programs. Their choice of courses reflects their future intentions to work in the public service and otherwise contribute to development in Papua. In the next section, I explore these goals in more detail, in order to understand how they are challenged, and changed, as students experience higher education.
Transforming “Everything” and other Education Goals

Because of all the new regencies coming down we have to fill up the positions. We have to provide a good example for others. Everyone in Papua is disappointed, regretful (menyesal). The young ones do not want to go to school, they are unemployed, and they drink too much. We have to impress upon them that they cannot do this, and they must go to school. We have to progress them (kasih maju), they still wear koteka (penis gourd), but people must go to school. We have to go forward (maju) in order to achieve independence (merdeka). (Minke Kenelak)

As this comment by Minke Kenelak suggests, the overwhelming reason students say they undertake higher education (kuliah) is to contribute to transformation back home. Students say they feel very strongly that their families and friends live difficult lives in a difficult (susah) place.

One of the specific concepts that students employ to describe their plans to ‘transform’ the highlands is human resource development.

We want to become the human resources for Papua. We want independence but right now there are not enough human resources. It’s like this: if we have an exam, we have to prepare first, right? So if we want independence we have to prepare first. If people’s SDM improves they will be more prepared. (Jally Inggibal)

Based on 25 in-depth interviews and numerous conversations, Dani students convey several broad themes in understandings of SDM. To have high-quality SDM means to have been educated at school, preferably beyond high school to graduation from an institution of higher education. A person with good SDM quality has good prospects for employment. The field of employment students most commonly associate with higher education is the public service. Within the public service, they predict that if they have good SDM they will become high-level officials (pejabat). Having good SDM quality also means being knowledgeable about subjects that can have a direct and positive impact in highlands Papua, such as economics, technology, social science, administration, agriculture, law, education, medicine and biology. Good-quality human resources, students say, are able to “go into the field” (turun lapangan) and actually make progress (kemajuan) happen. Those with good SDM quality also understand and have experience with the state system of governance and can work on villagers’ behalf to talk to officials, to get problems solved, and to
get state promises delivered. More broadly, good quality SDM have particular personal characteristics that allow them to attain positions of high status in society. They are organized, polished, and sophisticated. Good human resources are able to organize development, manage groups of people, organize large-scale events and speak eloquently in public meetings.

As previously discussed in Chapter 1, both Indonesians and Papuans describe Papua as the most underdeveloped province with the poorest quality human resources in the country. Rhetoric on human resources criticizes everything from Papuan cultures to alleged sexual habits. These terms and allegations have become part of the fabric of race relations in the highlands. From students’ perspectives, they tend to agree that Papua is low in human resources (SDM), saying, for example, “People do not know anything,” “They are left behind,” or are simply “low.” Polygamous marriage, clothing that is too traditional or too tattered, feeling afraid of authority figures or lacking confidence to speak in front of others, and lack of skill in the Indonesian language are all examples of practices and beliefs that are described by students, at times, as evidence of low human resource quality. Dani and other highlands students in North Sulawesi state that they are part of a movement of educated people who are aware of the SDM problem and are committed to improving SDM. Even though they toy with ideas of highlanders’ supposed cultural and other inadequacies, they are also adamant that the Indonesian government is responsible for poor quality human resources in Papua. Indonesia, some explain, has employed a system of ignorance education (pendidikan pembudayaan) to keep indigenous people powerless. Twisting the government-dominated SDM rhetoric, students argue that they, not the government, are the true proponents of human resource development in the area because they have motivation, morals, ethics, discipline, and have a strong desire to help highlands communities.

Students associate education with improving their capacities to make good things happen for themselves and others.

We want new experiences here, so we can take what is good back to Wamena. The human resources in Wamena are not good yet, and people do not know anything. We want to do everything, there is no electricity, people have no shoes, and everything is expensive because there is no road. (Laurence Lagowan)
The education students want is also results-oriented. Students frequently say they want to go home with hasil (results) and expect to prove to others what they have learned by taking action ‘in the field’. Among students, it is very common to talk about ‘going into the field’. As they often remind each other, if they do not actually learn, it will be very obvious back in Wamena, where, as they describe it, they are expected to act as agents of transformation for rural villagers with high hopes. As one student, Jally Inggibal, summarized, “if we get out into the field [turun lapangan] and do not know anything, the people are going to laugh at us. They will say, look at this guy, he has a degree [sudah sarjana], and he cannot do anything.”

Specifically, they wish to learn about their chosen subjects and become experts in their respective disciplines. If they take more than eight semesters many say their families will give up on them, hence they try to keep delays a secret. Although they have not completed their education, some express that they miss (rindu) Papua so badly that they go home for a visit but do not go to the highlands because they have nothing to show their families and other sponsors. Glazebrook (2008) discusses similar feelings among Dani refugees living in Papua New Guinea who are reluctant to return home without results. There is a strong desire to deliver tangible benefits in Wamena.

Over here we can learn more about managing time and discipline. Later on we can make things happen in Wamena. Like here at the dorm we built this volleyball court, well, it’s like that, we get everyone enthusiastic and we just work hard and do it. We do it together so it’s fun (ramai). We put music on and roast some cassava. People back home work very, very hard but they do not see any results, they give up hope, the men just wander around. We want to see development in Wamena. (Edward Elosak)

I want to finish quickly and try to become a civil servant because they are the only ones with a salary in Papua. My parents also want this. I am the only one from my village who is going to be a ‘graduate’ (sarjana) so I feel responsible. All the people in the village want a ‘graduate’. (Lex Elosak)

Morality, technical skills, and democratic principles are not enough for Dani human resources. Dani human resources must also demonstrate generosity, put the interests of the community above their own interests, be readily
available to provide assistance ‘in the field’, and be honest about their capacities. In expressing a desire to create benefits for themselves and others, Dani students demonstrate the ongoing importance of certain values in the highlands. These values are associated with traditional leaders, who gained standing in the community in particular ways. Alua (2006:154-156) identifies these as “leadership qualities” associated with “influential men” (ap kaintek, Dani language). Influential men, or big men, possess a ‘good heart’ (etaiken hano, Dani language), ‘good hands’ (eki hano, Dani language), and ‘good voice’ (ane hano, Dani language). As Jally suggests (quoted above), students want to actually be able to gain skills and demonstrate their knowledge, not just manipulate perceptions to cover up lack of knowledge. The goal of transforming living conditions for people in Wamena sounds like state discourse on ‘accelerated development’ (see Introduction). However, in state discourse, education creates superior citizens, and is not about helping others, but rather about becoming ‘better’ than others, and therefore more able to contribute to development. Students’ desires to do exceptional, important, ‘good things for others’ cannot be reduced to their extensive knowledge of state development agendas. Using their education to benefit others is also the mark of a leader, and shows the ongoing importance of generosity in Dani culture. Hayward (1983: 10-11) writes,

"The mark of a big man was his ability to manipulate wealth to the total benefit of his circle of acquaintances, and the society in general. His personal reward, apart from the benefits to the society at large, was the prestige, praise, and loyalty which were accorded to him."

Zimmer-Tamakoshi (1997: 110) writes, “the only way Big Men achieve and keep status is by raising the names of their groups as well as their own reputations and by making good things happen for others as well as for themselves and their children (or at the very least, making a good appearance of doing so).”

Dreams of transforming conditions in the highlands are also dreams of political independence. This is another way that students’ education ambitions are different from those articulated by government officials. As I demonstrated in Chapter 4, students have a powerful sense of coming from an Indonesian colony, a place where only Indonesians are able to succeed. One student expressed this hope in the following way:
We need independence [merdeka]. It is the only way to survive and to create prosperity. (Etinus Kenelak)

Students such as Etinus hope that through education they will be able to transform political conditions, take power from Indonesians, and some day achieve political independence.

The following sections of this chapter discuss the everyday experiences associated with trying to achieve these objectives. Ultimately, I suggest that achieving quality and skills on campus is much more difficult than students initially imagine. An extensive, hierarchical educational bureaucracy promotes paperwork and patience more than scientific knowledge or intellectual development. Technological skills that professors demand are often not available to students. Superficial kinds of quality on offer do little to realize students’ hopes of doing well ‘in the field’ back home. Graduation signals successful navigation of stigma, corrupt practices, and shifting formal procedures but not successful development of values and capabilities typically associated with quality and modernity. The challenges students face are complicated by stigma but not reducible to stigma alone. The following section describes some typical campus days in order to highlight that bribery and frustration do not represent the totality of students’ experiences of higher education.

A Typical Day on Campus

The Yepmum dorm is rarely fully quiet, with all of its inhabitants asleep, and the front and back doors locked. Students may depart for classes as early as 7 am and return home as late as 7 pm. During the evening hours, students work in pairs or small groups on their assignments, watch the news on the small television in the living room, or attend prayer meetings elsewhere on campus. For those without early morning classes, late night movies are a popular option. Before dawn, around 5 am, joggers depart for a morning run around campus. At dawn, just before 6 am, window shades begin creaking open, a radio is turned on, and someone starts sweeping the floors. By 6:30, brave students with early
classes are dousing themselves with pails of cold water in the bathrooms. Shrieking clearly helps ease the discomfort.

In a typical day, most of the 12 Dani students living in the Yepmum dormitory eat, bathe, get dressed up and attend classes. Even though the dorm is located on campus, it takes 30-60 minutes to walk to individual faculty buildings. Students typically arrive early and socialize while waiting for their lecturer. On average, once or twice a week students wait and no lecturer arrives to teach. Often this happens because not very many students turned up to the previous class, so the lecturer cancelled or changed the time and place of the next class on the spot. Those students not in attendance find out by chance if they meet up with someone who has heard the news. Class size varies greatly. One of the classes I visited each week, called ‘Business English’, run by the Economics department, had approximately 50 students in it. This was among the largest classes running on campus. At the opposite extreme, one female student living in the Yepmum dorm typically returned from campus without having attended her class of five students because the lecturer thought it was a waste of time to teach so few pupils. Once in a while they would have a class, and receive an assignment that they would work on over the next few weeks. Classes go on for one to two hours; often students are given an assignment to work on in the second hour. There are clearly periods of peak activity on campus, around exams and assignment deadlines. There is much more time when attendance is variably important, when assignments drag on, when the term comes to an abrupt end. Students typically say they are on holiday several weeks before the official end of the term.

At certain points during their degree program students are experience a great deal of pressure to complete requirements, such as when they must prepare and present proposals for the research component of their degree, or when they are preparing their final examinations. Still, throughout their schooling, many are able to devote much time to extracurricular student organizations, religious groups, and political activism. In fact, for some it is these activities that take up most of their time, lie at the heart of their schooling, and that come to substitute for ‘education’ in the process of self-development (see Chapter 6).

As an example of a typical day, I will describe the day when I
accompanied Minke and her friend Ina to Unima. The young women study in the Economics department, which is located in one of the buildings closer to Yepmum dorm, so our walk to class was only about half an hour. When we got there we went upstairs to the second floor of the building, which is built around a large central courtyard. From this vantage point, we could see friends coming and going. There were approximately one hundred students in the courtyard; the hallways in front of the classrooms were also crowded. Minke and Ina called to their friends, who joined us where we waited. As 9 am approached, the crowd seemed to thin out, as students presumably went into their classrooms. Minke found some of her classmates waiting together for their instructor. No one was in the classroom yet but, tired of standing, Minke and Ina went to sit down inside. The room was sparsely furnished with heavy, dark wooden desks. Around 9:30 am the instructor arrived. By this time about ten students occupied the desks. The lecture began and students pulled out their notebooks. The instructor wrote notes on the chalkboard for students to copy in their notebooks. After about 30 minutes the instructor asked the students to write her an assignment related to the lecture. They were given 30 minutes to write a business letter following the format provided. The teacher left for awhile, then came back and sat at her desk. After about 45 minutes the instructor asked the students to stop working on their assignments. She requested volunteers to tell the class how they had introduced their letters, what the main content was, and how they had ended their letters. Some students said they were not finished, so she told them to finish at home and bring the letters next time. A few students gave examples using their letters. The students were told that class was over.

Based on what students express, this is a very typical class at Unima. Sometimes, the instructor does not arrive at all, and other times, only a few students attend, so class is cancelled or rescheduled. Sometimes impromptu scheduling changes cause students to miss classes. It is common to listen to the lecture, write notes, and work on an assignment in class. Students also receive assignments to complete as homework and they undergo written examinations at various times throughout the year. At Unima, when students are in their third year of studies they develop a research proposal which they present to a panel of professors for review. They spend a month or two preparing these proposals. Though they are questioned about their proposals
during the review, based on what I observed, students do not answer questions or respond to professors’ comments. After the review, they carry out their research projects, which may be based on library research or on original field research. Preparing their theses takes six months to a year. Theses must be submitted to the supervisor and approved by him or her. Once the thesis is submitted, students are scheduled to take part in their final program examinations, normally held twice a year. After these examinations they are permitted to apply to graduate and attend a graduation ceremony.

This is the process as it ideally should be, according to students and to the university administration. However, as the following sections of this chapter demonstrate, Dani experiences are not characterized by steady academic progress, professional, productive interactions with campus staff, or the sense that they are acquiring the all-important quality that they seek.

Challenging Ideals: Stereotypes and Discrimination

Mellor (2003: 479) proposes, “[U]nderlying all racism is an element of differential treatment of people because of their race” (Mellor 2003: 479). Dani students describe discrimination and stigmatization in a variety of ways. One ‘element of differential treatment’ that they frequently mention is the claim by professors that frizzy Papuan hair is not ‘neat’ (rapi) so it must be kept short:

I used to have fabulous hair, it was long and my sister would braid it but I had this professor and she hated it and told me to get rid of it. (Nelly Gombo)

You can tell who is actively studying and who is not based on their hair. All these guys with braided hair, they are not studying. Everyone who is studying must cut their hair off. (Albert Lagowan)

These students report being told by professors to cut their frizzy hair short. Wearing it in little braids or dreadlocks, known as anyam or lingkar, is not acceptable, even though students say that this is a tidy way to wear their hair. Indonesian students (male and female), however, are commonly seen with long hair. Comments directed at Papuan hair are likely to raise emotions, as hair has historically been asserted as a marker of racial difference between Papuans and Indonesians. Papuans themselves have taken up this labeling, sometimes referring to Indonesians as ‘straight-hairs’ (rambut lurus). Though Papuan hair
does not resemble the shiny straight black hair seen on Indonesian television. Dani students express pride in their hair and often spend much time combing, oiling, braiding and otherwise ‘caring for’ (pelihara) their hair. A female student expressed to me that some rambut lurus are envious of Papuan hair because Indonesian hair is too slippery to braid. Ina said, “They pay a lot of money at the salon to get their hair done like ours.” It is thus considered insulting to have lecturers tell students to cut their hair short, a violation of a personal attribute that student argue is important to them, and an example students often cite of how they may be treated differently than Indonesian students.

Students also experience discrimination from campus figures who assert that Papuans are backward, poor quality human resources who are thus slower than non-Papuans in finishing their studies. Edward Elsak, a Unima student, described one experience as follows:

In my experience, they make comments about Papua but they do not actually know anything. The lecturer posed the question, “Papuans own Freeport, Freeport is in Papua, so why is there no development, why is it so backwards there?” She asked for a Papuan student to answer. I said that Freeport is in Papua but it is more like Indonesia owns it, actually foreigners own it and the money goes to the headquarters. And she said, “Oh so it’s like that?” But I could tell she did not believe it, she was laughing a bit. I was confused, and then I just felt angry.

Edward conveys that lecturers, most of whom are local Minahasan people, stereotype Papuans as backward, even in front of other students. Edward suggests that the lecturer was trying to intentionally put Papuans down and to humiliate him personally. Lecturers and staff on campus question students about how long they have been studying, and encourage them to finish quickly. Students argue that staff members sometimes make comments about Papua’s need for human resources in these encounters. On one such occasion that I observed, an official in the main office at Unsrat asked a student what business he had being in the offices on campus, what semester he was in, and what part of Papua he was from. Upon hearing that the student was from Wamena, he replied, “Wamena students have the most difficulties. They take a very long time to finish.” Informants say that this type of exchange is typical. The way that the student mumbled a response while averting his eyes suggested that he was uncomfortable with the official and his line of questioning.
Another instance of differential treatment on campus that students often cite is racism from other students, who also employ the stereotype of intellectual inferiority. Local Indonesian students make it obvious that they do not wish to sit next to *orang Papua*. They laugh and whisper, which makes students uncomfortable. They are denigrated or teased by other students. In one example, Jill Kenelak reported, “I had a fistfight with these girls because they said that Papuans are dumb and do not know how to speak Indonesian.” Students say this kind of assertion makes them particularly upset because they regard their Indonesian language skills as quite good compared to the way Manadonese and others speak colloquial Indonesian. Moreover, the Indonesian language is relatively new in the Papuan highlands; most students’ grandparents know a few words only, and converse entirely in their indigenous languages. With the exception of a few males who were the first to experience formal education in the highlands (see Chapter 2), most of the first generation to live under Indonesian governance did not learn Indonesian language in school but learned it from their children as they progressed through the school system starting in the 1980s. Students recall that it was difficult to learn Indonesian when few of their older relatives were fluent in the language. Learning Indonesian is symbolic of a particular commitment to modernity, alongside formal education more generally, and for students is an example of the desire for progress among highlanders. When students are accused of not knowing Indonesian they experience this as another critique on their level of progress and a denial of the structural conditions that they and others have struggled against in order to learn to speak proper Indonesian. Non-local Indonesian students may experience similar instructions from lecturers to learn the particular colloquial Indonesian spoken in North Sulawesi, but assertions made about *orang Papua* link language skills with poor intellect and racial inferiority.

Other manifestations of the racialized stigma that Papuans are dumb and primitive arise on campus for students:

Once a student brought a *koteka* [penis gourd traditionally worn in the highlands] to campus and laughed at us. They asked us if we eat humans and all this sort of stuff. (Herbert Mabel)

They say we take too long to finish our studies because we are dumb. The lecturers are always saying this, on campus, and telling us not to
waste our money, to finish quickly. (Edison Medlama)

Another way that students experience discrimination is when they are stereotyped as separatists who are not loyal to the Indonesian nation. For example, as a student named Petrus reminded me,

Yesterday, you saw Jenny, after the exam one of the professors just came up to a group of us and said so do you support [Papuan] independence? We just looked at him and did not know what to say. He laughed a little bit and then he walked off. (Petrus Gombo)

I witnessed the encounter described by Petrus. A smiling professor had approached a small group of Dani students and immediately demanded to know whether they supported merdeka (independence) in Papua. His demeanor was conversational, even friendly, but students looked stunned at his boldness and nervous about responding to his question. Although the professor seemed to be joking, teasing, or looking for a reaction, students and the majority of authority figures they encounter in North Sulawesi take the issue of Papua’s political status quite seriously. Students do not want to be stigmatized as worthy of suspicion, as perennial outsiders, or for refusing to conform to Indonesian values of patriotism, regardless of their actual feelings about independence. They say they want to form good relations with local Indonesians during their education, but being stigmatized as separatists because of their racial appearance as orang Papua positions them as outsiders deserving of scrutiny and suspicion. Stigma challenges the image they want to build of themselves as good students who deserve to be treated like everyone else.

The foregoing data also indicates institutional racism. Kevin Foster (2005: 493), in his study of the experiences of African-American students in a predominantly white university (see also Feagin, Vera and Imani 1996) writes,

It is not only occasional open acts of racism that create a hostile climate, but also unintended acts of ignorance, routine questioning and disparagement of black people’s intelligence, and a history of excluding African-Americans from the institution.

“[R]outine questioning and disparagement of black people’s intelligence” (Foster 2005:493) are common experiences for Dani students. Foster (2005: 494)
concludes, “Institutional racism describes the collective effect of acts, policies, unwitting prejudice and the invocation of stereotypes that sustain an atmosphere which is hostile to the full participation and success of racial minorities.” Dani students’ comments provide evidence of “unwitting prejudice and the invocation of stereotypes” (Foster 2005: 494) by lecturers and other staff. The following section discusses some typical experiences of campus bureaucracy. Experiences of being without ‘friends’ on the inside lead students toward another understanding of quality.

**Campus Quality: Power through Procedures**

Parker (2003: 226) suggests that school is a “physical construct at the outer reaches of a long, hierarchical and extensive education bureaucracy that is also an integral part of people’s lives.” Dani students also propose that interacting with administrators and conforming to bureaucratic procedures is an influential part of their education abroad. Although not what students are seeking, and not the kind of quality put forward by the Indonesian government, which describes technical capacities, moral development, and commitment to key values such as democracy and peace, I suggest that these are some of the skills and experiences that come to define the quality that students gain abroad. Facing bureaucrats, following regulations, and writing letters are some of the skills that ultimately define and limit students’ contributions to progress when they return home to the highlands.

Bureaucracy is typically associated with depersonalized, habitual, scheduled formalism (see Gupta 1995; Herzfeld 1993). Herzfeld (1993: 4) suggests, “Rejecting the hateful formalism of bureaucracy is itself a conventional, formal act and identifies areas of tension between official norms and more localized social values.” The interesting thing about the experiences of Dani students, described below, is that although the education bureaucracy is complicated, students would appreciate a higher degree of formalism and proceduralism. It is not the official routines that most challenge students, but the “more localized social values” (Herzfeld 1993: 4) that influence the way that procedures are invoked by campus staff. Networks, personal friendships, heritage and appearances all appear to have an influence on the extent to
which campus figures enforce rules.

Bureaucratic procedures bring students into interactions with campus figures on a regular basis. In most of these situations, students are requesting assistance that may have a significant impact on their academic achievement. Students describe their experiences using terms such as ‘stress’ (stress), ‘impossible’ (setengah mati, literally, ‘half dead’), ‘dizzying’ (bikin pusing). Some students become experts at navigating the university bureaucracy, typically after several years in school and after receiving wisdom from other Dani who are ahead of them in the process. They are kept busy at certain times in the year helping other students with administrative objectives, but look at it as an achievement, and enjoy having their skills recognized by others. It is a mark of senior status and an achievement in terms of self-development to have learned how to register, how to re-enroll every semester, how to get a new student card each year, or how to work out getting accepted into the required classes. More complex achievements include helping students pass courses for which they have not successfully completed the requirements, or negotiating payment at the end of the semester instead of the beginning.

Still, despite these moments of prowess, students express that they often feel out of place in their campus’ head office. Their experiences encourage them to question themselves, and to question why they sometimes receive rude treatment from administrative staff. As I observed at Unsrat, Dani students would run into friends in the foyer down the stairs from the administrative offices, discuss their problems, and go up together. They would enter with a clear purpose in mind, but often emerge confused, and with nothing accomplished. Exiting the head office, they reported that what they wanted to do required more money, or involved a requirement they did not know of, or required a letter from somewhere else on campus first. Or, the correct person to help them was not in the office, and they might be in anytime from after lunch to next week. On occasion, there was no problem, but the reaction of the staff behind the glass-enclosed counter made students feel like they were mistaken, at which point they left to think more about what they needed done. One senior student, Paulus Itlay, for example, came out of the Unsrat head office one day and said to me, "I am confused. I thought I wanted to pay my registration fee, but when I asked the staff made an ugly face, like they did not understand. I do
not care anymore; I will come back tomorrow and try again." The following case studies contextualize some common campus experiences. Looking at experiences in greater detail promotes an understanding of how so-called faceless bureaucratic encounters can have significant personal ramifications. The cases also show how being regarded as orang Papua has the opportunity to influence on-campus interactions and proceduralism.

William: “They have dollar signs in their eyes”

On the morning of September 5, 2006 a normally shy William Matuan came crashing out of the bathroom at his dorm in Manado, drunk, smiling, talkative, and apologizing to those present, including myself, for his condition. It seemed to me that William and his friends had been drinking heavily, singing, and playing cards for days. His friends said he was suffering from ‘stress’, which in Indonesia conveys that a person has been pushed beyond their coping capacity. Soon after William ‘stressed’, he and his friends packed up and disappeared to Tondano for a week.

William was supposed to take his final exams in May 2006 but his family was too late sending money so he missed the examinations. William was then told that there were not enough students ready for final examinations from his faculty to warrant holding a final examination. At his university, as is common in Indonesia, final exams are conducted orally. Having completed coursework and thesis requirements, students meet with five to seven lecturers who each question them for five to fifteen minutes. These are normally held in a group setting in a large classroom where long tables are set up in such a way that professors sit in a row on one side of the table and students queue for seats adjacent to professors. Each professor will ask the student a few questions and test them on their subject material. The professor then signs the student’s examination paperwork. This interaction is repeated until students have enough signatures. Thus, despite having completed his requirements, he waited over four months for the university to provide him with a final examination so that he could finally graduate, seven years after starting his undergraduate program. Each month, from June to September 2006, William was told the examination would be held soon.
During this period of time, his family in Wouma, a village on the outskirts of Wamena, was in constant contact with him through his mobile phone. They reminded him that they had spent much money on his education and were eager for him to graduate and return home. Eventually, William announced to his friends in Manado that he was writing a letter to the administration begging for a final examination. It was held three weeks later. William explained to me some of his feelings about the process. He had not been able to attend the examination in May, he said, because he had no money. It is expected, he clarified, that students give an ‘envelope’ (amplop) containing 100,000 – 500,000 rupiah to their professor in order to take part in the exam and get a good result. This experience was the last in a series of frustrating encounters with the university bureaucracy. As William described, “When I was preparing my thesis I paid my professor some money so he would review my draft. I did not hear from him for a long time. Then I found out from other students that the university had changed the procedure. They gave my thesis to another professor so I had to start again with the ‘bonuses’… All the students know, if you do not pay the professor or you pay very little you will get a slow response. If you want to get a good grade you must give a bonus. A good thesis or assignment will get you a ‘B’ or a ‘C’ but if you want an ‘A’ you need to pay.” These experiences lead William and others to assert that people who work on campus have mata uang or ‘dollar signs in their eyes’, because they are always thinking of how to leverage financial gain from students.

**Minke’s Computer Lessons: Frustration and Indifference**

Minke Kenelak, born in 1983 in Bugi in the Wolo Valley, came to Sulawesi through the support of her eldest sister and her sister’s husband. Her father is a preacher with the Evangelical Church of Indonesia and he runs a small church. Both of her older sisters dropped out of school and got married. Minke moved to Wamena for junior high school (SMP), living with a nurse next to the hospital, for whom she cleaned house in exchange for room and board. She says she dropped out of high school for a while when her friends started dropping out. Her parents were angry with her, Minke recalls, and they threatened to marry her off in the village to a local man. At that point, she says,
she asserted that, “I do not want to hold a shovel, I want to hold a ballpoint pen.” Her older sister convinced her parents that she must go to university. As Minke remembers, her sister said to them, “Even if she is dumb, she should go to university.” “So here I am!” she exclaims.

Minke has been at Unima in Tondano for about two years now. She heard that Manado was a “good city” from her sister’s husband, who graduated from Unima, and from a group of former students in Wamena. “They said, the courses are good and you will get away from this environment in Papua, where people are drunk and quitting school. At Unima there is much spirituality (rohani), there is worship every day, and discussions and organizations where you can stand up in front of people and improve your confidence. When you return you will be respected and have the authority to tell people what to do.”

Minke came home to the dorm in Tondano one day, exasperated, and said that her lecturer expected her to learn computers for his economics class, but he only took them into the computer lab once. To practice on her own she would have to pay by the hour to use the computers on campus. Even if she did pay money to practice, she was not clear what to do in the lab, since one lesson from a lecturer who himself did not use a computer on a regular basis was not enough to comprehend the concept of a computer, let alone master the use of a keyboard, mouse, and English-language software and operating system. There was a female staff member in charge of collecting money for computer usage who sometimes helped students learning to use the computer, and was not terribly strict with charging them by the hour. This relationship encouraged some students to test out the computer lab, particularly those who wanted to take computer courses but were afraid to enroll and then fail. Some had to consider, if they could not learn to use a computer they might not be able to graduate from the program they wanted. Her older cousin Etinus had managed to purchase a computer with some funding from his extended kin in Wamena. Minke was allowed to go to his house to practice, but the electricity supply in his shack on campus was not sufficient or stable enough to run a computer - even Etinus was reluctant to use it for his assignments for fear of ruining the computer or starting a fire.

Minke marveled at how Indonesian students all seemed to know how to use the computer, not just for typing assignments but for other things she did
not quite understand – “They are just used to it,” she would explain. Besides the main computer lab, there are other locations at Unima where students are able to use the internet. Many Dani students are aware of their locations, but never go there themselves. In Manado a few Dani students are known to have mastered the use of a computer and they are constantly in demand by others who want to learn from someone they know. Minke said “I have to master [kuasa] this thing otherwise I will fail my class, but it is so hard. Nobody can help me do it, and we feel afraid to go into places like that when we don’t know what to do, they will think we are stupid, I am embarrassed.” At the end of that semester Minke did drop out of school – her heart was not in it and as she said it was all just “impossible, and makes me just not care [bikin malas].”

Becoming savvy with technology, namely computers, is promoted by the government as an important part of education for Indonesia’s young generation. The National Institute of Sciences (LIPI) articulates a primary focus on Iptek (Science and Technology) – an acronym that is popular among university students who associate themselves with an emerging revolution in technology. In their speeches and formal discussion groups, Dani students identify themselves as part of the new Iptek generation. It is the difference between being educated to high school level, and having a university education. Yet here we see how in North Sulawesi there are so many challenges to learning to use a computer. The effort from the instructor seems negligible, the campus housing power supply is not sufficient to support a private computer, yet Minke argues that Papuan students generally feel embarrassed and uncomfortable to go to a campus computer lab and be exposed as not knowing how to use the computer in front of Indonesians who all seem to have ‘mastered the thing’ to paraphrase Minke. The stigma of being considered bodoh (dumb) by local Indonesians constrains Minke as she avoids a situation where Indonesians may see her in this light.

**Laurence: No Dreadlocks Allowed**

When Laurence Lagowan was in semester four he did not have any money to pay the fees, so he took a leave of absence (cuti). As he explained, this was the start of his administrative problems. “If you take a leave of absence
you have to pay for that time off, even if it is two or three semesters. If you are absent for that long though, they will likely not accept you back unless you pay a large bribe. If you do not pay then they cancel your program and you have to start over.”

Laurence is active in student politics, frequently organizing and participating in demonstrations about social justice issues alongside other Papuans and Indonesians in Manado. He says that because of these experiences he is not intimidated by authority figures. He says that it is common for Papuan students to feel embarrassed to confront authority figures, but says that this tendency holds Papuans back from achieving their potential. As a result, he expresses that it is important to him to speak his mind to professors.

Laurence says that in a number of instances throughout his time at Unsrat he had problems with his professor and one of the assistant deans. The problem started when he challenged the professor who told him to cut his hair if he wanted to remain a student. He describes,

When I reported to the Dean’s Third Assistant that I was ordered to leave class by my professor because my hair was in dreadlocks, he did not support me. He reported back to my professor. My professor, on another occasion, demanded money from me as payment for marking my assignment. I refused and also reported this to the Deacon’s Third Assistant. My professor must have been told about this report because he came back to me and said that I would never graduate. He said, “Just wait until you want to have your final exams!” After this I felt that I could not possibly succeed in my department unless I had money to smooth everything over. They would inhibit my progress. So I wanted to change to Stisipol [Institute for Social and Political Studies located in Manado], even though some of us think that place is not really a legitimate school because too many people reportedly just pay money and get through their requirements quickly. So I felt forced to change to Stisipol even though the quality there is poor. But then in order to do that I needed to get a letter of permission and explanation from my professor and the Deacon’s Third Assistant to give to the new school and transfer my credits. But they do not want to give me such a letter. So, I thought, I am tired [malas] of dealing with these people, so I just went and had a stamp made and wrote the letter myself. It is a very common practice for teachers to ask for money, sometimes it is not too much, and we are used to it, but when they are really bad and threaten this and that and make us keep waiting and waiting for every little thing, well a person could really lose it. This has happened to other students. Look around, there are many who are not actively studying, because once you get into trouble it is hard. Other students just pay and that solves the problem but you know our parents are just farmers, we do not have money like that.
The cases highlight experiences of administrative corruption and delays that inhibit students’ progress, as well as bribery and discrimination. William’s case brings up the issue of bribery and the freedom professors and administrators have to determine fees and to demand ‘bonuses’. According to students, the time and effort one must put into successfully completing university can vary depending on one's ability to pay. In one of my favourite comments, a female student named Etta explained, “Everyone is treated the same...whoever has money can finish quickly.” It is possible to ‘buy your diploma’ (beli ijazah). In general terms, this means that it is possible for some students to skim through their program requirements because they pay to get passing grades, to skip a few courses, or to avoid delays that other students deal with. One student reported that a university staff member said that he supported this practice because he was sympathetic to the extreme need for human resources in Papua. Undoubtedly some students take advantage of this system, but the majority of Dani students view the need for favours, friends, and patronage as a huge obstacle to academic progress, and one that interferes with their ability to actually learn about their chosen subjects. Laurence, above, asserts that he feels forced to switch to a lower quality institution because he complained about racist treatment and bribery and has therefore been threatened by his supervisor, who asserts that he will never allow him to graduate.

Discussion

Based on the foregoing case studies, students say they are expected, and sometimes directly asked, to give money to lecturers and administrators in the following situations: to receive a final result in a class or to receive an ‘A’ grade; following a research proposal seminar or oral examination; for their supervisor to look at, give advice on, or mark, a thesis in progress; to organize an examination, thesis submission, graduation, diploma, or work experience placement; and, finally, to get an office worker to write a letter (and get it signed by the appropriate authorities) or to get a student identity card. Letters are particularly annoying for students. Letters, usually needing to be signed by

25 Lee (1999) reports that bribing professors and administrators to obtain a diploma also occurs in Maluku.
several officials, are required to transmit information between campus departments, faculties, and officials. Besides having to go through all of the "face work" (Rawski 1999: 185) to get the letters signed by the right people, students say they also have to pay a variable amount for administrasi. The more they pay, the 'lighter' and 'quicker' the task becomes.

Crossing an authority figure is glossed as "creating a problem" (bikin masalah). If a student complaints to a higher authority, nothing happens. Moreover, the lecturer may be informed and may retaliate. As Gigi said, "whoever makes trouble with a lecturer will definitely slow down his/her progress." It is typical for students to have one main lecturer who is assigned as their advisor for the entire period of their program. As lecturers are public servants, they are hired for a guaranteed term of at least five years. Students cannot maneuver around disgruntled staff, and some transfer to other institutes if they want to finish their degrees.

Although beneficial relationships with professors are uncommon for Dani students, there are a few examples. Jally, one of the Yepmum dorm leaders, was having trouble adjusting to life in Tondano until he developed a relationship with a professor in the Faculty of Technical Studies at Unima, whom he calls 'Uncle' outside the classroom (previously mentioned in Chapter 4, p. 140). The relationship mainly involves manual labour on Jally's part. Uncle Joppy, in return, gives Jally confidence that he has a 'friend' on the 'inside' of his faculty who will ease various academic burdens, or at the very least, will not burden him with demands for money. Jally started by asking Joppy if he could help build his house in the campus housing complex. For 30,000 rupiah a day (paid in lump sums whenever Joppy decides to pay), Jally leveled the dirt in the yard, carried wood, threw away trash, and tiled the kitchen floor. After the house was built, Jally began visiting each day to turn on and off the outdoor lights and to make sure the property was secure. (Joppy has another house in Manado where he and his family live. The Tondano house is used for vacations.) Joppy offered him more work tending the garden at his Manado house. Jally occasionally spends a few days at Joppy's house, playing with his children, cutting the lawn, and cleaning. Jally stays in a spare room in Joppy's house during these visits. Joppy has invited Jally to spend Christmas with the family, and promised to give him some money if he returns to Wamena for a visit.
during the summer holidays. To date there is nothing specific that Joppy has
done for Jally to aid his academic progress, but the friendly relationship puts
Jally’s mind at ease. He said, “I really like living here now. I am in semester ten
but I probably will not finish for a few years. I am not worried.” Although Joppy
and his family seem friendly, when Jally is not around they make jokes about
his appearance, saying that he looks like an ape.

William, Laurence, and others articulate that in order to complete their
degree requirements and finish quickly, they either need access to large
amounts of money, or they need to form special relationships with people on
campus who will provide assistance to them. One example of ‘assistance’ that I
read about on the Unima campus news webpage describes a new policy to
combat a common problem, namely professors who write students’ theses for
them (Tombeng 2009).26 The new policy, curiously, appears to formalize such
“collaborations” and support the publication of such theses with university funds
in order to prevent behind-the-scenes transactions. Under the new policy, a
professor is permitted to assist up to four students with thesis research and
writing. The short news article lends a great deal of supporting evidence to
validate statements made by Dani students. Students with enough money,
leverage, or a personal connection can access special academic support.

Nevertheless, even more important than creating good relations is the
need to avoid negative interactions, conflict and other trouble with campus
figures. Yet the general perception campus figures have of Papuan students
puts them at a disadvantage to begin with. They are perceived as intellectually
slow, undisciplined, unsophisticated (lacking in so-called neat hair and attire)
who may want to use their education against, not for, Indonesia. The stigma
attached to being orang Papua inhibits developing relationships with campus
staff and officials, so the only alternative is to use money to foster such
relationships and to ease the burden of campus bureaucracy. Minke’s case
shows that professors promote and expect certain ideal skills without offering

26 From Unima news (www.unima.ac.id, posted by Willy Tombeng, 19 June 2009): Sebanyak
230 skripsi yang merupakan kolaborasi antara dosen dan mahasiswa, untuk tahun 2009 ini
akan didanai oleh Unima. Makdsud dilaksanakannya pendanaan itu menurut rektor Unima,
Prof.Dr. Ph. E.A. Tuerah, M.Si, DEA. Untuk menghindari praktek tidak terpuji dari oknum dosen
yang dengan sengaja mengerjakan skripsi mahasiswa. masing-masing dosen dalam kolaborasi
ini, dapat membimbing 4 mahasiswa untuk penyelesaian skripsi, termasuk dalam penelitian.Jadi
kalau skripsi mahasiswa yang mengikutsertakan dosen maka Unima akan membiayainya,
Ungkap Rektor.
any way for students to achieve them. When studying is already a tangled web of formal and informal financial expectations, arrangements, deals, and delays, unrealistic expectations can push students over the edge, out of university altogether, or into various states of what they call stress.

Conclusion

This chapter supports, and questions, the assertion that “[t]hrough the daily routines of proceduralism, social inequalities, such as those of class and gender, are produced and maintained” (Gupta 1995:13). Procedures and formalities become part of an economy of favours, friends, and enemies where formal codified procedures are used to obtain personal and institutional objectives. In this economy, perceptions, appearances, and impressions mean everything. Nonetheless, being of the ‘right’ appearance does not always mean that the burden of bureaucracy is eased, or that orang Papua always find themselves embroiled in procedural tangles, banished by vengeful professors and indifferent administrators. I encountered individuals on campus who probably risked their jobs to help ease my bureaucratic burden by writing me a letter I required rather than sending me to ‘step one’ of the letter-writing bureaucracy. I met others who made me sit in what seemed like every office in the building to be sure I understood that they had a process and they followed it. Bureaucracies are composed of individuals who produce and maintain social inequalities. While there is the potential for heterogeneity of opinion, there is also room for the dominant view. If, in North Sulawesi, most local people hold stereotypical views of Papuans, it is likely that these views also flourish on campus and in the education bureaucracy. Moreover, in an economy of friends and enemies, procedures may become “hateful [in]formalisms” (Herzfeld 1993: 4).

Scholars propose that encounters with state bureaucracy are also nation-building encounters, as citizens experience the ‘immutability’ of the state’s apparatus (Li 2007; Ong 2003). Yet Dani students may also experience quite the opposite: procedures and requirements are mutable and flexible depending on the perception of the person behind the plexiglass, or behind the desk. Perception, to a certain extent, can be altered, and not only by ‘bonuses’.
Cutting one’s hair, wearing a collared shirt, and trying to exude confidence (or, submissiveness) are all potential strategies for shaping the way one is perceived by others.

Campus figures are primarily people from North Sulawesi who hold certain stereotypes about Papuans: Papuans appearances are not tidy enough; they are irresponsible with money; they are separatists who reject Indonesia; they are intellectually slow and their SDM is low. The universities clearly provide an environment conducive to discrimination and poor treatment, where perhaps as Conkling (1979) suggests, these things already predominate inside the bureaucracy among civil servants. Conkling (1979) describes a bureaucracy in Indonesia where even those inside are fearful of retaliation, are secretive and accept corrupt practices. He writes, “Complaints were deemed ineffective and possibly dangerous” (Conkling 1979: 550), and, “Weak authority gave government employees the freedom to interpret the rules as they chose in many circumstances or else to ignore them” (Conkling 1979: 552).

On campus, students find that some of their education objectives are difficult to achieve. There is less knowledge available than they may have anticipated because professors are not always available to teach classes and they do not necessarily teach the new skills that they talk about, as Minke found when she attempted to learn how to use a computer. University education appears less prestigious when viewed from the inside, where students discover an economy of friends, favours, and enemies. From their descriptions, rather than gaining tangible skills and experiences that might allow them to become human resources, improve their quality, or transform the Papuan highlands, they are overwhelmed by the need to navigate the education system from positions of vulnerability caused in part by racism and stigma. Specific academic programs and lessons merely form the backdrop for these more significant challenges and occasional triumphs. Experiences of stigmatization and vulnerability described here and in the previous chapter are formative in shaping Dani preferences for the company of other Wamena people. Their forays into urban cosmopolitanism, multiculturalism, and more Indonesian affiliations are cut short. Thus education abroad also involves a heightened commitment to being themselves – mountain people and Wamena people. The next chapter explores the activities, values, and conflicts that occur in the
enclave’ – a social world comprised of Dani and other Wamena students that is nevertheless permeated by the spectre of stigma and expectations of quality.
CHAPTER 6

Distinguishing Orang Wamena

‘Mountain People’

Some students develop friendships with Indonesians, but most orang Wamena in North Sulawesi have social lives that revolve around other self-identified Wamena people, or, even more narrowly, with people from their extended family or clan alliance. Wamena students also refer to themselves as orang gunung (mountain people or highlanders) and differentiate themselves from coastal Papuans. Being ‘mountain people’ is associated with a strong communal ethic, garden labour, and humility.

Orang gunung are obliged to help each other out. We cannot just take care of ourselves individually and leave our friends to their fate. That is why we say, we all maju [go forward] or none of us maju. It is us kids of farmers that really want to study and work for Papua. The kids of the bosses [bos-bos, meaning wealthy people like landowners, entrepreneurs and higher status politicians and civil servants] do not care because they have money. They come here to North Sulawesi as well, and we see them playing around. Many quit school and many, many go home. (Lavinia Weya)

We are different from other Papuans because we are farmers. Look, not one of us has soft hands, and wherever we go, we garden [kerja kebun]. Our elders say God gave you two hands and two feet, now get to work. You will not see us walking around wearing expensive things, looking cool and showing off [pasang gaya]. (Jhon Wetipo)

These self-characterizations reiterate students’ roots in the highlands. They identify themselves with a strong work ethic and ability to sacrifice and suffer to get what they want. Others also sacrifice on their behalf, as Farhadian (2005:
57) describes for migrant Dani youth living in Jayapura, the capital city of Papua province:

Highland families make great financial sacrifices to pay for their children's school and living costs, deriving their incomes mainly from crop yields sold at local highland markets. Through the hard work of their parents, their own work in Jayapura, and limited sponsorship from, perhaps, a religious foundation or mission, young Dani have the opportunity to study in the urban environment of Jayapura.

Dani students in Jayapura similarly assert that they are united by their financial struggles and their reliance on manual labour for income:

I had to work for a family as a gardener...we must work as gardeners, washing dishes, any kind of job, so that we can study. In general, the students from Wamena study that way. If there are parents who work as state employees or teachers, they can send their children money monthly. But with us the parents have no work in the village so we must work as gardeners or house help or in construction....(cited in Farhadian 2005: 57)

Wamena students frequently argue that they are hard-working farmers and that they accept and acknowledge obligations to share and take care of each other that they do not see amongst other Papuans. There is thus quite a bit of pride, not shame, about being from Wamena. Experiences of stigma make students reluctant to form relationships with Indonesians, and make forming relationships challenging. I have suggested that there is, as a result, even more focus by students on the close-knit community or enclave of Wamena people. This chapter explores some aspects of everyday living in this enclave, including kinship relations, self-improvement efforts, extracurricular activities, and social events. Through student organizations, meetings and formal social events they continue to strive for skills and quality off-campus. As if set on a particular course by their on-campus experiences, however, the skills they choose to focus on emphasize ceremony, appearances, and propriety more than skills that might allow them to turn on the lights, build roads, or, seemingly, otherwise prove themselves in the field back home.

Relations among Students: Expectations, Reputations, Secrecy
Relations among groups of *orang Wamena* are close - like extended families, they move freely between residences, move about town together, and express feeling obligated to assist one another. They spend the vast majority of their time together, either on or off campus. Besides attending classes and extracurricular activities together, students also go shopping together, work in gardens together, wash clothes together, attend church together, and keep each other informed of news from Wamena and the activities of other Papuan students at universities around Indonesia. They speak a number of languages amongst themselves, taking words from Dani, Wamena Indonesian, and Manado Indonesian, though Wamena Indonesian dominates unless students are amongst others who speak the same dialect of Dani, in which case students tend to speak their mother tongue. As previously mentioned (see p. 13), linguists identify at least four sub-groupings of the Dani language (Lower-Grand Valley Dani, Mid-Grand Valley Dani, Upper-Grand Valley Dani, and the Lani or Western Dani) (Heider 1979).

Dani students typically do not speak or understand the Yali language (centered in regions to the south and east of the Baliem Valley). Dani students are quite mobile between residences of friends and kin, other dorms, around campus and in Manado, Tomohon, and Tondano. When clothes, toiletries, and food are shared, there is not always a need or desire to return home, a place that may be poorly defined anyway. If a female student visits her friend’s residence after classes, she probably changes out of her campus wear – jeans, a clean or new-looking shirt or blouse – and borrows short pants and an old shirt for cooking, lounging, playing volleyball, and sleeping. To bathe she will take her friend’s *mandi* bucket (a plastic scoop to douse oneself while bathing), which usually contains a bar of soap, a toothbrush, and perhaps shampoo, and will borrow a towel. It is equally common for male students to visit a Dani friend, or even an acquaintance, take a nap, eat, bathe, and borrow a clean shirt before leaving.

These practices show supportive, positive relations. Even students who do not know each other well or personally are able to place each other in a network of kin and friends, and are obliged to help each other out. One main feature of student relations is the dominance of the *kakak-adik* (older sibling – younger sibling) relationship. This is a hierarchical relationship of expectations
and obligations that applies to all students regardless of kinship relations.

**Kakak and Adik: Respect, Control, Hierarchy**

Hierarchical relationships are expressed using kinship terms: the relational terms *kakak* (older sibling) and *adik* (younger sibling) are used among Dani students. Although they sound like they mark kinship, there are few siblings (students with the same mother and father or students with the same father, different mother) in North Sulawesi. More commonly, students may share a grandfather, or put differently, their parents may be siblings. Minke’s mother, for instance, is the younger sister of Etinus’ mother. In Tondano, Minke looked up to Etinus as a *kakak* (older brother) and a source of protection, advice, and assistance. Etinus helped Minke with the campus bureaucracy, lent her money at times, and helped her with schoolwork. Minke sometimes cooked meals for Etinus and washed his clothes. Etinus was always kind to her, as she explained, “I have many other *kakak* (older brothers) here but if they are rude and order me around too much then I do not feel like helping them out.” As she frequently retorted when some male relatives at the dorm ordered her to wash the dishes or pick vegetables, “We are all students here. I am a student too, so we all have to do the work.” When Minke decided to quit school, she was not worried for herself but was concerned that her family would blame Etinus for not taking proper care of her.

Similar expectations fall on *kakak-adik* (older-younger siblings) of the same gender: *Kakak* are expected to be good examples, to take responsibility for *adik* and to assist *adik* to be worthy of respect and status. Male and female *adik* should heed advice and do chores. New hierarchies are created in North Sulawesi based on time spent there as a student. A new student who in other contexts would be equal or possibly considered *kakak* becomes an *adik* to senior students.

The older sibling-younger sibling hierarchy also positions most women as *adik* to most men, although as Minke’s statement above suggests, the hierarchy may be rejected on the basis that “we are all students” if women feel they are being exploited by men. Nonetheless, if female students are older, married, have children, or are considered senior because of their level of
For kakak and adik, it is difficult to meet expectations. For instance, more senior students tend not to have much money to assist or take responsibility for a junior sibling. He or she probably has the social resources to get money together in an emergency, such as sickness or hospitalization, but the irony is that most junior students arrive in North Sulawesi with money they recently acquired in Wamena, and find themselves financially assisting or supporting other more senior students. Taking care of adik-adik is important to students’ sense of adulthood, is important for maintaining a good reputation back home, and is a difficult, long-term task. Senior students speak about younger siblings who make them feel malu (embarrassed) when they get into trouble or do not take school seriously. Although being a good sibling is generally important, it is more important when the people involved are actually members of the same family or clan. Older siblings, in particular, are expected to control the behavior of younger siblings in order to maintain a good reputation with relatives back home.

Students are well aware of each other’s clan (marga) origins. If I asked how many Matuans, Aluas, or Gombos (clan names from Wamena) there are in North Sulawesi, I got consistent answers. More than that, in order to count, students listed all the Matuans they knew of by their first names, all of the Aluas by their first name, and so forth. It is important to know clan origins in order to place a prospective girlfriend or boyfriend in the Dani moiety system, which divides all Dani clans into two intermarrying groups called wita and waya. More broadly, by knowing everyone, students can hear and talk gossip about each other. Talking about each other is said to be a preferable way to learn about each other without putting anyone on the spot. I was told that I would not get very far asking most people about themselves but that if I wanted to know I
should go ask their friends, or go ask their parents in Wamena. They find ways to monitor each other without directly invading each other’s privacy. Minke said, “I don’t know who Martha’s [her cousin] boyfriend is. If we lived together, ate together, then I would know.” Thus, besides asking about each other’s business, students can regulate each other by being observant and sharing the same social spaces.

Students sometimes comment that Indonesians in North Sulawesi are “not very polite” (Penggu). Wamena students consider respectfulness and politeness important personal characteristics. Careful interactions form the basis of socializing, and echo what goes on in Wamena. When they meet in the street, students approach slowly, they take a long time looking, placing the face, the name, the relationship. They greet each other with a handshake, except if they live in the same house or are close kin they see often. The level of enthusiasm of the greeting tells each person about the current state of the relationship – a big hug and a yell signals good friendship, while a half-hearted handshake may signal that someone is not pleased. They ask each other where they are going or where they have been. They ask about someone they heard was sick or in trouble. They exchange information about mutual friends. They talk about an upcoming meeting or event, or about some controversy. They promise to visit soon. All of this takes place on the roadside, in a bus, spontaneous, time-consuming, and important. I asked students why they go through this lengthy ritual, and was told that, “If Wamena people just see their friends and wave or say hello, we feel unsatisfied” (Jally).

A student heading out the door of his or her dormitory is inevitably asked where he or she is going. Sometimes this question is the same as saying hello or goodbye, and no one really expects to be told where their housemate is going. But it may carry investigative undertones. The real question is not ‘where’, but with ‘whom’ will you meet, and what will you be doing. Thus, no student heading out the door gives a straight answer. He might announce that he is going to ‘Block B’ (an area of campus housing in Tondano), or to ‘campus’.

One great fear is that whoever is asking will want to follow along, ruining the independent jaunt about to take place. On one occasion in Manado, several students and I ran into a young man who casually said he was going to visit other male friends at a nearby dorm. He looked the part, dressed in pants
roughly shorn off at the knees. An hour later, we ran into him again on the other side of town, freshly bathed, groomed and perfumed. Laughing, we realized he had gone to his friends’ dorm to shower and shave, and was now heading out alone into the local shopping and entertainment area in search of more interesting pursuits. In Tondano, it is much harder to be furtive, and even grabbing a snack near campus is likely to elicit attention and teasing from friends who are feeling hungry. One cannot walk home from the garden carrying a bag of vegetables without alerting friends along the way to the imminent preparation of food and eating. It is important to students to eat together; no one should go hungry. In fact, in the Yepmum dorm, if there was not enough food to cook for everyone present, we often did not cook and just made tea or went hungry. Other Wamena friends who visit the dorm would normally leave before evening in order to avoid making the Yepmum students feel they had to feed them.

Respect, hierarchy, and indirect forms of control are important parts of student relationships, but there is also much teasing, horsing around, and companionship. As previously mentioned, students rarely have a bedroom to themselves, and many live in communal settings such as dorms or boarding houses. In most of these settings, privacy is impossible – I recall laughing hysterically with a female student as she called out taunts to her male cousin who was engaged in a flirtatious phone call on the other side of a very thin dormitory wall. These features of student relationships apply to men as well as to women. It is common for male and female students to keep watch over younger students, particularly females, as part of their obligations as kakak. Junior students also quickly learn ways of doing as they please by sneaking out, lying about their objectives or destinations, or by going to Manado (or, for those in Manado, to Tondano) where no one is going to follow to check up on their whereabouts.

In sum, relations among Wamena students are close, despite differences in clan affiliation, religion, and residential patterns. They are each other’s primary social contacts and sources of financial and emotional support. Even though they associate with coastal Papuans and Indonesians on campus, they spend most of their time with other members of the same extended family or culture area. One of the main ways they do this is in student organizations.
Discipline and Prowess: Student Organizations in North Sulawesi

Every time I visited the Dani women’s dorm in Manado I found a hub of activity. More often than not, this activity revolved around student organization productions rather than examinations or assignments. Two or three women would be huddled around Ana’s computer (purchased by her older brother, a public servant in Jayapura) typing and printing the program for an upcoming event or writing out the words to Christian songs so the group could sing well together at the next prayer session. Two others would be heading out the door to distribute invitations, either simple pieces of paper folded in three or fancier versions wrapped in cellophane and sealed with a bow. Each invitation would be addressed to a particular individual or dormitory. Fundraisers took place almost every weekend. In the following, I document and analyze these extracurricular commitments, and suggest that these commitments offer insight into a particular understanding and production of quality developed by students abroad. The quality to which students aspire incorporates ceremony and propriety as well as tangible, demonstrable skills of value. These sometimes conflicting goals produce an intriguing version of SDM or human resources.

Dani student organizations also provide an arena to view social relations and conflict. If Dani students demonstrate that they prefer to develop and indicate their quality without Indonesians around, what exactly do they do, and does stigma disappear? What are the consequences of shame and supposed failure in front of other Wamena people?

Although this section focuses on highlanders, it is not only highlanders or Papuans who form student organizations. Other longstanding groups in Sulawesi include local branches of the National Indonesian Students Movement (GMNI), and mentioned below, the Union of Catholic Students of Indonesia (PMKRI). These groups have elaborate costumes and flags that they wear to marches and demonstrations or just to meetings. They also have their own anthems that they sing along with the Indonesian anthem at formal gatherings. The highlands students’ groups tend to be more recently formed; they are also less well funded, and have smaller membership bases.

Membership in the major student organizations is based on regency
(kabupaten) of origin in the highlands, though there are also organizations based on religion; one group is made up of members of an extended family from Wolo village, north of Wamena.

Student organizations promote social activities such as discussion groups and Christmas and Easter celebrations, and support new students through their induction programs. The organizations provide formal and informal sessions of advice on being a student, on their responsibilities, and on dealing with the new environment. They are also the direct link to the regency governments and group leaders are responsible for handing out scholarships. Certain organizations engage in political activism.

Organizations are not just for getting together with friends; they are taken very seriously. Below are some of the ways that students describe their organizations:

Manado is a good place to study because here we can join organizations with other Papuans or just Wamena people. In Wamena, people do not mix too much. Here I am involved with organizations such as IMIPA, Rupmawi, AMPTPI, and others. (Lex Elosak)

We were told to go to the FKPM-GIDI induction. Maybe other new students went to other ones but we went to this one. Mainly they told us your parents sent you here with their hard-earned money for you to study. You may not drink alcohol and get drunk, you may not mess around, you may not quit school, you must learn well and you must be successful. (Minke Kenelak)

The above statements demonstrate beliefs about what students are doing when they take part in organizations. New students say they are getting advice about being good students abroad in the form of warnings against drinking and otherwise ‘fooling around’ (main-main). These lessons from senior students to junior students also show the extent to which seniors want to control the behavior of junior students because their own personal reputations and the reputations of Papuans as a group may be at stake.

Students also assert that they are learning skills they say they lack (and require for success): organization, discipline, public speaking, leadership, and developing confidence to express themselves in front of others, particularly Indonesians. The following sections explore student groups and their activities.
and objectives in more detail.

The Organizations

Table 6 lists the student organizations to which highlanders in North Sulawesi most commonly belong.

Table 6: Organizations that include Wamena Students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Motto</th>
<th>Founding Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jayawijaya Student’s Association</td>
<td>Rupmawi</td>
<td>United We Struggle for Development</td>
<td>1984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication Forum of University Students</td>
<td>FKPM-GIDI</td>
<td>Gain Wisdom and Become My Witness</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of the Evangelical Church of Indonesia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yanuimo Regency Student’s Association</td>
<td>PPMY</td>
<td>Fighting for Development</td>
<td>2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Big Family of Catholic University Students</td>
<td>KBMKKJ-T</td>
<td></td>
<td>1987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of the Jayapura-Timika Diocese</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Association of Central Highlands University Students</td>
<td>AMPTPI</td>
<td>One People, One Homeland</td>
<td>2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Papua, Indonesia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union of Catholic University Students of Indonesia</td>
<td>PMKRI-MANADO</td>
<td>Towards an Independent, Contextual,</td>
<td>1975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Indonesia, Manado branch</td>
<td></td>
<td>Relevant Organization</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walak Network</td>
<td>Ikatan Walak</td>
<td></td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papua University Students’ Network</td>
<td>IMIPA</td>
<td></td>
<td>1989</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Jayawijaya student’s association (Rupmawi) is the longest standing regency-based student organization in North Sulawesi. Before the regency was divided up and new regencies formed, it was a massive group. The Manado and Tondano branches are run somewhat separately in North Sulawesi. The main activities include Easter and Christmas celebrations, the annual induction
of new members, which incorporates new student orientation activities, and formal group discussions. Catholic and Protestant students are part of this group; in cultural terms the group represents a spectrum of Dani from the ‘Valley’ and the ‘West’ as well as Yali students. The organization was founded when senior students realized that they needed a way to represent their interests both locally and to the regional government back home. Each year Rupmawi leaders distribute government scholarships to later year students, if their name is on the right list in Wamena. Distribution of scholarships is one of the main sources of conflict in the regency-based organizations. It is not always clear to students which organization they should be going to for their scholarships and their perspectives may conflict with government paperwork in the highlands. Rupmawi is often in a state of conflict due to tensions between Catholic and Protestant Dani, explored later in this chapter.

Student groups are also formed on the basis of religious links. The Communication Forum of University Students of the Evangelical Church of Indonesia in North Sulawesi (FKPM-GIDI) and the Big Family of Catholic University Students of the Jayapura-Timika Diocese (KBMKKJ-T) are the two main religious groupings of Dani students. FKPM-GIDI is dominated by Dani students but fundraisers and celebrations attract other Papuan students as well. The Big Family of Catholic Students covers students from the expansive Jayapura-Timika Diocese. The group used to be dominated by Wamena students but many students also come from the Paniai and Merauke regions of Papua. Table 7 shows that in recent years the number of students in the KBMKKJ-T has declined. Dani students argue that the decline in the number of Catholic students from Wamena is partly because relatives in Wamena no longer believe in Manado as much as they once did; students are not studying seriously and many are returning home after a year or two without results.
The AMPTPI is the newest student organization, formed in order to push political issues that highlander students feel strongly about. The founders feel that they have aspirations and agendas that differ from non-highlanders, and that the province-based group, IMIPA, does not adequately represent them and is not interested in supporting political activism. As it is not directly linked to any regency the AMPTPI is also more able to criticize government practices and promote Papuan nationalism. Only a small number of Dani are involved in the Union of Catholic University Students of Indonesia (PMKRI), but the organization does provide residence to those students in a dormitory in Manado, and creates an opportunity for Catholic students to bond with Indonesians of the same faith. The Walak Network is one of a kind in the region, incorporating students from the same extended clan alliance based around the village of Wolo west of Wamena.

Beyond what organizations actually do, students want a well-funded, well-populated, active organization with formalized rules and objectives. From their descriptions and some of their documents we can see that a high quality organization involves elaborate rules, mission and vision statements, as well as regular, well-structured activities. Each organization has a defined membership, a motto, a vision, and is active in producing student-centred activities. Rupmawi’s motto is “united in the struggle to develop.” The AMPTPI has a more politicized motto (One People, One Homeland, or Satu Tungku, Satu Honai) that draws on Dani culture by using the concept of honai, the round, thatched hut found commonly throughout the central highlands.
Celebrations and Commemorations

As students’ suggest, organizations are important venues for them to develop certain skills. Some even claim to be attracted to North Sulawesi because the area has a reputation for its many student organizations. Organizations provide an opportunity to socialize with others in what is seen as a productive, disciplined, and religious environment. Students hold elections to choose their leaders. A committee is formed for each major event. The committee is divided into several task-based units, such as the ‘consumption unit’ (in charge of food preparation), the ‘fundraising unit’, the ‘budget unit’, the ‘communications unit’ (in charge of disseminating information about meetings and invitations), and the ‘event unit’ (in charge of operations on the day of the event). Events take much work to prepare. If they want to hold a major event such as a Christmas celebration, new students’ induction, or commemoration of their organization or church, they organize several fundraising events first. Each fundraiser builds on the previous one; money gained is spent creating a bigger event at which they hope to attract more money. The more developed groups have put their mandates and rules to paper, creating such paperwork as ‘rules of the organization’, ‘the importance of the organization’ and other mission and vision statements.

At the commemoration of the founding of the Evangelical Church of Indonesia in Papua, put on by the FKPM-GIDI organization, white leaflets described the program:

1. Opening
2. Welcome
3. Prayer
4. Reading of the history of GIDI
5. Report from the committee/giving thanks
6. Closing/socializing

Dani students, mainly from Wolo, produced the event. Over the course of two fundraising events, the students raised almost two million rupiah for the final production. About one hundred people attended the event, held at one of the buildings on Unima campus. A few coastal Papuans participated in the singing competition. A Dani minister gave the sermon. Messages in the speeches and sermon reinforced common attitudes about the purpose of their education: the
sermon asked us to think about all the problems in Papua and argued that the way forward is for Papuans to unite and to serve Jesus. The head of the FKPM-GIDI organization argued that, “what students do and learn in Manado reflects what we will create later in the field. So why does it seem that smoking and drinking are on the increase instead of decreasing?” He encouraged fortitude for all those who will go home to parents who are estranged from the Lord or who need to be convinced to serve the Lord. Another senior student used the opportunity to encourage those who have been in North Sulawesi a long time to hurry up, go home, and fill the jobs. After the speeches, attendees were served lunch – rice, pork, and bottled water – and then left to socialize with friends.

The AMPTPI (Association of Central Highlands University Students of Papua, Indonesia) produced a graduation celebration in Tondano with a similar program of events although it was less well-funded and well-prepared, relying mainly on graduates to spend their own money on preparations for the bakar batu (lit. stone cooking, a traditional method of steaming pork, tubers and vegetables). They invited a local government official to give a speech, and a group of students led the prayer service. Local government men and their families sat on dining chairs inside the dorm and were served steamed pork and potatoes on plates while students ate with their hands out of communal pails outside. Even though the AMPTPI represents Catholic and Protestant students, the event was held at the Protestant-dominated Yepmum dorm at Unima and Catholic students were surprised to find out that AMPTPI banners were displayed at the ceremony, to which they had not been invited. They held their own, smaller party at their off-campus dorm.

Catholic students spent several months planning for the election of new KBMKKJ-T (Big Family of Catholic University Students of the Jayapura-Timika Diocese) leaders. Leaders were first elected to be in charge of the election committee and to organize the day-long event held at a beautiful complex of well-kept buildings on a rural property outside Manado called Wisma Lorenzo (previously described in Chapter 4). The session that students developed for the election follows the pattern of other events: an event theme, banners, a program, speeches, and lunch, except the session also included candidates’ debates and the election. One of the activities that the KBMKKJ-T held for many years was a retreat at Wisma Lorenzo in which students gave seminar
presentations around a particular theme. “Human Resource Development,” and “Developing our Christian Potential” are two examples of retreat themes from the late 1990s. The 2006 elections also had a theme: “Developing an Aware Culture” (*Membangun Budaya Sadar*), and included rules of order as follows:

1. General instruction: this special session is authorized by the KBMKKJ-T and all decisions are true and official.
2. Rules of speech:
   Participants who wish to speak must raise their hands and receive permission from the session Leader.
3. Participants and Candidates:
   a. Participants must be members if the KBMKKJ-T;
   b. Candidates must be respectful and sympathetic;
   c. Guests must be cooperative.
4. Special instructions:
   a. Participants are not allowed to be present under the influence of alcohol;
   b. Participants are not allowed to bring weapons.

The afternoon schedule included five different plenary sessions and the formation of a working team (see Table 8).

**Table 8: KBMKKJ-T Schedule of Election Activities**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14.00-14.30</td>
<td>PLENARY I ELECTION OF THE SESSION LEADER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.30-15.30</td>
<td>PLENARY II RULES OF THE SPECIAL SESSION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.30-17.00</td>
<td>PLENARY III COMMITTEE SESSION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Discussion and Determination of Basic Principles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Discussion and Determination of Working principles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.00-18.00</td>
<td>PLENARY IV ELECTION AND APPOINTMENT OF LEADERS FOR THE 2006-2008 PERIOD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.00-18.30</td>
<td>FORMATION OF THE WORKING TEAM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.30-19.00</td>
<td>CLOSING PLENARY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Acknowledgements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Closing Prayer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The events and activities described show how much effort students put into their organizations, and how much focus there is on the details – banners, invitations, programs, plenary sessions and committee reports, rules of order, packed lunches, sometimes bus transport or security guards, and not just one but perhaps several fundraisers. Beyond planning the events, students take centre stage on the day, getting dressed up in their church clothes, leading prayers, singing, and making speeches (planned or impromptu). Group meetings and discussions also follow this pattern: highlanders showing, teaching, and practicing discipline, order, and participation amongst, for the most part, other highlanders.

**Group Discussions**

Rupmawi is comprised of students from different dormitories. Each group of students forms a unit expected, on a rotating basis, to prepare materials for discussion and host discussion groups at their dorms. On a more spontaneous basis a few students may decide to hold a meeting to discuss political issues. A notice announcing the meeting is usually posted in a dorm for residents and visitors. If possible the students hosting the meeting will prepare invitations and deliver them to other members at their dorms. Rupmawi meetings are very formal. Generally, whoever is hosting the meeting leads an opening prayer, introduces the topic, the presenter, the moderator, and the discussant, and describes the format of the discussion. The presenter, moderator, and discussant sit at a table while the rest sit on the floor in front of them.

One such meeting I attended on 28 November 2005 was a discussion of “Recent Developments in Papua,” according to the announcement posted in Yepmum dorm on Unima campus. The meeting opened with prayer and introductory speeches as outlined above. Then, the presenter spoke for 20 minutes in formal Indonesian on the topic of Papuan political history, specifically concerning the history of Indonesian occupation since the 1960s. He asserted that many students still did not know the story of how Papua came to be incorporated into Indonesia. The discussant offered agreement with the main points and added some comments. The moderator organized question time. Before speaking, each student who made a comment or asked a question
thanked the group for the opportunity to speak and acknowledged each of the previous speakers by name, mentioning their specific contributions to the discussion. The speaker then spent several more minutes making a point and thanked everyone again for taking up time. There was actual content to the discussion – it was clear that some students were paying a great deal of attention (some took notes). Beyond content, much more attention was paid to the formal procedures and the ceremony of holding a discussion: behavior was extra polite, and discussion leaders took their roles and presentations very seriously. The presenter had prepared his notes on paper and the moderator similarly held paper and pen to take note of questions. Besides the attention to detailed, formal procedures, the meeting was an exercise in group discipline. Below are some examples of how students describe the skills they learn through discussion groups.

We learn from each other here. Like through Rupmawi we learn how to organize and have meetings, how to develop, and we pass this on to the new students. (Lavinia Weya)

It is good for us to learn, in class or outside, how to speak up. Many of us are silent, except a few. Some do not want to speak up or get together with the local people, at church, or in organizations. We are more confident when we are just with Papuans. It depends on personality but also on our level of experience and knowledge. You cannot buy this in class on campus. You have to learn about things from the media, from television, and you have to learn how to talk about things. For me, I always want to participate and dialogue. If we do not, it is our loss. (Penggu)

Discussions, like other group events, are organized entirely by students, for students, because they feel they are learning important skills in these settings. The meeting example described here shows us what students mean when they say they want to learn to debate and to be ‘brave’ (berani) and speak up in front of others. Students are displaying their prowess in front of others, and showing their level of quality. This understanding of quality is not the same as the government vision of SDM (human resources). This understanding of quality incorporates some elements of the on-campus lessons in proceduralism and the need to manage appearances and perceptions. Students’ stated goals focus on producing results in the field and other ways of helping highlanders, including visible results like roads and electricity, and invisible contributions that
will help other highlanders go forward. Yet in North Sulawesi students come to embrace the idea that the skills they demonstrate in their organizations and meetings are important and can be used to help highlanders ‘go forward’. Courage in public speaking, organizational skills, and discipline emerge as specific, applicable, and more tangible understandings of human resources. Students’ interest in organizing large-scale social gatherings may lead us to question whether it is the national concept of SDM that influences their aspirations at all, when such expertise is traditionally valued in highlands cultures. Large-scale events are the hallmark of highlands social life, especially among Dani people, and the ability to orchestrate collective activities is a mark of influence and power.

The *ap kain* is what we call the tribal chief in our [Dani] language. He is a good fighter, brave in battle, kills many enemies and steals women. Nowadays we do not do that anymore so there are fewer and fewer *ap kain*. Maybe he becomes a ‘bos’ instead, works in the government. He is also an expert at organizing events, solving disputes, and he tells people what to do, how to help themselves with their issues. When he talks, people listen, because they believe in him. He knows customs (*adat*) and everything about our history. He monitors everything. He is always in motion, visiting people, discussing matters, organizing the community. (Laurence Lagowan)

Descriptions of Melanesian big men and of political action identify leaders who organize feasts and festivals, daring warriors and commanders in warfare, aggressors in interpersonal and intergroup conflict, orators, directors of communal work and enterprise, men of authority who arbitrate disputes within the community, ritual practitioners, magicians and sorcerers (Brown 1990: 97). Some dominate by their physical strength, some by force of character. Men whose renown began in feats of daring and killing of enemies may never achieve greatness as orators, organizers of feasts, or magicians, and thus never attain big man status (Brown 1990: 97). The position of big men involves exclusive possession of special knowledge and expertise (Rubel and Rosman 1978: 292). Lindstrom (1984: 305) writes, “In knowledge based societies, men achieve power through the successful manipulation and control of information and ideology.” In Dani society, leadership has to be achieved and demonstrated (Ploeg 1996: 212). Achievement of leadership is based on a number of features, prominent among them are bravery, fighting ability, organizational and
negotiating skills, productivity, eloquence, generosity and a disposition to introduce “bold imaginative programs for group achievement” (Brown 1978: 195, cited in Ploeg 1996: 214).

The role of the leaders in the past was that they talk on behalf of the people during feasts, pig killing, food exchange, giving advice to young boys who are going to be initiated. They are the brave ones who lead the rest of the people to fight. They lead feasts, are the guest speakers when invited to other ceremonies. They are the key people of the whole village. They are respected by their own clan and also others…they show their respect…and they are also scared of them because if they say something bad then the big ones will hang them or burn them in their house…What they do is lead discussions about feasts, bride price, giving advice, solving problems. (Brown 1995: 22)

Lemonnier (1991:19) writes that Grand Valley polities had leaders, but they were primarily masters of ceremonies and ritual rather than organizers of exchanges (see also Butt 2001:80, n. 1, Ploeg 2004: 306, Ploeg 1996: 223). For Dani youth, large-scale celebrations and event management are frequent and celebrated forms of social engagement. Getting dressed up is also about showing efficacy based on appearances, a relatively common highlands practice (Brown 1995).

Even though they say they want practical skills they can use in the field, student groups are in one sense more exercises in rules, meetings, paperwork, and work that they make for themselves. But they are also, compared to typical days on campus, highly organized, productive institutions. They provide a venue in which students can cultivate attributes they desire without concern for how Indonesians may perceive them. Atmospheres are highly supportive. No one is ridiculed during discussions, and respect for the group leaders and for each other is of the utmost importance. Beyond creating venues for expressing prowess and for self-development, they are also a stepping point for political activism. In the organizations they say they want to improve on shyness and being embarrassed to speak in front of others. Indeed, in these settings, with other highlanders, they do not appear to lack confidence or avoid attention. In demonstrating their expertise in these forms of organizing and performance, students challenge the stereotype that presents them as primitive and uncouth.

In the absence of new affiliations and social connections with Indonesians, and since higher education advances, rather than reduces,
feelings of inadequacy, vulnerability, and rejection, students are becoming more committed to being Dani, Wamena people, and mountain people. They are also changing the values attached to those categories, because, as I propose in Chapter 8, they must. The ‘good voice’ (eki hano, Dani language) of a leader not only stays true to his or her word (see Alua 2006) but speaks to Indonesians in power. Dani human resources demonstrate good behaviour in order to influence other Dani people and because anything less than acquiescence may propel them out of class or into the office of a local government official for a humiliating lecture. Modernity can be associated less and less with broadening horizons, experiencing other cultures, or cosmopolitan connections, and more with success and prestige in front of other Wamena people. The lessons they have learned abroad, and the discipline and socialization they have received and embraced as part of their education allows them to identify modern quality in themselves, to pick up the similarities between a clan pig feast and an Easter fundraiser, to regulate and observe each other as ‘older sibling-younger sibling’ (kakak-adik) but to redefine these activities as ‘learning order and discipline’, and to develop a heightened awareness of the performative aspects of being modern (see Schein 1999) and having quality that they too can employ and manipulate. Students like Jhon Kenelak indicate that they have developed a reflexive awareness of culture as something that can be influenced by human agency:

We want to look at our culture and see what is bad and what is good. We can keep what is good and eliminate bad traditions, such as marrying off young girls and disturbing their education. So far, progress [kemajuan] means we suffer all these negative influences from Indonesia, like prostitution, diseases, this is what they bring with development [pembangunan]?! We do not want this progress.

Dani students may adopt the behaviours and values of others but they do not accept in any straightforward fashion others’ humiliating perspectives. They need an environment in which they can safely develop and display their modern attributes and achievements. Using two case studies, the final section in this chapter demonstrates conflict and disappointment that arise as some members of the enclave fail to live up to the hopes of quality emphasized by the majority of Dani students.
Conflict over Quality

Despite the empowering setting students create for themselves, the organizations are also often embroiled in conflict. The supportive atmosphere of discussion groups and events disappears. Valley and Walak students, in particular, clash over supposed poor conduct – drinking, fighting – that disrupts events and give them a bad image. Even though relationships are often based on kindness, sympathy, and camaraderie – the sense that we are all struggling through this together – students are quick to judge and to exclude those who are accused of not being good enough students.

Walan: Being Uninvited

Walan Alua looks older than his 28 years. He came to North Sulawesi nine years ago when his best friend Petrus Lagowan came to study at Unsrat. He could not imagine life without his friends, he said, so he hopped on the ship as well, although he did not really intend to study. Walan always looks drunk, even though his friends say that sometimes he is not drunk, he just looks that way. He wears his hair in long braids and is the life of every social event, mostly for his drunken antics, but also for his generosity. Even though he lives off his friends’ money most of the time, if he ever has any money of his own he spends it all on the biggest pork feast he can afford. He explains his academic activities: “I used to study, I used to be smart, I used to be good at sports and helped out with the organizations, but for the last few years I just don’t care anymore,” he laughs, and goes back to playing a never-ending game of shuffleboard with one of the other students at the Catholic men’s dorm in Manado where he is currently living. Walan moves frequently between Manado, Tondano, and Lotta, following his friends, looking for a new party, or running from trouble. When he’s drunk he likes to discuss politics, ranting and raving about injustices in Papua, and he likes to sing Dani and Papuan tunes he plays on a guitar that he ‘borrowed’ from a friend. When he stays at the dorm he usually leaves unexpectedly wearing a set of someone else’s clothes, someone else’s sandals – that’s just Walan, the other students say. Walan’s adventures frequently involve his friend Jon. The last time that Jon and Walan got together their good
friend Daniel ended up in hospital lucky to be alive after losing two litres of blood in the courtyard of the dorm – Daniel got on Jon’s nerves and Jon pushed his head through a glass window at two o’clock in the morning.

Walang, Jon, and Daniel are part of a group of several Catholic Valley Dani students who are excluded from student group activities by other Wamena students, who say they do not want ‘drunks’ at their events. Other Catholics use Walang, Jon, and Daniel as an example of their purported diminishing image and reputation in North Sulawesi.

In September 2006, Rupmawi held its annual new member orientation and induction. The leadership of Rupmawi, dominated by western Dani Protestants, did not extend invitations to the Catholic Valley Dani on the grounds that some of them had a pattern of attending such events in a state of drunkenness. As a result of not being invited, the few new Catholic students also missed out on being inducted as new members into Rupmawi and missed meeting other new students from Wamena. The 2006 event was organized by Walak students, a clan-based group of Dani Protestants from the Wolo Valley who desperately wanted to put on a high-quality event. The organizers even went to the trouble of hiring a Papuan security guard to patrol the forested event site to ensure that no uninvited guests gained entry.

Besides the reason of alleged alcohol consumption, the students in charge of invitations also cited the fact that several of the Catholic Dani live in a dorm mixed with Indonesian Catholics, and therefore it was not on their typical path for visiting friends around town – to invite them would require a special trip there. In response to not being included in the event, senior Catholic students refused to be of assistance in organizational matters, and discouraged new arrivals from getting involved in Rupmawi. As the event got underway elsewhere, Catholic Dani at one dorm held a meeting and expressed frustration at the situation. According to William Matuan, “We used to run Rupmawi. Our seniors (kakak-kakak) developed the whole organization, modeled after the KBMKKJ-T. They prepared the organizational materials. And now they give someone else the role of presenting the history of the organization to the new students.” Some did get drunk, which was said to be the ‘normal’ response to a distressing situation. Walang asserted, “Its fine, its better this way, the new kids are all in boarding houses anyways, they live with local people [orang sini], with
Catholics. The dorms are in chaos anyways, it is better if they are alone.”

The above statements by William and others evoke a sense of desperation about the waning influence and presence of Valley Dani in North Sulawesi. William remembers a time when their ‘prowess’ was unquestioned. The loss of quality that Walan finds most disturbing is that of the role of the ‘older sibling’ (kakak) who is prevented from sharing knowledge and wisdom with new students. The notion of quality thus causes conflict as much as it unites students in a common purpose. It some Dani students, namely Valley Dani, are having more trouble demonstrating their quality than other Dani students. As a result, they are stereotyped as ‘rough’ and may be excluded from the activities of the majority. Quality is seen as readily available, thus if Valley Dani do not conform to the ideal of quality, it is because they choose to be undisciplined and unambitious, not because they are a relatively small, sometimes isolated polity within a stigmatized minority group in North Sulawesi, or because their communities in the southern section of the Baliem Valley have historically taken the brunt of state violence and land seizures. As the following case study demonstrates, Valley Dani students themselves assert that current conditions in their villages and in Wamena are affecting the quality of students that arrive in North Sulawesi in the first place. More students, they say, arrive with histories of violent behavior and alcohol abuse.

A Failed Event

In the previous case, ‘Walan: Being Uninvited’, Western Dani students pointed to Catholic Valley students as being drunken, violent troublemakers, and thus excluded them from certain activities. Valley students, although angry about being excluded, sometimes discuss their alleged bad behavior and reflect on their negative reputations. When Valley students expressed disappointment that their 2006 KBMKKJ-T elections (previously discussed p. 214-215) were disorganized, poorly executed, and marred by drunken participants, I held an impromptu discussion with a group of students to get their thoughts on the situation. One of the recent developments that males point to as a sign of deterioration of quality and group dignity is the lack of female Valley students, and lack of female participation in organizational activities:
There used to be many girls here. They used to get together with us for church services or for events. But now, the guys are usually idiots. There are some men who antagonize the women, or they get drunk and talk shit so the females do not feeling like participating. The women live alone, in boarding houses or if they have an older female relative [kakak] here then maybe they live together. Many get married here as well, even if they come here because they want to study, I don’t know, maybe the men just keep chasing after them...nowadays there are only a few girls, really, from the Valley there are no new female students this year. Actually there is one but she’s not Catholic, and she has gone to live with her cousins in Tondano. (Daniel Matuan)

Following on from Daniel’s point, Jon Itlay describes how behavior among men has deteriorated since he started school in North Sulawesi.

When I arrived here, our older siblings took charge of us constantly. If we went drinking or got together with a girl and they found out, they would toss us in the water tank. They forbid everything. Even if they were sometimes drunk, as younger siblings we were not allowed to do it. But now, if we try to control the young guys, it is really difficult. They are stubborn [kepala batu] and they do not listen. In Papua, they are accustomed to drinking and fist fights so they come here and just keep on doing it.

Laurence, whose older cousin Herman used to be president of Rupmawi, describes feelings of regret and disappointment at the chaotic state of their student organization, which holds events that are often disorganized and marred by alcohol.

We used to hold such good celebrations; some people came from the Protestant churches because we put on good celebrations so they all came. Now, we cannot even get invited to their celebrations, it pisses me off. We held an election for the leader of KBMKKJT, but, first of all, the organizers came very late. According to the schedule we were supposed to start at 8am but when they got here it was already midday. As soon as we started discussing the rules for the election, people were hungry, it was time to eat, but also, the lunch committee was not ready yet. After we finally ate, well some were already drunk so first we had to have a long discussion about whether they were allowed to speak and to vote, and people were talking out of turn and it took a long time to get anything accomplished. Eventually we got it all underway, but it went on until dark. Some people had arguments; some talked too much, some talked even though they are drunk. Some people boycotted too.
These students articulate a sense of failure at their poorly run election, and over the state of their organization more generally. They note that they were once the best organizers in North Sulawesi and that they used to dominate other organizations like Rupmawi. They observe that there are fewer and fewer female students coming to North Sulawesi, that the authority of senior students over new arrivals is weak, and that new arrivals increasingly come from Wamena with bad habits of drinking, fighting, and otherwise ignoring the advice of their relatives and/or more senior students. Alcohol seems to play an important role in ruining their events and their relationships with each other and other highlanders, who do not want to associate with them. Most of all, they argue that they can no longer rely on each other: even senior students and leaders let everyone else down by not showing up or not carrying out their duties. One student explained the problem of alcohol as a matter of ‘stress’:

Sometimes students feel like they are finally here, they have achieved something, but then they have no money for fees. Their families think they are adults and they can fend for themselves. They do not know what it is like here – we have no gardens to sell produce, no pigs to raise. Are we going to get a job in Megamall, or driving a bus? If you fall behind with your fees then you are in a really bad situation – your friends go on ahead without you and you have nothing to do all day. This feels really bad. Sometimes men have troubles with women, and this makes them want to drink, but mostly it is just stress. Nobody wants to quit. Then sometimes you get a group of friends, they are all out of school, and then they can entertain each other with drinking. Drinking becomes normal. (Etinus Kenelak)

Fighting, drinking, and expressions of stress show that despite their best efforts to create discipline, productivity and other achievements they can be proud of out of the discrimination, disorganization, and instability of on-campus education, for some students it is not as easy as getting dressed up, printing invitations and sticking to the agenda.

Temptations, new freedoms, and harsh judgments experienced in North Sulawesi enhance the pressure on senior students to guard the reputations of junior students. They are aware of being observed by Indonesians, and judged as a group. No one wishes to be responsible for advancing the stigma against orang Papua, but developing quality together only partially addresses the constraints and difficulties of education abroad. The vision of ‘prowess’ in
student organizations is more satisfying for some students than others. For Valley students, what goes on in Rupmawi is merely a reflection of more pressing concerns. Where is the comfort in a well-run fundraiser when their clans are less and less willing to send young people to North Sulawesi? Are they part of the solution or part of the problem?

**Conclusion**

In conclusion, Wamena students argue they are prepared for hard work and familiar with suffering, but the hard work they know, in the garden, traveling on foot, and cold nights in the mountains, is nothing compared to the pressures of their worst case scenarios in North Sulawesi: trying to succeed under a microscope, watched by judgmental locals and suspicious police, subject to retaliatory lecturers and arrogant campus staff, and seeking knowledge that is unavailable and insufficient. Living, working, studying, and organizing together provides a modicum of control over these circumstances, but the commitment to succeed as a group of Wamena people who take care of each other and who all go forward together is a source of conflict and pride. One of the effects of humiliating experiences on campus and amongst local Indonesians in North Sulawesi is that students become more focused on their relatively small, intimate community of Wamena people; this chapter has provided an ethnographic look into this social world.
CHAPTER 7

Limits on Shame and Stigma

Living in the *rantau* (space of migration) means that for better or for worse, students make their own decisions and are more or less left to their own devices. The fate of ‘migrant youth’ (*anak-anak merantau*), as students sometimes refer to themselves, is to make mistakes and to be vulnerable to the influences of the local environment, which includes their peers. This chapter shows a confidence coming through, associated with mobility, education, adulthood. When students are involved in sexual relationships during their studies they are disobeying instructions from their parents, preachers, and other authority figures in Wamena and in North Sulawesi. In North Sulawesi young people are instructed to ‘finish first’, or complete their education before sex, marriage, and family life begins. Students are also warned by people in Wamena not to have sex or get (anyone) pregnant. They warn each other of the dangers of ruining their education because of romantic or sexual feelings and behaviours. Nation-wide discourses emphasize the dangers of premarital sex and the shame of pregnancy out of wedlock. Students assert the importance of finishing their studies first, but they still get into romantic and sexual relationships. Some are said to be married. In this chapter, I look at the way that they explain these acts of disobedience and manoeuvre around the shame they are supposed to feel about sex and marriage before graduation. Their confident assertions of independence shed light on the broader meanings and implications of education, success, and achievement. Graduation, or nearing graduation, produces a language of power that challenges stigma, control, and
scrutiny from near and from afar.

The Formula for Success

‘Finish first’, locally expressed as *kuliah dulu* or *selesai dulu*, promotes education goals while discouraging sex before marriage. Students hear these messages in church settings, which tend to make a point of expressing national government messages to parishioners as part of their role in the community. For example, a Minahasan Pentecostal minister in Tondano explained to me,

> We tell them to *kuliah dulu* because this is part of the formula for success [sukses]. This is particularly important for our brothers and sisters from Papua, because their region is very poor and people are depending on them to have success and to help the people at home. Also from what the Papuan students tell me promiscuity is a very big problem in Papua and leads to destruction of the young generation. Some of their parents are still in the dark about this. We encourage students to take the message home with them for their own well-being. It is not just for Papuan students though; many students around here live in dorms, especially the Pauans, or in boarding houses where they may easily fall into sin.

In Papua, as in other parts of Indonesia, young people are instructed to avoid sex altogether in order to keep themselves safe from the threat of HIV/AIDS. Images of school children asserting that they will ‘take care of themselves and avoid HIV/AIDS’ are displayed around Jayapura. Perspectives from Dani university students also suggest that AIDS is a threat to human resources and that the main way to keep safe is to stay away from sexual relationships (Munro 2004).

It is not only state agencies or religious authorities that assert that sex ruins a young person’s future. Students say that their parents warn them not to have sex while they are studying. Besides important warnings about avoiding sexually transmitted infections, parents argue against marriage, according to students, because marrying without permission and guidance is seen as causing trouble for other family members. Relatives who invest care in young people expect to benefit from marriage, which occasions wealth transfer and creates new exchange partners (Butt 1998; O’Brien 1969).
In this section, students weigh in on the issues of marriage and sex while still in school. These results are partially based on 20 initial interviews I did about student activities, daily life, and relationships. However most of these insights emerged during conversations that came up during the course of living with students for 16 months. It is clear that the ‘finish first’ motto pervades this topic. As much as some students wanted me to know that they are committed to education and of high moral standing, these are also ideals they want to achieve for themselves that are understood to be an important part of being a good student. Being a university student (*mahasiswa*) is about more than attending classes or completing assignments, which could conceivably fit into married life. Being *mahasiswa*, students articulate, is about morality, discipline and self-control, wisdom, and devoting time to community, religious and student affairs. It is a particular kind of inward devotion, to self-development, and outward devotion to certain activities and causes.

We have to finish first, because we came to study not to get married. As Christians, we know that sex outside marriage is a sin. That is why people are ashamed if they have sex outside marriage. In Wamena if people have sex outside marriage they must pay compensation and/or they must get married. If young people have sex their parents just marry them off or the man’s family has to pay a number pigs or maybe five million rupiah. (Ika Gombo)

Anyone who says that it is okay for us to get pregnant is wrong, very wrong. Our parents would be furious, and we would be very ashamed. (Stina Medlama)

They say ‘finish first’ because our objective is to study not to mess around with women or get into trouble. (Edward Elosak)

You really cannot get married here anyways because you cannot have a celebration; you have no family, no parents. We say that so and so is married (*sudah kawin*) or has a wife (*maitua*) but they have not held an event (*acara*). It can become a big problem. Even if you wait until you are going to finish, like Etinus and Ina, well they are still in big trouble back in the village. Because if you go home like that, about to give birth, you can’t get married in church and you have to go to the village and talk with every one, all the elders and the family, it’s really difficult. They have to decide whether Etinus is good enough, has he ever hit Ina. (Jhon Hilapok)
According to this description, marriage for highlanders abroad is practically impossible. Getting married in the central Papuan highlands typically requires the involvement of the couple’s family members in arranging the match in the first place and takes place in a large, important celebration (see Heider 1970: 150-152; Butt 1998). Even if the couple gets married in church, a bride price still needs to be negotiated between the families, and relatives are called on to donate pigs for the bride price and/or the celebration. Weddings often take place in natal villages far from town so that elders in the extended family can acknowledge the new marriage. In other words, it is not possible to bring the wedding, the pigs, the elders, or the natal village, to North Sulawesi. It would be possible for the couple to make a trip home to get married, but in the midst of their studies, very few do. They say that such a trip requires money they do not have, requires them to drop out of school for what may turn into a long absence, depending on the length of time it takes to arrange the marriage and the wedding. But there seem to be other explanations – one of which Etinus points to below, which is that going home with a diploma is a good way to smooth over relations with people who are likely to be unhappy to have had no input into the marriage. Indeed, students convey that it is laughable that they find their own partners and simply take them home to Wamena for their parents’ approval, expecting that they will just arrange a marriage. Parents and other kin tend to have a vested interest in the choice of partner and the extended family relations that result from a marriage. In fact, from students’ perspectives, although they risk increased hostility, a pregnancy or a baby may force parents to be more receptive to the marriage, and more willing to expedite a wedding.

As Jhon indicates, partnering up while abroad can create problems students have to face when they return home. While in North Sulawesi, they might be able to carry on as they like without too much intervention from Wamena, where family members may not have a clear enough understanding of what their young relatives are doing to allow them to take action. They rely on other relatives in Sulawesi to promote good behavior, but in most cases these are other students of similar age and status who have a difficult time regulating others’ behavior. Older siblings are not arriving by boat or by plane to arrange a wedding. Parents are not sorting out bride price with the partner’s family in Wamena to legitimize the relationship in their absence. As Jhon says, you
simply cannot get married outside the highlands. In this sense, no matter what students feel about their relationships, they are all ‘illegitimate’. If students return home married with children, they will have to face the consequences there. Jhon refers to Etinus, a pious, thoughtful young man who clearly expressed that he wanted to do the right thing: he and his girlfriend Ina left Tondano together shortly after he graduated from Unima and she graduated high school. Reports from friends in Wamena suggest that by the time they got to their village in the Wolo Valley, Ina was “huge,” “hurting all the time,” and, “ready to burst.” They had ‘finished first’, in a sense, and wanted to get married before the baby was born. When I asked Etinus before he left for Wamena what his family was going to think about his situation when he saw them again in his village he said, with a big sigh, “I am not sure. I think we will have to do quite a bit of talking to satisfy everyone. I know that they will be happy I have my diploma, and that Pak Guru [literally, Mr. Schoolteacher, Ina’s sister’s husband, a student in Tondano] agrees with marriage, and that Ina is from my village. Mainly I hope they will not be too upset because I have this diploma in my hand, so they will help us out.” Other students confirm it: graduation gives students the kind of status that may help others forgive their wrongdoings. Parents, particularly of female students, are said to be concerned with the status of the male partner.

My relatives (kakak-kakak) here do not let me hook up with girls; I am not allowed to do it. They watch me all the time. I also do not want to destroy someone’s daughter, destroy her education. This is not good. If people get married, they usually get pregnant before long. Parents can be very angry if she does this because they want her to study, to graduate, and to return to Wamena and work in an office. They want her to marry someone with status who can be employed…if a woman gets pregnant here in Sulawesi, her parents might order her to go home, but other people actually they just let it be. What can they do if she does not want to listen to them. They hope that the man has status and they hope she can finish even if she has married. (Laurence Lagowan)

I think as long as I finish my studies, my parents will not be too angry if I have a child. They will be extra happy – a diploma and a descendant! (Lavinia Weya)

Some students express conflicting feelings about having to ‘finish first’ because although many say that sex is a sin, they also have other, different opinions
about sex that go against the dominant perspective. One is that sex is a biological need, and not just something to be ashamed of.

Our parents send us here to study, not to hook up. Our purpose is education, and we must avoid AIDS. But some people think sex is a biological need. Some guys hook up with Sangir girls or girls from Tomohon, some just get drunk and if they have money they go to the boulevard and look there. No one here is ‘married’ but everyone is ‘married!’ (Petrus Gombo)

Another opinion about partnering and sex is that it is ‘normal’ and everyone does it, although it should not be flaunted.

It is normal to have a girlfriend or boyfriend; it is just part of life. Whoever says he or she has never had a boyfriend is lying. We do not really announce it to everyone. Even though Siska and Martha are my cousins, I do not know what they are doing, but if we lived together, ate together, yes then I would know. But sometimes we see, where is so-and-so, and if her mobile phone is inactive we say ohhh she is probably with her man. And it is probably true, because she turns up a day or two later and no one has seen her until then. Yes, we will ask where have you been and she says oh, with so-and-so, her kakak [sister] or some other woman but we know the truth. (Minke Kenelak)

A common point of view is that relationships are more complicated than the ‘just say no’ approach allows for.

It is difficult here, men have too much desire, they just look at us from afar and they want to have sex already. They call us on the phone, send us phone credit, and sometimes invite us to eat. They would never do this so openly in Wamena. Sometimes we want things they give, and it is difficult to say no to men if they are determined to have sex. I do not want to be known as a tease or as a person who has seks bebas. (Minke Kenelak)

Sex can also be taken out of the arena of dating and relationships, and recontextualised as part of colonial politics. Some informants suggest that the Indonesian state wants to regulate their reproductive capacities for political reasons.

Indonesia does not want us to have more kids, that’s why they give birth control and they send prostitutes with AIDS, the men sleep with them and bring it home to their wives. This ruins their womb. They want our
black skin to be finished; they want to eliminate our race. So we think it is important for our race to keep the blood line going by having children. (Black)

Students thus regard the directive to ‘finish first’ in a variety of ways. It is best, they articulate, to avoid relationships because there is the chance that pregnancy, or love gone wrong, will spoil someone’s education. Pregnancy outside marriage makes one’s ‘sins’ obvious for all to see, and leave students open to judgements in church and on the streets. Some informants state that they absolutely must adhere to this kind of instruction to avoid disappointing their families, to avoid personal shame and to avoid risking their future marriage prospects, which will be better if they do not have boyfriends, girlfriends, or babies, in Sulawesi. However, based on students’ statements, ‘finish first’ is not the only relevant way to look at sexuality and not all failures to ‘finish first’ are the same. Students argue that Indonesians in North Sulawesi are being unfair when they regard them as promiscuous.

“We are not in high school anymore”: Deviating from the Formula

Approximately eight of 13 in Dani women in Tondano are in relationships. In the Jayawijaya women’s dorm in Manado, four of ten women are in relationships. Three other women, one of whom has a child, live with their partners in boarding houses in Manado. An older male student who worked as a teacher in Wamena brought with him his wife and three children. Agus and his wife are the only couple I know of who went through the process of a bride price, thus making their union official according to Dani standards. Many of the women have children. In Tondano, seven of eight women

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27 Besides these active relationships, almost every female student I met was involved in some sort of relationship with a male, although some of these relationships are long-distance with students in other cities and involve flirtatious telephone calls and text messages. Sometimes these relationships are just for fun, though students are careful not to let their various ‘boyfriends’ find out about each other. These relationships may also be considered more serious, or may develop into something serious. In one such case I was repeatedly told by different students that Albert had a wife studying in Java who was related to one of my informants, Laurence. Albert’s wife would contact Albert or Laurence to request photographs and mobile phone credit. I was thus surprised to find out that Albert and his ‘wife’ had never met in person.
considered ‘married’ have children or are pregnant. In the Jayawijaya women’s
dorm in Manado, one female student has a baby who is being cared for by her
family in Wamena, and one student is pregnant. Besides Pak Agus’ three
children and two adopted children cared for by a female student, five of seven
babies are cared for by their mothers in Sulawesi. Four of those five children
have their fathers living with them. A small number of men have children from
non-highlander mothers (approximately five that are known amongst students).
Approximately five male students are said to have wives and/or children back in
Wamena to whom they were married in local cultural fashion before starting
their studies abroad. A small number of men have non-highlander girlfriends in
Sulawesi, though these relationships are generally kept quite secret. As far as I
know, there are no female students who got married in Wamena before
studying abroad.

Lina: A Confident Recent Graduate

Lina Matuan, a senior female student with a one year old daughter,
graduated in 2006. Her ‘husband’ finished in 2005 and works as a history
teacher in Wamena. She lives in a cramped split-level house on a large
property with fantastic views over distant rice paddies in Tondano. Besides
Lina’s younger sister, her sister’s ‘husband’, and their young son, the house is
also home to two other women, cousins, and a handful of males. Most of the
group is from the Tiom area of the highlands north west of Wamena and belong
to the Baptist church. Lina is well-liked and respected by other students. Even
though she and her husband are not officially married and they did not ‘finish
first’, other highlands students state that they respect Lina and her family and
do not consider them to exhibit ‘free sex’ (seks bebas). Lina expresses that she
probably should have finished their studies before starting a family but that
things have turned out alright nonetheless. She did drop out of school for a little
while, but with the help of her sister and the female cousins who live with her
she has been able to graduate and will be leaving soon for the highlands. She
feels quite close to the members of her church, many of whom are Indonesian,
and explains that they are kind to her and the other students: “Actually, we feel
that we do not have a problem with our minister, our friends at church. They

197
love to play with the babies. They always shake our hands and they are happy to see us. We invite them over here sometimes to eat or to worship. They have met our ‘husbands’, so maybe they think we are married.” But Lina does convey that she has felt awkward around people she does not know well: “I usually feel there is no problem, but also you know we do not get out that much, we stick around here. The people who do not know us can be a bit arrogant, I am not sure if it is because of the babies or not. Sometimes they stare, or they whisper to each other. We know that they think we have ‘free sex’ but actually that is not the case. So what can we do? We just let it be, just ignore it. Soon we will all be back in Wamena, and over there everyone knows the child’s identity.” Lina laughs at the idea that her parents will be disappointed: “What do they have to worry about? My husband is a teacher, I have just graduated, and we are going home soon!”

As a recent graduate who is proud of her accomplishments, for Lina, the idea of feeling ashamed about her daughter is almost ridiculous, but she describes feelings of discomfort when she is among Indonesians who do not know her situation and who she says are judging her and looking down on her. Lina has achieved so much success – a degree, an employed husband, and a beautiful daughter, that she feels invulnerable to whatever other people (whom she does not know) might be thinking. This shows an understanding of quality that includes education, marital success, and descendants who are well-cared for, even though it goes against articulated judgments about going abroad to study, not to kawin (enter a sexual relationship or get married). Lina fulfills some cultural expectations, but others she is able to ignore. She articulates that it is not whether she is legally married that matters but that she and her husband are committed to each other and regarded by other orang Wamena as married, they are successful, the child is recognized by her father, and she has successfully completed her education. Still, if Lina’s husband has not paid brideprice to her family then some people would consider the marriage to be illegitimate. While she acknowledges the possibility of feeling scrutinized and ashamed because her family seems to represent a case of seks bebas (free sex/promiscuity) to watchful local Indonesians in Tondano, what is clear is that her choices will not be cause for humiliation in Wamena and that is the context that matters more to her. It is thus significant that her friends and relatives in
Tondano are supportive and nonjudgmental. In this case direct experience contradicts feelings of being stigmatized by the wider population. Feelings of relative acceptance at church and by neighbours help reduce possibility of shame.

Lavinia: “We are not in high school”

Lavinia Weya, a recent biology graduate, got pregnant, as she says, on purpose, to strengthen her relationship with her partner just before he was due to leave Sulawesi:

People usually say, finish first, but I think you can do both. I have a husband, he helps me, I had a baby and I finished as well, I just got my degree. My mom, it is true, she also came to help take care of the baby. Some girls they are ashamed, but I say we are not in high school; we are university students [mahasiswa]. I am married, so why can’t we have a baby? Even when I was pregnant I went out and about just as usual, I went to campus, and I went to the city, even though people stared at me. I have a husband. We planned to have this baby, we planned it so that I would have a baby after he graduated and went back to Puncak [Jaya regency], and so our relationship was clear. He takes responsibility.

Lavinia says that other people feel shame about pregnancy, “because then everyone knows you are married [kawin]”, even saying that she knows several women who have had abortions or who have secret babies back in Wamena but they would never admit it, even to close friends or relatives, due to shame. Lavinia characterizes herself as an open person (hati terbuka) who is not easily embarrassed. Moreover, she has been living in the area for many years – her baby was turning three years old in 2006 – and her gregarious personality means that she has informed many locals, students, acquaintances and others about her marital situation. She reminds them that the baby’s father is still in the picture by chatting about the money he has recently sent to help pay her expenses. He is waiting for her in the highlands, she says, and they will have a big celebration when she finally gets there. “Wamena people love children, we love descendants [keturunan], so why should we be embarrassed? Actually local people have children too, I know Minahasa girls who study and have a baby, and it’s obvious that this is quite normal.”

This case raises several points. Lavinia articulates that perhaps shame is
an appropriate thing to feel but she refuses to be ashamed because she is married, the baby's father is 'clear', i.e. the baby is legitimate, and he takes responsibility. The baby was planned, using her education and scientific knowledge as a biology student, and was not a result of unrestrained desire, promiscuity, or an accident. She also is not ashamed because it is not her nature to be embarrassed. This helps her feel confident to go out beyond the residences of friends and family from Wamena. She says that she ought to have been ashamed but has her own take on things, and draws on the cultural importance of her lineage to justify her pregnancy. She refuses to be seen from the dominant perspective that judges sexuality and pregnancy as wrong for students, though she argues that feelings of shame and stigma are common for other women.

**Minke: Arranging her own Marriage**

In her second year of studying economics at Unima, Minke Kenelak became increasingly dissatisfied with her situation. She said she might want to study literature but her *kakak* (her sister's husband) graduated from Economics and he was paying the bills — she would have to take Economics as well, even though she was hopeless at mathematics and got by because she copied her friends' assignments. Bubbly, sociable, fun, Minke received lots of attention from male students. There were rumours that she had had a baby back in Wamena — she always denied it, but they were enough to put her reputation into question and thereby encourage males to flirt with her, according to her older cousin Dana. She had had two sex partners/boyfriends since she started university and was single in 2006. She was trying to avoid one of her ex-boyfriends, busy refusing the advances of a fellow dorm member, and spending quite a bit of time on the phone flirting with two students — one in Makassar and one in Papua who had already finished his studies. Minke described herself as someone who is, “too free with people. It is difficult. I am hot-blooded [darah tinggi]. I already had these two boyfriends, if anything else happens...people will think badly of me and I won't have a good name. I did not even do anything with these men, but they want me and that is enough to cause trouble. If they talk about me to others...."
Partly because of her weariness with economics, and partly to escape her growing reputation for boyfriends and possibly even promiscuity, Minke decided to abandon her studies and her friends, disappoint her financial supporters, and risk hostility and punishment from her family to marry a recent graduate, a Yali man of whom she was certain her parents would disapprove, and return to Wamena. The marriage was the talk of the Dani community, as Minke arranged it all covertly by telephone with Kodar, who was in Wamena. Their courtship consisted of agreeing to meet up at the graduation ceremony at Yepmum dorm after two months of text messaging. They had no prior relationship and only developed their communication after a photo of them was taken by Kodar’s younger relative and the photo made its way to other relatives in Yahukimo regency who asserted that Minke and Kodar were a good-looking match. Then Kodar contacted Minke by phone, through her friend (and his younger relative) Nina. Minke hid her developing relationship from Ika because, she said, Nina could spoil it by telling Kodar things about her. After they met up at the Yepmum dorm, Kodar attended the graduation ceremony and flew back to the highlands to put in his application for employment in the public service before the deadline. Minke packed up her room on a Sunday morning while the rest of the dorm residents were at church, loaded her belongings into a van and moved to the residence of two of Kodar’s younger relatives in Manado. We said goodbye at the port a few weeks later. She never went back to Yepmum, fearing her male relatives would detain her there. When the new couple met in Wamena, some of Minke’s relatives assaulted Kodar. Only her father was interested in arranging her marriage, because she told him she might be pregnant. The other family members would have nothing to do with her, but she still insists that she did the right thing.

In the dorm where Minke lives, she is surrounded by kin, though not all dorm inhabitants are her relatives. Still, men are able to overtly seek relationships with her and she can initiate relationships in ways much less possible in Wamena, where every interaction between non-relatives of the opposite sex is noted by someone who can report to others or intervene. For Minke, who she marries and his prospects can become part of her own improved quality, where quality includes the potential for economic success and the ability to impress relatives, and a clean sexual record. Minke demonstrates
a sense of being in charge of her own fate and future. She analyzes her situation and prospects and takes what she argues is a necessary risk: she knows her family will be angry and disappointed but, she surmises, they will be more disappointed if she acquires a bad reputation or gets pregnant to someone who is not a good marriage prospect. It is not a question of whether she actually holds new power as a ‘student’; however tenacious she is in arranging her own marriage and going against the wishes of her family, she faces an uncertain future dependent on her husband and his family (so long as hers remains estranged). Rather, it is the feeling of possessing powerful skills and capacities that develops despite conditions which promote feelings of uncertainty, shame and inadequacy.

A New Language of Power?

When students assert that they are capable of taking responsibility for themselves and their choices, they are deviating from the ‘finish first’ formula, which argues that young people are not able to manage the responsibility of sex, marriage, or family while studying. The women in these case studies argue that running a successful household while studying makes them feel proud. In doing so they assert that education provides them with personal confidence, tenacity and strength. In explaining the logic behind their choices, they sometimes oppose the view that premarital sex and/or pregnancy constitutes seks bebas (promiscuity).

In the above case studies, it is significant that students invoke Dani culture as a defence (despite the fact that they are violating Dani cultural norms as well), and that they employ a new language of independence and choice. They identify their culture as providing them with values that are different to the majority, and use these norms to defend themselves against dominant judgements. They also express an ability to make their own decisions because they have education and experience that sets them apart from others. Their language of independence is also a language of prestige and status, the makings of assertions of superiority over uneducated people. If the previous chapter explored some of the negative consequences of living in ‘the enclave’ of orang Wamena, one of the positive consequences of avoiding as far as possible
the gaze of outsiders and the feelings of stigmatization that these interactions bring about, is perhaps that students are better able to produce claims of success and status. These claims of success are also prevalent among students approaching the completion of their studies abroad, except that, ironically, their success may be overshadowed by the spectre of producing modernity for highlanders in Wamena.

Graduation Stories

It seemed that Brother (Kakak) Etinus had been inside the Unima auditorium since dawn. His female relatives had come to the Yepmum dorm after helping him iron his clothes early in the morning. While all around us students were queuing for the bathroom, males in various states of undress racing by in towels, radios left blaring pop music, Minke, Ina, Mama Herson and I got dressed in grubby shorts and collected garden tools. We had work to do. The men would take care of the pig and the firewood, but we had to dig, peel and wash enough cassava (singkong) for the crowd of about a hundred people who would join Etinus and other graduates in celebrating their success later in the day. The money was flowing in from Wamena. Several times already this week Minke and I had been handed a wad of cash and told to go shopping for pork and accompaniments at the market. But now we would bakar batu for our own Etinus using produce from the garden plots of Mama Herson and Mama Yenny on Block D, Unima campus. The yard behind the dorm was coming alive with activity as we piled our tubers into giant laundry pails for scrubbing. There was a dead pig in one corner, lying on its back on some carefully arranged banana palm leaves. Two students were cutting it open and organizing the internal parts. In the middle of the yard there was a smoldering pile of wood, where some other men were starting to use giant wooden tongs to heat rocks for our bakar batu. An hour or two later, our fingers raw from peeling cassava, it was time to get ready to meet Etinus at the auditorium. After bathing, Minke, Ina and I left the older women and the young children to walk up the hill to campus.

The sun was high in the sky and it was hot and bright in the large crowd of people outside the auditorium, and there was nothing to do but sit and wait. We were hungry, but imagined how hungry Etinus must be and did not
complain. Every few minutes a rumour would spread through the crowd that the ceremony going on inside was just about over. “Sudah?” and then the disappointing answer, “Belum” (not yet). People looked at each other. They took photos of themselves. Some ate peanuts and oranges. From inside the auditorium, it was obvious to graduates what was taking so long – an endless series of congratulatory speeches from government and campus officials – but from outside, it seemed like graduates must be going through something arduous and important, the final step in their training. After years of hard work and setbacks, the daily grind of assignments and lectures, wasn’t the hard work finished? Could the process be any more painful? Then, about six hours after Etinus and others had taken their places in the auditorium, the doors started opening. Impatient relatives like us rushed in. Some graduates were rushing out. I was afraid for Ina, five months pregnant, but she was tough and determined. We spotted Minke’s boyfriend Kodar first; standing next to him was Etinus. Minke, Ina and other relatives rushed over to him. There was shrieking, crying and hugging. Wobbly photographs were taken by me, crashing into others while trying to clear a space to capture the moment. It was the only time I saw Dani students expressing themselves freely without regard for the formal, public occasion or the crowd of people, or, as I wrote in my field notes that day (26/04/09), “going nuts in public.” The graduates looked so happy, proud, and relieved. I thought we would be heading back to the dorm to feast on bakar batu, but after two hours of photography (everyone wanted a picture in front of the wooden ‘National University of Manado’ sign) we arrived at the dorm in time for the start of another ceremony, this one organized by students themselves to mark the occasion. Another series of prayers, speeches and songs began, and we did not eat until dark. No matter how punishing, such great accomplishments had to be marked with the right amount of ceremony, discipline and propriety.

The ceremony held at Yepmum dorm was repeated at Dani dorms around Manado and Tondano. Typical social divisions were maintained. The Catholic Dani held their own coinciding ceremony in Tata Aran II, as did the Baptist Lani students.

The event at Yepmum was led and organized by Dani students who were not graduating yet. Banners announced the theme: “Success in the Embrace of God” (Sukses dalam Perlindungan Tuhan). The graduates were treated as
guests of honour. They remained in their gowns and took positions near the
front of the crowd of about 150 people. They were not expected to stand in front
for the entire ceremony but they were called to the front on several occasions
so that other students could sing to them, lead prayers for them, and talk about
them fondly. Individual graduates (there were five that day from the Dani/Yali
Protestant community at Unima) were asked to lead prayers of their own and
give speeches to the other un-finished students. Some examples of what
graduates expressed:

I feel so blessed, and I give thanks to God for my success. I would not
have been able to accomplish this without Him and without the support of
friends and family. Except my family did not really support me, I did this
on my own. I hope I will become Regent some day and bring modernity
to Yahukimo. (Kodar)

I am just a village boy born in the garden but I wanted to learn and now I
have. I am going home to help the community. (Siko)

A Lani preacher, Reverend Tomas Kogoya, presented the sermon. He
criticized the theme students had chosen to mark the occasion, saying he would
change it to ‘the beginning of success’ because in his view they did not really
have ‘sukses’ yet but were hopefully heading in that direction. Rather than a
hero’s welcome, he asserted that they would probably meet insults and
suspicion back in the highlands, particularly if they had not learned their
material well. Student speeches generally expressed the need to develop
Papua and the important role for graduates. Etinus, for instance, posed the
question, “If we do not do it, who will?” The ceremony effectively conveyed that
graduates had reached goals of improvement and experience and were
rightfully acknowledged and respected by their peers, but questions were
continually raised about translating their newfound confidence into results in
Wamena.

Development means making Papuans prosperous, safe and healthy. It
means turning on the electricity and teaching old people to read. This is
what we want to do. (Kodar)

I want to go home and teach the children, my little brothers and sisters
(adik-adik) to read and write, and to speak English. (Jhon Kenelak)
Statements of power and conviction may be analyzed as partly to do with the criticism students feel from local Indonesians and from people back home about not being finished. Being ‘unfinished’ is experienced as humiliating, as it opens questions about their level of discipline and commitment, aspects of their quality that they aim to prove. Being finished is experienced as strength and confidence.

Still, they face the prevalent theme that whatever they have achieved does not matter until they have achieved something in the Baliem Valley, in Yahukimo or in Manda, in Wouma or Wolo.

There is so much support in Wamena if the kids will just take the money and work hard, finish quickly. The kids have to learn well here, because over there it is all in the field. If you do not know what to do it will be obvious. The people will think there is no use in supporting students. (Apas Gombo)

Many students want to take up this challenge. Their time abroad has taught them that there is little to be gained by engaging with non-highlanders. ‘Learning about others’ has entrenched the conviction that the Dani world(s) of the central highlands is the only world that matters, the only world that feels comfortable, welcoming, and right for them, and the only world in which their success is important.

In the following chapter, I describe and discuss some of the results recent graduates have achieved, based on a visit I made to Wamena in June 2009.
CHAPTER 8

Dreams Made Small? ‘Results’ in a Dani Modernity

Homecomings

When I got home my father killed a big pig that he had been saving for me and we had a huge party. Everyone in my family was there, and even the neighbours came. I had not been home to Wamena since 2000 or 2001. I met my brother’s two children who were born while I was away, and I cried. Several of my old grandparents who lived in my silimo [rural extended family residence, Dani language] died while I was away and I cried for them too. My family cried because they had not seen me for a long time and they were happy I was home. Everything is back to normal now. I live in a honai [traditional round thatched hut, Dani language] with some men, I eat hipere [tuber, Dani language], I shit in the woods. In Manado I got fat and white, here I am skinny and dark again. (David Daby)

We got home just in time to get to our kampung [village] and organize a proper marriage before Viktor was born. Ina was enormous and we could hardly get there, as we had to walk part of the way. Our families agreed that we could get married. As soon as Viktor was born, we returned to Wamena. I started work right away as a teacher with no salary. I experienced so much stress I thought I might explode, but things are better now. I am still a teacher but I have a salary and I like teaching. I might test for another type of position next year. Everything is good. Viktor even has a younger sister now. I had some hard times in Tondano but everyone supported me. It was a long time to be away but my friends and family were there to entertain me, lift my spirits and bakar batu with me. That is one great thing about Manado; we sure ate a lot of pig! (Etinus Kenelak)

My informant William Matuan from the Catholic dorm in Manado returned
home without his diploma after all, as he spent the required funds elsewhere. This seemed to be a surprising move, considering how important it was to William and his family, particularly his older sister who was supporting him financially, that he finish his final examinations and return home. Yet after all the effort he made to get his final examination held, he returned home a graduate with no diploma to prove it, and thus he was unable to apply for employment for about two years. He was reluctant to join the public service anyways, and worked for a legal aid NGO. He then landed a job on the local election commission where his task was to keep the votes safe from tampering. In 2009, William was hiding out somewhere in Papua with the votes from Jayawijaya regency and reportedly received huge amounts of money for this responsibility, lest he take bribes to ‘misplace’ the votes of rival political parties.

Minke Kenelak lives in Wamena with her son in a small house in Wamena; her husband lives in their home in Yahukimo regency where he is a public servant. He flies back and forth to visit his family, who are doing well and have mended relations with Minke’s relatives. Kodar paid a bride price in instalments: one large pig worth ten million rupiah and 200,000 rupiah a month for 6 months, according to Minke. They spent some time in Yahukimo together with Kodar’s relatives who adore Minke and are proud of the bride that Kodar stole from the Walak Dani. Minke described her time in North Sulawesi as boring, difficult, and frustrating. She was initially proud and excited about being a student, and still argues that she acquired new skills and potential even though she did not finish her degree, but after her female relatives transferred from Unima (Tondano) to Unsrat (Manado) she felt lonely and miserable. When I met Minke again in June 2009 she was in high spirits, on her way to the airport to send vegetables from her relatives in Wolo to her husband in Yahukimo regency.

Returned students express that the camaraderie they achieved abroad dissipates once they are home due to competition for employment and success. The organizations they have built disappear, and alumni from the same university or student organization do not seem to support each other in any way. Returned students do not hold their own ‘acara’ (events) to mark Easter, Christmas, or personal milestones, though they may take up leadership roles in the community events produced in their villages.
At the same time, fears of being identified as fakes or failures who did not really learn appear largely unfounded. Local people in Wouma village complained out two graduates who were considered unimpressive, but both were criticized for failing to live up to Dani norms, not because they had failed to study properly, turn on the electricity or otherwise bring about modern transformations. The first was semi-employed at the Wamena branch of a student organization (AMPTPI) but was a disappointment to his family because he was in a relationship with a woman who was, according to the moiety system, his relative. He refused to end the relationship and they lived together as a married couple. His mother Iren stated,

We have no one to help us develop our family. Joseph should be the leader of our family since his father is deceased but he does nothing for us because he is busy with this woman, bringing shame and sickness to us all. We supported his education for nothing.

The other poorly regarded graduate had recently completed a Master’s degree at Unsrat, returned home with a large amount of mysteriously-obtained money, bought a four-wheel drive Toyota Kijang (a type of sport utility vehicle), and held wild parties at his home on the outskirts of Wamena. He was accused of never helping out any of his adik-adik (younger relatives), even those who were studying at Unsrat. One scorned informant said that the man had promised to help him pay his final examination fees but when he telephoned to ask for assistance he was berated and treated harshly.

My son will be coming home soon I think. He has been there for ages. I supported his education because I want him to have an easier life than I do. Working in the garden is hard work and we never have any money. It’s nice to just relax, smoke a cigarette, take a nap. (Iren Lagowan)

I think our parents just want us to be able to take care of ourselves, so they do not have to take care of us. (William Matuan)

Despite what students propose while they are in North Sulawesi, it does not seem to be the case that the Dani people of Wamena and surrounds are waiting with great anticipation for young educated sons and daughters to return and unleash the region’s potential for modernity. Rather, relatives left behind hope that their graduates will be able to provide for themselves, not cause problems
or be a burden on them, and maybe be able to share a little bit of their earnings someday. Thus, it seems the high expectations students anticipated had, in some cases, more to do with what they expected of themselves, related to the heroic identity of ‘university graduate’ or ‘educated person’ than with their sponsor’s expectations. When sponsors and previous Dani graduates put pressure on students to be local heroes, they may be encouraging students to do their best, rather than representing the consequences of not living up to expectations. At the same time, it is equally probable that the dreams of parents, sponsors and community members are also diminished by conditions in the highlands: ultimately, they expect very little from Indonesian modernity.

**Modern Poverty: Dani in the Public Service**

In 2009, a handful of North Sulawesi graduates made it into the public service, mostly as teachers. It normally takes several attempts, a family connection, or a great deal of luck, to get into even the lowest paid positions in the public service. Twice a year regency-level governments recruit new employees. Candidates must submit the appropriate application documents and undertake an examination specific to the job they wish to hold. Positions are limited, and passing the examination is not sufficient to gain employment. According to Dani informants, actually getting a job depends on having family members already employed by the government who can ‘push’ one candidate’s application ahead of another’s. It is no longer true to say that all government positions and positions of power are held by Indonesians, but it is still true that indigenous employment is highly concentrated in the public sector, but even there Dani and other highlanders are in the minority.

In June 2009, several local governments announced the successful job applicants by listing their names and positions in the *Cenderawasih Post*, Papua's major daily newspaper. Working with several Dani assistants, Mama Mateus and Laurence Lagowan, I analyzed the family names of the new employees accepted into the Jayawijaya regency government to classify them as ‘indigenous Wamena’ and ‘non-indigenous Wamena’. ‘Indigenous Wamena’ refers to employees whose family name identifies them as belonging to one of the main indigenous groups of the central highlands - Dani, Yali, or Lani. ‘Non-
indigenous Wamena’ refers to all other employees, both other Papuans and non-Papuans. We identified 41%, or 112 of 275 new recruits in the June 2009 selection to be ‘indigenous Wamena’ people (see Table 9), while 59% of the new employees were from outside the central highlands. The only field of employment in which indigenous Wamena recruits outnumber non-Wamena recruits is in the ‘nurse-in-training’ field of employment, which requires the least amount of education. No indigenous people gained employment as doctors, pharmacists or laboratory technicians. Most of the indigenous Wamena candidates, 58 of 112, were accepted as teachers in elementary and secondary schools, but even in this field they are outnumbered by non-Wamena recruits. There were 99 non-Wamena candidates accepted into teaching positions in the June 2009 selection round.

Table 9: Indigenous and Non-Indigenous Jayawijaya Regency Government Employees, June 2009

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Field of Employment</th>
<th>Indigenous Recruits</th>
<th>Total Recruits</th>
<th>Indigenous as Percentage of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elementary Education</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Education</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical Doctor</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharmacist</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurse</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurse-in-Training</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dental Nurse</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midwife</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharmacy/Laboratory</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nutritionist</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Technical</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>112</strong></td>
<td><strong>275</strong></td>
<td><strong>41%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Informants say that it is most common to apply and be accepted into the local government of one’s home area, thus indigenous Wamena candidates should have an advantage over migrants. From the list of names it appears that many of the non-Wamena recruits are not Papuan but rather Indonesian migrants, particularly in the specialist occupations such as doctor and laboratory

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28 Source: *Cenderawasih Pos*, 22 June 2009
technician. I also looked at the list of new employees accepted into the provincial government in Jayapura. I would not expect to find that many highlanders gained employment in the provincial capital as these positions tend to go to local people from Jayapura regency, but it is still somewhat surprising that out of a total of 173 new recruits accepted into the provincial government in Jayapura, just three people originate from the central highlands (*Cenderawasih Pos*, 22 June 2009). Similarly, in Mamberambo Raya, a newly-established regency that covers territory immediately to the north of Jayawijaya regency, just three of 264 new recruits are from the central highlands, despite the fact that the regency capital is not far from Wamena (*Cenderawasih Pos*, 22 June 2009). Informants such as David Daby and Mama Mateus in Wamena say that they were encouraged to apply for positions in the new regency because it would be accepting a large number of new employees. Mama Mateus did sit the examination for Mamberambo Raya regency but she was not accepted into the service. She wonders aloud about the point of her high school education, something which she normally speaks of with pride as one of only two female high school graduates from her cohort in Wouma village. She has taken the examination every year for the past four years. It is significant that indigenous Wamena people are still a minority in government jobs because the public service is the main source of employment; they are outnumbered even more in private, commercial, financial, and service sectors.

Nonetheless, the education of students both at home and abroad has no doubt had an impact on improving numbers of indigenous people in the public service – graduates possess the diploma as well as the bureaucratic experience and discipline needed to fulfill all of the procedural requirements needed to prepare a proper entrance application and, if accepted, to prepare documents needed to officially accept a job in the government. Successful job applicants must supply the following documents to confirm their employment.

1. Application letter addressed to the Governor of Papua Province in Jayapura prepared with black ink, signed over a 6000-rupiah stamp.
2. Official copies of all diplomas notarized by the proper authorities, and post-secondary diplomas with transcripts attached.
3. Health certificate issued by a government doctor.
4. Letter of declaration.
5. Curriculum vitae with attached black and white photo, 3 cm x 4 cm size, written in capital letters using black ink.
6. Police certificate from the Indonesian State Police
7. Six passport photos, 3 cm x 4 cm size
8. Drug-free certificate from a government health unit

Those who do get a government job express disappointment with this form of *sukses*. Former students I met up with in June 2009 who had been accepted as teachers expected to receive a salary of about 3,500 rupiah (about USD 0.35) per hour. In June 2009, 3,500 rupiah would buy 140 grams of rice, 175 grams of sugar, or a short ride in a pedicab (*becak*) in Wamena.

When I got here I was a bit confused about what to do. This year I applied for a job in the public service. My friend helped me so that I could take two tests, one for a teaching job and one for a better job in the legal section. I was accepted as a teacher. I still probably will not have any money because teachers only get 3000 rupiah an hour. But I cannot complain too much because other people who took the test did not get accepted at all. (David Daby)

When I visited Wamena in June 2009, David was a regular visitor at the home where I stayed. He had a habit of disappearing whenever it seemed like food was about to be served. My host Mama Mateus explained, “He is just like that. He is embarrassed that he has no money and he refuses to eat our food because we have two children and grandma to look after and my husband’s wage is not enough for us either.” While education has not yet translated into increased wealth, David's opinion is valued by others and he is invited to (Dani) community discussions about social problems or other issues. He is perceived to have knowledge and experience that is of use to other Dani which translates into social status, if not money. Getting into the public service is an ambivalent achievement for David and other graduates. Even though it is the main source of employment for indigenous people in Wamena, it is an institution associated with, for the most part, low pay and boredom at the office. Even for those who work in busy offices, such as my friend, Mama Mateus’ husband Frans, putting on the uniform, “makes me feel like I am still in school.” Besides the uniform, government employees are expected to participate in raising the Indonesian flag each morning and to sing the anthem before work, like children do at school. Frans argues that his job is better than most because he actually has
work to do at the office. Frans goes to work at 7:30 am and comes home at around 9 pm each day except for Sunday. His monthly wage of about two million rupiah, some of which is paid in the form of bags of rice, usually lasts his family about two and a half weeks. For Frans, David and others working in lower echelons of the public service, this type of employment is preferable to working in the garden in the village, but it does not allow them to access much of the sukses they would like to have achieved with their education. Working for the government is not seen as prestigious unless it enables access to wealth and power. Rather, some Dani suggest that the daily routine of putting on the uniform, going to the office, and taking part in rituals of government is supporting a nation-state that they do not typically respect or admire, and becoming complicit in corrupt and dysfunctional government activities.

**Literacy as Resource?**

Although the results educated Dani achieve are much smaller in scale than they spoke of during their education in North Sulawesi, the vision of “making good things happen for others,” a quality associated with ‘big man’ leadership in Melanesia (Zimmer-Tamakoshi 1997: 110), prevails. Desire to do good for others is part of demonstrating that one has a ‘good heart’, which is necessary to gain prestige and influence in the community. Alua (2006: 154) writes, “A leader who has a good heart can make decisions for the greater good. He will prioritize the needs and interests of the people over his personal needs and the interests of his family.” In June 2009, I visited graduates involved in local non-government organizations. NGO work is an opportunity to build one’s network of contacts and reputation, and the work offers a sense of purpose and achievement. Graduates working at these organizations did not generally receive a salary, but if the organization had obtained funding for its activities, volunteers might receive ‘taxi fare’ (uang taksi) for a day’s efforts. If they were experienced enough to help lead field activities in the community they would receive several hundred thousand rupiah (approximately 30.00 - 50.00 USD) for a day’s work. Still, even ‘taxi fare’ of 15 or 20,000 rupiah helps to secure a graduate’s position as a breadwinner in someone’s household. The ability to make small contributions is enough to differentiate them from
graduates who do not work and from people with limited education who do not earn money.

One such former student, Markus Lagowan, spends his days helping at an internationally based NGO promoting peace in the area. Markus lives with the family of Mama Mateus. She describes what a delight it is to have Markus around, perhaps in comparison to other relatives who turn up for meals or to help with cooking but are not able or willing to lessen the financial burden Mama Mateus feels over trying to provide for all the extra dinner guests. She says, “Markus has not been staying with us long, but he often provides for us, not the other way around. If he has a few thousand rupiah, he will spend it on onions or a few packets of instant coffee. I am sure he will help a lot of people in the future.”

I ran into Ana Kogoya (a Lani woman who graduated from Unsrat in 2007) in the airport in Jayapura. She was on her way back to Wamena after a training exercise with an NGO working on women’s issues. She explained that she was just training and not on the staff yet, but that the NGO and her older brother had paid her way to Jayapura and she was enjoying the work. She was heading off to Mulia, in Puncak Jaya regency, she said, to inform people there of the NGO and its activities. Even though she has a degree in Management, she expressed excitement about her role as an advocate for women’s empowerment.

I just talk to people and listen to their problems, sometimes I help them solve problems or look for ways to improve their situation. In the interior people do not really know about empowerment. The NGO has limited resources so I am just volunteering because I think it is important.

Besides non-government work, the major way that recent graduates utilize their skills for the benefit of others is by dealing with the state bureaucracy, and Indonesians, on behalf of ‘uneducated’ people. When I was in Wamena in 2006, I observed university students and graduates assisting people in their villages to deal with government institutions and officials in the city, including helping them go to the hospital, to a bank, the post office, and confront Indonesian officials. In one day I spent with a graduate, he was asked to:
1. Assist a neighbour's elderly mother to seeking medical attention in the city;
2. Help another member of his extended family to prepare, type, and print out a letter for her son's scholarship application; and
3. Help talk government officials into reviewing the way that financial assistance had been distributed by the village chief.

Although students in North Sulawesi experience frustration, discomfort, and sometimes shame during their encounters with Indonesian education officials, lecturers, and administrative personnel, they say they must put aside their potential discomfort in Wamena because of the social rewards for helping others. People without formal education and bureaucratic experience, who asserted that they were afraid of the embarrassment or humiliation that might arise in such an encounter, also pressured graduates into taking up these duties. On the day parents of elementary and secondary school students in Wamena received their children's report cards, for example, several mothers and fathers from the village gathered at the home of Mama Mateus to discuss who would have to go and collect the reports. Parents, mostly without formal education, said they were afraid they would be asked to sign their names, something they did not know how to do. Children were crying about the problem. Markus, David and Laurence had to abandon their plans for the day in order to visit three different schools and collect reports on behalf of five children. Laurence explained that,

We feel a bit sorry for them. Someone has told them they will have to sign their names, which is probably not true, but the fear of being embarrassed is too great. In the village, no one expects that they know how to read, especially the women. Everyone here knows the reality. But at school, in offices, in front of others, they would appear strange. We cannot let them go through this, so we do it for them. Today we are a bit annoyed because we had other plans, and they could do it themselves if they were courageous, but we normally do things like this for them even if we are tired or even if we do not feel like going into offices ourselves and doing all this work, going this way and that way. We do not feel embarrassed because we have to do it, and we have more experience than they do.

In this description, graduates position themselves (and are pressured to do so) as courageous agents working on behalf of villagers, the uneducated, and others who argue they are unable to properly deal with modern administrative
requirements associated with school and government. They help others avoid experiences of humiliation or discrimination. They allow villagers to get what they want from the government, the bank, or the medical centre without having to learn, or develop a belief in, the appropriate procedures.29

**Good Quality Dani**

Minke, Ana, Markus and others are living in ways that demonstrate understandings of modern Dani *sukses*. Minke was so proud to tell me that she lives with her son (‘just the two of us’). The norm is to live in a large group of people, struggling to share and to be generous while defending one’s own interests privately, such as students do in their dormitories. Minke has been able to create a sought-after space of secrecy and privacy that offers a modicum of independence and reduces the pressure to be ‘good’ all the time. Ana travels around, from her perspective, sharing exciting new knowledge and opening up different ways of thinking. Markus goes to an office each day and engages in activities that he finds meaningful and which he can confidently assert will have a positive impact on highlanders. He has a little money, so he does not have to live with his older brother with whom he fights constantly, but rather he is able to fit in with Mama Mateus and her family by donating what he can to daily meals.

If we follow Alua’s explication, *sukses* in Dani culture is visually impressive, or must be made so in order to have an impact. Traditionally, influential men had many pigs, many wives, and vast gardens. For instance, Alua (2006: 157) writes,

He has many pigs….If he has many wives he will have many pigs because his wives will raise pigs for him. If he has many pigs, he will be able to take charge of many social, political, and religious affairs. In *Hubula* culture, pigs are important for relationships with ancestral spirits, people, and the natural environment. Pigs determine whether a leader will have good hands or bad hands, i.e., whether he helps others or not. With many pigs, a leader is able to defend his authority and his reputation in front of the people in his community.

29 Literacy is not only used to deal with Indonesian officials and urban situations, but is used by villagers to record contributions at feasts (described also by Meggitt 1968: 307, McKeown 1996: 368).
Men and women skilled at satisfying ancestor spirits have something to show for their capacities: fertility, productivity, abundance of people and crops. That they possess special knowledge is not impressive unless there are results. Similarly, leaders are not supposed to be great talkers, but ‘do-ers’ (Alua 2006). When educated young adults are able to contribute to family finances, they are showing some material result from their education. I suggest that when they are demonstrating immaterial results like leadership skills and public speaking, or making use of their experience with bureaucracy and Indonesians, they are also supporting a novel understanding of results. That is, they bring home from university abroad not just particular, often mundane and subtle skills that they use to help other Wamena people, but they are also bringing home particular notions of hasil (results). These productions of hasil are tangible in limited, undramatic fashion, and can be made visible but are not necessarily so. The ability to compose, type, and print an appropriate letter, for instance, hardly seems impressive, but such skills become more valuable as Dani people increasingly experience pressure to undertake such tasks, fear being embarrassed for what they do not know, or wish to access the benefits of letter-writing.

Graduates are also spreading the notion that these are the kinds of results that are associated with progress - their uneducated relatives should not expect roads to be built or lights in their houses; they should not expect to gain power and wealth from improving their quality. As those with education have learned, villagers should also expect talk, ceremony, small dramas of skill and achievement, and invisible improvements that in some cases only become meaningful because they may reduce experiences of discrimination and stigma. Learning to sign one’s name, or gaining experience ‘going this way and that way’ in a government office have emerged as ways of showing that Wamena people are not “different and deficient” (Li 1999: 3) and to avoid being exposed as ‘backward’ in front of Indonesians and other indigenous people.

It is unsurprising that graduates achieve minimal material results at first. Building a prosperous career in the public service takes time and patience. However, are the non-material results they achieve so impressive? The non-material results that Dani graduates achieve are unique to the particular context of the central highlands, where “discourses of diminishment” (Robbins 2005: 11)
and discrimination position indigenous people as inferior to Indonesian migrants and create experiences of exclusion and humiliation in the first place, and where ‘doing good things for others’ is a potent indigenous discourse. In another context, we might conclude that spending four or ten years at university to be able to assist elderly people visit a doctor is a very disappointing result. In another context, we would not be impressed by graduates’ ability to put on dressy clothes and walk into a government office as though they have the right to be there.

At the same time, graduates are not always ‘doing good things for others’, getting employed, or repaying their debts. Almost every family who has sponsored higher education has a story about a relative who comes home, does nothing, drinks alcohol and gets into fights with friends and kin, asks for more money, and spends it travelling around or getting into trouble. Some are characterized as ‘students for life’ because they drift back and forth from Papua to their study locations or beyond, where they live off the funds of other students or by doing odd jobs. As Chapter 6 discussed, conflict arises between students over ‘good’ behaviour, as some consider their distance from home a form of freedom to do as they please with money from their sponsors. Thus, an alternative perspective asserts that some students are simply taking money out of the highlands, encouraged by family sponsors, the local government, and state discourse, and using it in self-destructive ways influenced by the maju practices of elite Indonesians and Papuans. A Dani man who studied in Java, worked as a church minister for a time and now devotes himself to addressing the devastating spread of HIV/AIDS in the highlands, said,

Nowadays my adik-adik [junior siblings] are confused [bingung]. They get money and they spend it on booze and women. When I was studying, 10 years ago, we did not have these scholarships from the government or sponsored dormitories. We had to get work from the local people in order to survive. This new money and these behaviours, getting drunk all the time, is causing AIDS to spread among our students all over Indonesia. They see how people with money behave and they want to do it too. Even our female students, when Papuan officials visit their city, they show up and have sex with them.
(Paulus Yogobi)

Paulus’ analysis opens questions about education gone awry that I have touched on in this thesis but that require further investigation. I have focused on
the ways that students struggle to improve their quality and create results that benefit themselves and others in conditions marked by discrimination and stigmatization. Another set of research questions might probe the experiences of those who consider education abroad a chance to embrace a different vision of *maju*, one that is less structured by a desire for quality and more interested in pleasure and rebellion.

**Belonging and Danger: Modernities of Protection and Control**

When I met Ana Kogoya in June 2009 I asked her if she missed Manado. “Not really,” she replied. She continued,

> All of my friends have left there and are now mostly in Wamena. I probably would not know anyone there if I went back. I am glad I went there, because the education here in Papua is of lower quality, but I also went there because my brother paid for me to go there. He chose the place. Living in Wamena is so much harder, like the weather is cold and everything is too expensive, but I could never stay away permanently. I will always come back to Wamena. *Orang Wamena* [Wamena people] are not suited to [*tidak cocok*] living in other places for too long.

When Ana points out that she would not know anyone in Manado besides her Wamena friends, who have all left, she indicates that she did not form any lasting relationships with non-highlanders. Other students are more critical of the people they met in North Sulawesi. When I met up with Lex, who had acquired a teaching position in Wamena, I asked him to reflect on his experiences in Tondano. He asserted that,

> The people there are more arrogant towards us than the Indonesians here in Wamena. Here people are afraid of us. I think people here are actually more polite, because this area is dangerous. We still have land issues here. I mean, this is our place, we are many, and they are bringing us trouble.

The social world Lex describes suggests that in Wamena, Dani and Indonesians are separated by conditions of fear and potential danger. Is it possible that students feel more stigmatized in North Sulawesi than in the highlands? This is the intriguing conclusion that seems to emerge from
assertions of feeling best among orang Wamena, at home in the highlands. Nevertheless, what about the significant Indonesian population in Wamena? According to Lex, Indonesian migrants keep their feelings hidden to avoid causing trouble that may lead to violence. For a young, strong, educated male like Lex, perhaps this is the case. Others, such as the Dani women I met at the public health clinic or village elders visiting a government office, have different experiences.

For students like Lex, it is possible to argue that the feeling of being looked down on is more penetrating in North Sulawesi because, at least initially, students want to enter into the social worlds of Indonesians. Conditions in Wamena largely preclude and militate against such desires.

Ana’s statement reminded me of my first trip to Papua three years earlier. In some areas of Jayapura, Dani people live together in particular locales where they work together in tropical gardens. They sell produce at particular spots in the city with other Dani. They mostly marry other Dani. Their homes become transit hubs for Dani coming down from the highlands and going back home again. They are fully involved in all communal rituals, particularly funerals. I spent a few days with the family of a student in Jayapura in June 2006. Patrick was busy working odd jobs while I was there, but I spent quite a bit of time with his mother-in-law, who told me about her childhood in Wamena. Mama Mantu and her daughter claimed to despise living in Wamena because it is “cold, backward, and dirty.” They had settled down in Jayapura despite the fact that, “Orang Wamena take risks by living in Jayapura.” There was almost always a Dani funeral ritual going on in Mama Mantu’s ‘Dok Dua’ neighbourhood. She argued that this was because Jayapura was a bad environment for Wamena people. Not understanding, I asked her why they did not leave Jayapura and go to Sorong or somewhere else on the coast where the weather is also warm. In her raspy voice she barked, “I do not have any people in Sorong! If I went to Sorong, who would help me?” She explained that Wamena people are only safe in the highlands because that is their place, their land, and that is where they have ‘people’, both living and deceased. Her other comments suggested that it was difficult to be with Wamena people all the time but it was the only way to live:
We get into fights all the time. I fight with all of my relatives and hardly speak to half of them. But I do not have anyone else. Yesterday, I screamed at my daughter’s husband’s sister. Tomorrow, someone will send vegetables from Wamena and I will have to share them with her. This is how we are.

In other words, Wamena people must engage, exchange, fulfill obligations and reciprocate in order to continue being Wamena people and in order to survive. In light of the experiences of Dani students described in this thesis, it is likely that Dani in Jayapura also find it difficult to create relationships of reciprocity and trust with non-Dani. A fuller examination of the experiences and perceptions of the ‘homeland’ among Dani in Jayapura is beyond the scope of this thesis, but it is significant that for informants in Jayapura, North Sulawesi, and Wamena, being amongst orang Wamena is seen as the best, and perhaps only safe place for Dani.

Interactions between Indonesians and Papuans, and amongst Papuans themselves, must always be viewed in light of political conditions in Papua. As discussed in Chapter 4, many key informants in North Sulawesi committed to education abroad at a time of unprecedented violence between indigenous people and Indonesian migrants in the highlands, when new freedoms were swiftly crushed by Indonesian forces. In spite of efforts to mount their own acts of reformasi, Papuans were largely forced to watch from the sidelines as non-Papuans across Indonesia took advantage of an atmosphere of political openness to demonstrate in the streets and critique state power in ways previously impossible. It quickly became clear that political tolerance was not extended to Papuan concerns or critiques. The more that Dani students learned about subjects like economics, law, or governance, the more obvious it became that such norms and principles did not, and do not, apply in Papua. Moreover, many in North Sulawesi watched as friends and family, mostly fellow students, were treated as enemies of the state in Papua for criticizing duplicitous government practices. In 2009, a student who started at Unsrat just before I finished my fieldwork there in 2006 was shot in the back as he fled from Brimob paramilitary police operations at the dormitory in Sentani (Jayapura) where he was visiting friends; the authorities were looking for young people who allegedly participated in flagraisings and other anti-government incidents that occurred before the national elections. His name was Eric Logo, and he was shy, polite
and helpful to others. He was a good *adik*.

Dani students in North Sulawesi have thus far escaped physical violence at the hands of Indonesian forces, but experiences of stigma and *gengsi* (superiority/arrogance) do little to challenge Dani perspectives on orang *Indonesia*. Students' experiences encourage resistance, protectionism, and avoidance of non-Papuans and non-Dani. In this modernity, Wamena people assist, compete with, and try to impress one another. They try to create exclusive spaces of security and authority. These are not the effects commonly associated with discipline, socialization, and formal education. Students' activities demonstrate most strongly the aspiration to develop skills and qualities that may offer some control over the conditions of Dani interactions with orang *Indonesia* and the nation-state more broadly. The results of becoming good quality Dani appear to diverge from the national agenda of creating modern Indonesians or even the formation of class-based bonds with Indonesians of similar educational status.

Rutherford's (2003) analysis of indigenous productions of 'the nation' and 'the foreign' on Biak Island off the north coast of Papua, “calls into question the view that takes self-conscious national identity as a default condition” (3). She writes, “It is not only in ‘out of the way places’ (Tsing 1993) that national identity can be subverted. It also subverts itself from within” (Rutherford 2003: 3). Rutherford focuses on the failure of hegemony among people who otherwise participated enthusiastically in the programs and projects of the Indonesian regime (Rutherford 2003: 4). Although students say they are enthusiastic about improving their quality and building up skills for modernity in Wamena, they also seem less than enthusiastic about participating in ‘the regime’, which tends to bring up experiences of shame and feelings of discomfort. The modernity that Dani graduates express hopes for is one that shelters *orang Wamena*, that shades them from the upsetting gaze of others, and that creates for educated people positions of security from which they have the power to determine how and when and for what purposes Dani interact with Indonesians. One question that remains is how the diminishment that underpins desires for control creates conflict between educated and uneducated Dani, and with other Papuans.
CONCLUSION

*Koteka Questions*

“The old people used to wear koteka and did not feel ashamed, but now, we know the feeling of shame.”

Penggu

One morning (19 April 2006) at the Yepmum dorm, Penggu, Minke, Leo and I were watching television. A domestic travel program advertised that the next show would be on location in the interior of Papua. Some footage of Yali people wearing penis gourds (*koteka* in Indonesian or *holim* in Dani) followed. As always, students were excited that something about the highlands was on national television. However, there were shouts of, “Oh no!” and, “Oh my God!” when the pictures of the men in *koteka* appeared. Leo, a Yali student, said, “Oh no, everyone will see our parents wearing koteka. This is really embarrassing. But it is our culture and we cannot escape it.” Penggu laughed, “The government tried to give them pants but they refused to wear them!”

The *koteka* features strongly for students as an emblem of ‘primitiveness’ unique to their region. Although students are well aware of the dominant perception of the *koteka* (some even report being teased about *koteka* in North Sulawesi), they still speak respectfully of those who wear the *koteka*. *Koteka*-wearers tend to be older, and students argue that that those who wear the *koteka* find it to be comfortable, appropriate, and are making a statement about their cultural identity.

Clothes are from the government and the missionaries. Some of our
people were happy about clothes. We like wearing clothes. But some people prefer the koteka, no matter what others think or say. (Penggu)

Many male students claim to have worn a koteka for battle re-enactments (perang-perangan) or for dance competitions, or even at political demonstrations. It is said to be incredibly exciting to wear because it takes great courage to overcome the shame of being almost entirely nude, and to expose oneself to others in this way. While students understand the primitive connotations associated with not wearing clothes or still wearing koteka, this is not the whole story for them. Wearing the koteka can be a preference. Wearing the koteka also demonstrates, for students and others, courage, tenacity, and commitment. It is the opposite of shameful. Students know, and assert, that everyone in the highlands is aware of the dominant perspective about the koteka: it indicates extreme primitiveness. In retrospect, the conversations that surfaced about koteka during my fieldwork capture a central concern of this thesis. When Dani people are allowed to see themselves according to their own perspectives and standards, they are tenacious and courageous. What worries them is having to see themselves through others’ gaze. This is what concerns Leo when his ‘parents’ are seen on television in koteka: “Everyone is going to see.” Students and other Dani do not want to see themselves from the humiliating perspectives of others.

Acting malu (ashamed/embarrassed/shy) can be seen as a recognition of one’s social status vis a vis others, as well as an acknowledgement of the way one or one’s group is viewed by others, that is, negatively. Dani students are encouraged to be malu. This is the position most commonly made available to them, even when they have increased quality, education, and modern attributes. Acting shy is the only way they can be accepted and achieve some kind of belonging.

It is embarrassing to see themselves through the dominant gaze, where the term ‘gaze’ highlights the relations of power inherent in perspectives or ways of looking (Lutz and Collins 1993). Though further investigation is needed, the experiences discussed in this thesis support the existence of an Indonesian gaze, at least concerning orang Papua. Highlanders argue they experience the same stereotypes in North Sulawesi as they do in Papua, and that the same preconceived notions are held by diverse Indonesians. It is one of students’
initial assumptions that they have a chance of building good relationships with Manadonese because they are different from the Indonesian migrants in Wamena, who tend to originate from Java and South Sulawesi. The skills that students acquire in North Sulawesi, which are in large part based on their experiences as outsiders in an economy of friends and favours, are aptly suited for assisting other Dani back in Wamena precisely because similar conditions prevail.

“Face work”

In the process of vanquishing the potentially humiliating stigma of ‘low quality’, students experience humiliation that is more pressing, more influential, and more personal. According to Rawski (1999: 185),

People evaluate claims to authority by the ways in which those claims diverge or correspond with their own historical experience…Indeed, it is only through the ‘face work’ practices of local culture and politics that developmentalist and nationalist rhetoric become meaningful.

Being the subject of humiliating discourse in this case appears to have a different effect than being confronted by stigma in a face to face way. Scholars have tended to concentrate more on how so-called left-behind, tribal or otherwise “different and deficient” (Li 1999: 3) populations are discursively constructed by state institutions, religious and medical interventions, and development agendas (Duncan 2004; Lenhart 1997; Persoon 1998). What is equally significant is how such discourses come to inform the perspectives of the so-called non-tribal or normal population, thereby influencing how different populations are treated on a daily basis in informal ways. People anticipate a certain amount of fabrication and embellishment from government agents and politicians, but they hope for friendship and connection from neighbours, colleagues and schoolmates. In other words, when the president makes a speech that emphasizes the low SDM quality of the population of the Papuan highlands and the desperate need for progress, these representations are much less personally and tangibly problematic for Dani people than when they meet lecturers and fellow students who deploy those same constructs in face-to-face
encounters. ‘Face work’ has follow-on effects: personal experiences of stigmatization contribute to the sense of being scrutinized and judged from afar by strangers. In the process of acquiring skills and education that are supposed to help Dani people achieve the modern society they want, and simultaneously demonstrate their commitment to progress, their ambitions of changing political, economic, and social conditions in the highlands are reduced and restrained.

Students have a hard time finding the quality they need to make dramatic changes in the highlands, partly because it is not there to be found in formal education, and partly because it is not there for them as orang Papua. They may improve their quality using the limited tools at their disposal, but they are unable to acquire potency and superiority that is supposed to come with quality.

Avoiding Exposure

Just as there are limits to quality, there are limits to shame and humiliation. Improved quality allows former students and graduates to be, or appear to be, good Dani. Because of salaries as government employees, through non-government work, or most of all, through small acts of assistance to friends and relatives, graduates are better able to have ‘good voices, good hands, and good hearts’ (Alua 2006) and help others, though these ‘good things’ are ultimately different than they described during their time in North Sulawesi. If “One man’s imagined community is another man’s political prison” (Appadurai 1996: 32), exclusion can be a form of relief.

In the 1980s, Hayward (1983: 3) characterized Dani people as “living on the fringes of Indonesian society.” It still appears to be true that even if Dani people take up Indonesian education, follow Indonesian understandings of modernity, and develop skills accorded importance by Indonesians, they cannot become part of Indonesian communities in North Sulawesi, Wamena or anywhere else. The world of orang Indonesia is something many Dani informants describe themselves as wishing to bypass, surpass, and to someday disregard altogether. The “price of admission to the national community” (Rosaldo 2003: i) is too high. Unless Dani people wish to put aside self-esteem, cultural pride, and longstanding criticisms of the nation, they will never be part
of those communities. For now, it is a struggle to stay on the so-called fringes – to keep Indonesians out of Dani business, and for Dani people to get what they can from Indonesia without getting hurt. It is not a matter of choosing to be marginalized or finding romantic resistance to racist treatment, but rather trying to avoid the full effects of colonialism by securing a modicum of control over how their futures unfold. Using the metaphor of the *koteka*, it is a struggle to continue to see courage and tenacity where others see nudity and primitiveness.

Formal education emerges as an experience characterized by exclusion and division. It encourages little in the way of urban cosmopolitanism or cultural blending, the kind of broadening horizons or learning from others that students test out when they first arrive in North Sulawesi. Formal education does help Dani youth to improve their quality. It does provide them with lessons in Indonesian modernity, particularly the important roles of proceduralism and ceremonialism. Personal relationships, favours, deference, charm, adaptability, matter more than merit, experience, eloquence, morality and other aspects of quality. In this case, the broader consequences of drawing in, discipline and socialization are unexpected. Shame promotes avoidance and resistance rather than assimilation or identification with national social norms. It promotes an affiliation with ‘our’ social norms. Flaws and fabrications of quality and higher education are exposed to students. The people who are supposed to be welcoming Christians are not, the people who are supposed to be sophisticated, wise, and morally upstanding educators are not. The other students, who are supposed to be devoted to skills and morality, peace and democracy, are not really like that either. Education abroad puts an end to some ambiguities – as students and others suspect, highlanders are not really of poor quality. They are not really marginalized by lack of skills and education. They have skills and experience that can be called modern, and they can gain very little by trying to build social bridges with Indonesians.

**There are no Small Acts**

I began Chapter 2 with a conversation I heard in Wouma, a village on
the outskirts of Wamena, in which a ten-year-old named Eman was threatened with marriage if he did not hurry up and get ready for school. The gist of the problem was that Eman preferred to stay home and help with gardening. Actually, Eman’s reluctance to go to school reflected broader questions his family was considering about tradition (staying home, gardening, early marriage to a Dani woman) versus education (going away, a degree of independence, an urban career). Eman’s eldest brother Darius died suddenly away from home in October 2006 in Jayapura, where he was a university student with a young family. After he died, Eman’s father, Kisogo Lagowan, stated that if only he and other relatives had been with Darius when he fell ill after fishing off the coast of Jayapura, they might have been able to apologize to the ancestors and spirits and save his son. Going even further back, they suggested that if Darius had not gone away to university, he would not have needed to take up dangerous activities to earn money. Were he at home in the village, garden produce and market earnings would have taken care of the basic needs of Darius, his wife, and their two daughters.

Eman’s relatives, including his father, had quiet conversations about Eman’s education. As the last son of a big man, should he stay close to the farm to learn the family adat (customs) and history, and traditional ways achieving prosperity? What if they focused on Eman’s formal education and something went wrong and he did not make it to university or, even if he did get to university, would a university education make up for their losses? Their conversations reminded me of the many things that did happen to students I knew or knew of who were studying away from home.

Eman could die. He could get sick and die, far from home, and his father would have a hard time doing anything about it. His friends would do their best to put on a funeral service, probably lasting several days, and would try to raise money for his family. His family would try to pay to have his body flown back to the highlands at a cost of five to ten million rupiah. (If unable to do so he would have to be buried abroad, a fate that upsets students just talking about it). He might also struggle with alcohol, which caused the death of a prominent student in 2005, a son of another Wouma ‘big man’ who was among a select few to hold a special scholarship to study at STPDN (Sekolah Tinggi Pemerintahan Dalam Negeri, a higher education institute training future
government leaders) in Bandung, Java.

Far from home, he might fall in love with the wrong girl, like Walan and Yan did. She might work magic on Eman, take over his life, humiliate him, and then break up with him, leaving him to lose his way, to be depressed, to quit school, and to drink too much alcohol. He might fall in love with a local Indonesian or non-Wamena woman and never return to life in the highlands. Eman might fall in love with a Dani woman and get her pregnant. Of course, his father would have little influence over the match, and no immediate way to make it official and proper through a traditional wedding. If he were lucky, Eman would have someone raising his pigs, or raising pigs on his behalf, necessary to pay brideprice in a traditional wedding. A pregnancy abroad would also likely delay Eman’s graduation, and his family might have to worry about sending him more money to take responsibility for his wife and child.

If Eman’s father and other kin did not continuously get money together to pay his school fees and living expenses abroad, Eman might end up dropping in and out of university, making his four-year degree turn into a six- or eight-year degree. During periods in which he was not actively studying there is a good chance he would drink too much alcohol and experience a considerable amount of stress.

He might get involved in student organizations, work hard to be an honest treasurer, get caught between factions warring over stolen funds, resign his position, and, in frustration and disappointment at conditions of conflict and dishonesty among fellow students from Wamena, be less than enthusiastic about university life. Eman might get involved in student organizations abroad, steal funds from the organization, and get assaulted by angry students, as happened to one of the Rupmawi leaders. He might quit university, fleeing to another city, as the IMIPA leader did when rumours surfaced about his misuse of scholarship money. Tired of being stuck in the third semester because he lacks the funds to bribe the lecturer for a final mark, he might lash out and be expelled, or implode, spending the rest of his days drinking and getting into fights. He might get into a protracted conflict with his professor over money, attire, the length and style of his hair, or assignments, and be forced to transfer to another university if he ever wants to graduate. Someone in Wamena or out of Wamena might be jealous (irī) and enact some kind of sorcery that would
make him sick or blind. He might bring all of his irreplaceable university documents (proof of fee payments, report cards) on a trip home to Wamena to apply for scholarships, and lose them on the ship, causing him to quit university rather than begin again.

He might receive money from home, purchase an economy class boat ticket to somewhere in Indonesia, and disappear for an extended period. He could become a born again Christian under the guidance of local Pentecostal families, and enjoy his new life abroad so much that he would rather not return home to Wamena.

There is a good chance that some of his professors and other public servants at university would ask Eman for money under the table, making him dread the idea of one day becoming a public servant himself, and causing him to drag his feet to graduation and spend more time partying. Upon returning home to Wamena without his diploma, he would rather wait for an opportunity to work for an NGO than join the government. On the other hand, Eman might become quite experienced in networking with public servants, gain employment in Wamena, and become a prominent politician. He might become very rich, expertly embezzling vast amounts of public money; spend it on his father, the farm, and other extended family/clan members. However, when he finally runs out of money or is fired from his job, he might end up depressed, paranoid, prone to psychotic episodes, and isolated from the family, like Eman’s uncle, who was once a member of parliament in Wamena.

He could eventually finish his university degree, make his way home, and find himself unemployed, penniless, and with considerable unpayable debts to his extended family. Out of shame, disappointment, and boredom, he would probably drink too much and spend his time wandering about, visiting friends, and not help his father out on the farm.

Ideally, Eman would go abroad with conviction and energy. As a ten year old, he would get out of his sleeping spot in his hut early and enthusiastic, and head down for a cleansing plunge in the ice-cold river before school. He would be confident and energetic in class, despite being hungry, and despite his embarrassment over his torn, stained, and ill-fitting school uniform. His mother and father would keep paying his school fees. Throughout his teenage years in Wamena, he would resist dropping out of school with his cohort to dig sand and
rocks out of the We River to sell to construction projects. He would avoid alcoholism of young and older men, and avoid the glue-sniffing of even younger males (and females). He would stay clear of young women unless they were his relatives. It would be important that Eman avoid getting into trouble with Wamena’s heavy police and military presence, but also that running, hiding, or submitting to them not make him feel like less of a man. While helping on the farm and with custom (adat), he would still graduate from high school and do well on the national university entrance exam. His father, mother, or uncle would sell some pigs, he would take that money and leave, getting his first aerial view of Wamena’s grand Valleys and majestic mountains on his first plane ride, and then he would get on a ship. The ship would make its way from Jayapura, the capital city of Papua province, west for days along Papua’s long green coastline. Depending on how much money he carried, and where his friends have gone or are going, he would likely disembark in Manado-Bitung, Makassar, or Jakarta.

He would ideally spend his money on official and unofficial school fees, practical clothes, meals, and Sunday donations at church. He would not fill his new backpack with desirable and seemingly inexpensive goods: a leather jacket, a fancy mobile phone, volleyball, and a big bottle of whiskey. He would try to take care of any junior relatives from Wamena studying in the same place, and senior relatives would guide him, keep him in line, and help him sort out new challenges and confusing circumstances. He would not get seriously ill as his body adjusted from the temperate mountain climate of Wamena to the steamy humidity of low-lying Indonesia, and would not be the victim of ill will or jealousy.

Eman would never quit, vacation, or take a leave of absence, and he would finish in four years. His professors, the Dean, the Dean’s five assistants, the Rector’s four assistants, the staff at the registrar’s office, and the department clerks, would not demand extra money from him to mark his assignments, process his exams, and do his graduation and other paperwork. His neighbours, with whom he thought he had made friends, would not turn on him in times of need. Government officials would not make him feel too humiliated for speaking his mind and standing up for his friends. He would develop the confidence he seeks, and needs, to avoid feeling lesser than the
Indonesians around him, who sometimes make him feel awkward and uncertain. His friends and kin would not ask him for too much money, and he himself would not incur large debts with them. His friends would prefer to help him celebrate important milestones with a pig roast or a prayer service than with a month of binge drinking. Eman would not have relationships with girls, or would choose the perfect girl and carefully manage the relationship so that they would return to Wamena together after graduation.

He would have a close relative working in the local government in Wamena so his application to join the civil service would go forward, and he would gain employment quickly. He would engage minimally in dishonest practices, and his department would be productive and free of corruption. Eman would find his work satisfying; he would feel that his education made a difference, and that he is helping other indigenous people in Wamena and making a positive contribution to development. The wants and needs of his social network, his father’s people, his mother’s people, his father’s other children, people of the same clan, and distant in-laws, would be negotiated with minimal trouble. He would live on the farm, as his father might hope, but Eman would probably build a wooden house for himself and his wife and children on the edge of the property, like the medical assistant and the schoolteacher have done. Alternatively, he might be able to afford a simple, raggedy, house in town, like his uncle, a public servant who works at the district library. The local government would be responsible with its budget and pay the salaries of lower-level government employees so that he could continue to meet his financial obligations.

He would never become disillusioned or despondent despite seeing some of his fellow graduates give up on employment, and despite seeing some of his elders and other community members feeling embarrassed to face Indonesians. He would not be harassed, intimidated or assaulted by military personnel, and security forces would not shoot him while in a demonstration of Papuan nationalism. He would continue to show the utmost respect for traditional customs, and take very seriously his obligations as the last son of a big man in Wouma. If he were as good at solving conflicts as his father, Eman himself would become a big man. He would take care of the farm, the family, and the ancestors. There would always be pig-raising and potato-growing, and
the huts would be full of men, women, and children. There would be another Eman who became ‘good quality’, doing a perfect job of negotiating colonialism, fear, shame, stigma, arrogance, anger, corruption, racism, love, sex, jealousy, fist fights, *cap tikus* (local alcoholic brew in North Sulawesi), *air nenas* (popular homemade alcohol in Wamena), *aibon* (glue that some youth in Wamena inhale to get high), hunger, desire, and death. Or, unless Eman were extraordinary, he would be like most of the students, young and old, in various states of study, vacation, and drop-out, drunk and sober, in love and out of love, penniless and well-funded, mostly making an effort to improve their quality in North Sulawesi, from whom I learned what might happen to Eman.

Education abroad involves risk and investment, for students and their sponsors, for the sake of becoming slightly more able to ‘do good things for others’, and to gain the skills and confidence needed to take elderly relatives to the hospital and pick up report cards on behalf of parents who cannot sign their names. Yet small acts of assistance by recent graduates in Wamena helping their friends and family avoid shameful encounters or uncomfortable circumstances involve taking a lead role in “power-saturated encounters” (Li 2003: 387). If the most cumbersome effects of diminishment are experienced through the “face work” (Rawski 1999) of direct encounters with those who hold, or appear to hold, stigmatizing beliefs, then these seemingly minor acts help to interrupt colonial power relations. It is worth considering Li’s (2003: 387) proposal, based in part on Roseberry (1996: 81) that,

> Those who demand that their rights be acknowledged must fill the places of recognition that others provide, using dominant languages and demanding a voice in bureaucratic and other power-saturated encounters, even as they seek to stretch, reshape, or even reinvent the meanings implied.

Graduates certainly appear to make use of skills in proceduralism and ceremonialism, experience speaking to Indonesians in power, and are able to carry an air of confidence that comes from knowing what to expect inside state institutions. They are able to use dominant languages that identify them as educated. They stretch and reshape the meaning of quality. The role of broker between ‘Wamena people’ and Indonesians is one of the few places open to them. Nevertheless, students are able to make it seem as if, rather than filling
“the places of recognition” (Li 2003: 387) others provide for them, they use their experiences abroad to create prestige, confidence, and meaningful results. Though it is not transformation on a grand scale, students manage to learn more than the proper performance of Indonesian quality and find ways to use their skills to support dreams that encompass more than recognition. It remains to be seen what long-term dreams they will ignite as graduates in the Baliem Valley.
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241


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