

Taking On Development: Papuan Youth, HIV/AIDS, and State Discourse in
Eastern Indonesia

By

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Abstract

This thesis provides an examination of how Papuan university students in eastern Indonesia react to Indonesian governance. Qualitative interviews investigate students' understandings of HIV/AIDS, an emerging threat in Papua around which the state makes moral claims and promotes development. Media discourse analysis reveals the way that "development" is used by the state for control, evaluation, regulation, and to make assertions about the quality and qualities of local people. Papuan students in Manado, Sulawesi are strongly influenced by development ideology. As they negotiate their way through state discourse, they show conformity and resistance to Indonesian development ideology, and by extension, governance.

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Chapter One: Introduction

In a photo I took in Indonesia in 2003, a young man from Papua province in eastern Indonesia kneels outside his dorm room in Manado, Sulawesi (see Figure 1, Map A, Map B).

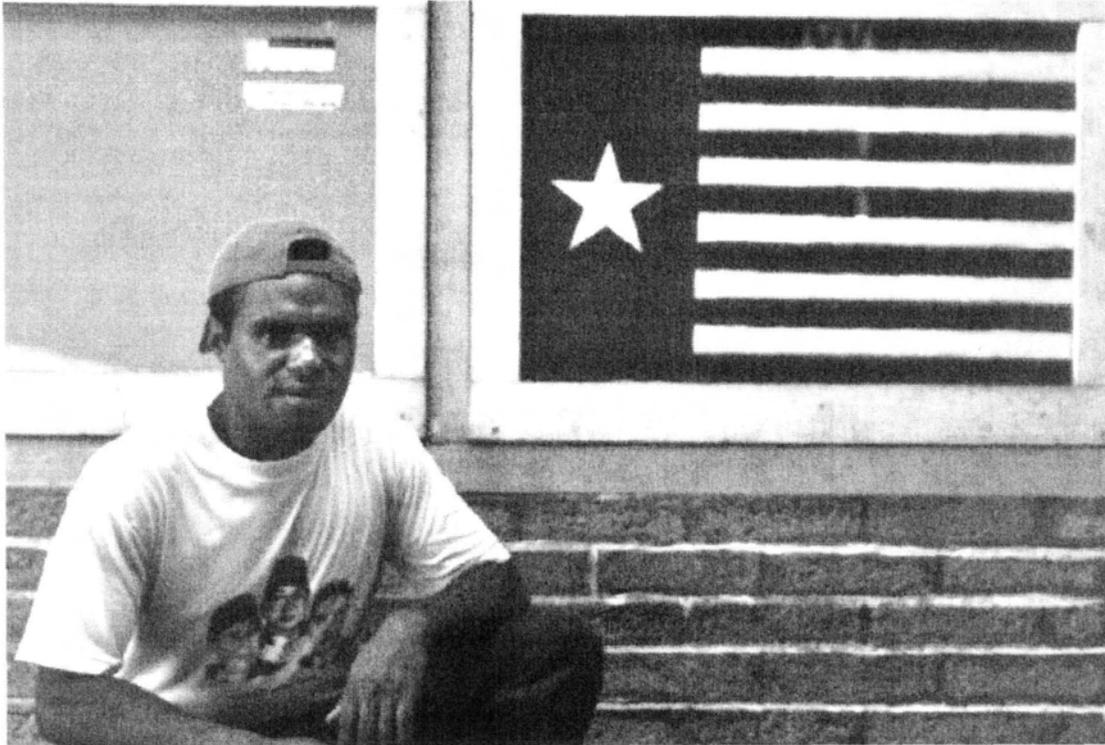
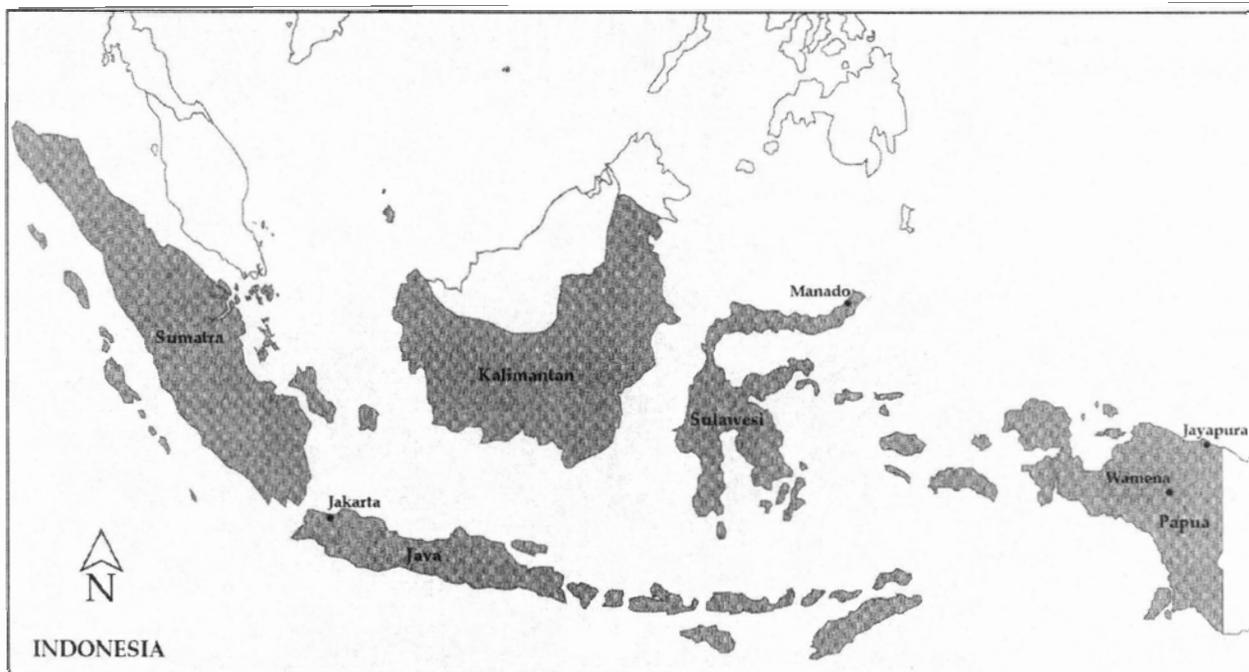


Figure 1: Lowan and the Morning Star flag in Manado

His name is Lowan,¹ and he is in his second year of studying administration (*pemerintahan*) at Sam Ratulangi University. On the window of his dorm room he has painted a flag called the “Morning Star,” used by Papuan separatists in their claims for independence from Indonesia.²

¹ A pseudonym.

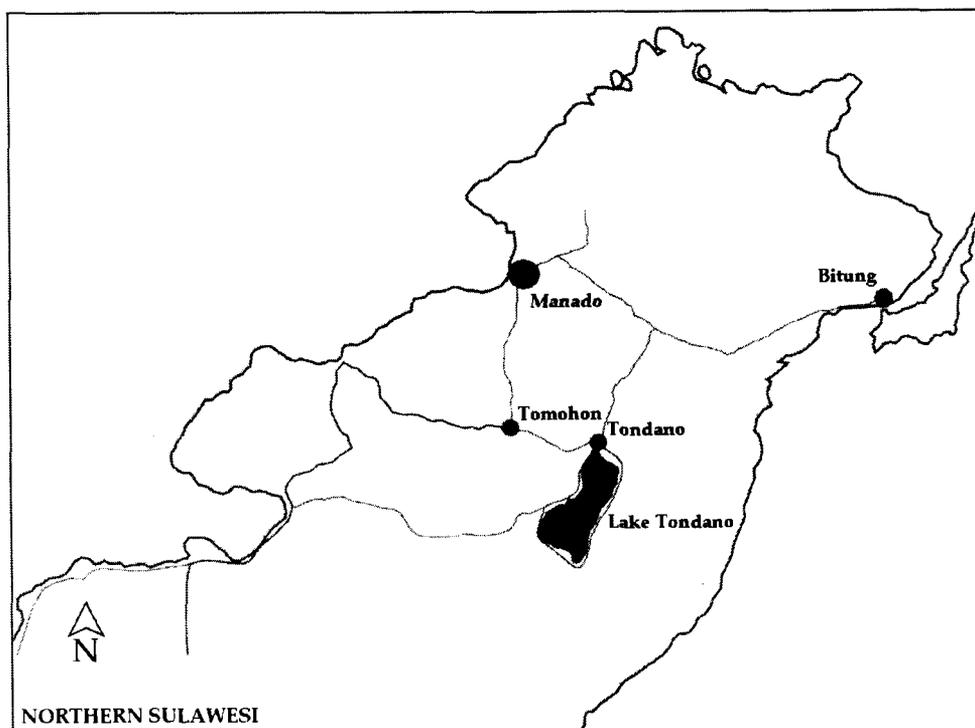
² Papua, like the rest of what is now Indonesia, was colonized by the Dutch. Indonesia became an independent country in 1945, but the Dutch and the Indonesians disagreed over ownership of Papua, which the Dutch called West New Guinea. There was some talk on the part of the Netherlands about helping Papuans to create an independent country. During the dispute (1949-1962) the area was called West Irian. In 1962, the New York Agreement was ratified by the United Nations. It gave Indonesia administrative control of the area, pending a referendum of self-determination by Papuans. The vote for self-determination was not administered as promised.



*Map A: Indonesia*³

Rather, in 1969, an Act of Free Choice was held amid widespread political unrest and resistance. It involved 1,025 handpicked members of specially-appointed referendum councils (Budiardjo 1988: vii-viii). The members voted unanimously to join Indonesia, and the UN General Assembly formally acknowledged the outcome. The new province of Indonesia was called Irian Jaya, and the indigenous people, Irianese. In 2000, the name of Papua, preferred by many Papuans, was officially permitted. Nonetheless, the terms Irian Jaya and Irianese continue to be used. Since Indonesia colonized Papua in 1969, Papuans have been staging periodic flag-raising to call attention to long-standing aspirations for independence (*merdeka*). See Rutherford (2001) for an analysis of “flag-raising.”

³ Map A and Map B modified substantially from Henley (1996)



Map B: Manado and Surrounding Area

In the photo, Lowan is wearing a t-shirt with a picture of former Indonesian leaders. Indonesia's first president, Sukarno, is on the left. Sukarno's picture is from his younger days as Indonesia's national hero, when he declared independence from the Dutch in 1945. In the centre of the picture is a relatively recent photograph of Abdurrahman Wahid, Indonesia's president from 1999-2001. Under the presidency of Wahid, a Muslim cleric, supporters of Papuan independence enjoyed an unprecedented latitude of political movement and expression (Ballard 2002: 467). Across Papua, previously banned Morning Star flags associated with independence movements were raised (Ballard 2002: 467). President Wahid provided political and financial support to public expression of pro-Independence sentiment at two mass meetings in 2000, although he later "disowned" the proceedings when it became clear that they would likely result in a declaration of Papuan independence (Rutherford 2001: 210).⁴ His support

⁴ A congress held in May 2000 issued a number of ambitious declarations, each of them unacceptable to Jakarta, including a demand for recognition of the unilateral declaration of

for dialogue on Papuan aspirations played a part in his fall from power in July 2001 when he was replaced by his strongly nationalist vice president, Megawati Sukarnoputri, the daughter of former president Sukarno.

By contrast to Wahid, Sukarno (whose picture is on the left side of the image on the shirt) did not believe that Papuans should have a say in whether Papua joined Indonesia. According to Sukarno, Papuans had already exercised their right to self-determination when Indonesia declared independence from the Dutch in 1945 (Chauvel 2003). He argued for Indonesia's right to claim Papua after independence from the Dutch, asserting that Indonesia needed to liberate the Papuans from their "primitive" ways (Chauvel 2003, Rutherford 2001).

The caption under the photo on the shirt reads "defend what is right," *membela yang benar*, which is the slogan of Wahid's political party, the National Awakening Party, or PKB (*Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa*).

Lowan often wore that shirt while I knew him in Manado, and happened to be wearing it the day I asked him to pose for a photo in front of his Morning Star flag. I never asked Lowan about that shirt when in Sulawesi. It is likely the type of t-shirt handed out during political campaigning. If so, it would have been free, and a useful item of clothing for a student like Lowan, who struggles to pay tuition.

The image of Lowan wearing the shirt with the Indonesian nationalist, Sukarno, and the only political leader to support dialogue on Papuan aspirations, Wahid, in front of the Morning Star flag conjures up questions about how Papuan youth react to Indonesian governance.

independence issues by Papuan leaders in 1961; a repudiation of the Act of Free Choice, and a call for the immediate involvement of the United Nations in a transfer of powers to an independent Papuan state (Ballard 2002: 467).

This thesis is based on research I did in the city of Manado, Indonesia on the island of Sulawesi in 2003. I was there for 6 weeks, where I met with, learned about, and interviewed Papuan university students who are school migrants. These students have left behind their homes in Papua province and traveled about four days, often by ship, through the islands of Maluku, across the equator, to the busy port of Bitung, about 2 hours bus ride from the city of Manado. Virtually all of the Papuans in Manado are student migrants. There are approximately 5,000 students in and around the city, though my research focused on just 24, 16 men and 8 women ranging in age from 19 to 34.

Papua, where the students originate from, is the easternmost province of Indonesia. It is an area that was essentially colonized by Indonesia in the 1960s (Budiardjo and Liong 1988, Browne 2001). Indonesian rule has continued largely against the wishes of the one million indigenous Papuans who live there. State practices include military operations against civilians, involving killing and torture, forced relocation, migration of Indonesians who are dominant in business and in politics, as well as racist attempts to destroy Papuan cultures (Budiardjo and Liong 1988, Ballard 2002, Rutherford 2001). Papuans continue to experience marginalization and exclusion when the government ignores or suppresses their voices of opposition. An active movement for independence from Indonesia continues to evolve, with strong support from Papuans in many areas of the province. Even though Papuans are stereotyped by the government as “underdeveloped,” and “ignorant,” and cause the government concern with their support for independence, their reactions to Indonesian governance, or the state’s controlling language of “development” have not received much scholarly consideration.

The goal of my thesis is, most broadly, to investigate how Papuan school migrants in Manado react to Indonesian authority in the form of state ideologies

on development and HIV/AIDS. In doing so, I will analyze state discourse on the ideology of human resource development in Indonesian newspapers, as well as interview results from Manado. I will demonstrate that students' perceptions of HIV/AIDS, Papuans and *merdeka* (independence) are influenced to a considerable degree by this development ideology. Therefore this research will demonstrate that, because they internalize, reject and manipulate Indonesian development ideology, Papuan students show both resistance and conformity to Indonesian governance. My media analysis will show that the ideology of human resource development is used by Indonesia for controlling conduct.

For valid reasons, scholarly work on Papua has emphasized Indonesia's use of violence as a strategy of governance. Nonetheless, as Indonesia claims to be moving toward political, economic and cultural solutions to the problem of separatism in Papua, it is vital to examine and assess the impact of strategies of governance that do not involve state violence. These strategies may be overlooked since they are subtler or do not seem harmful to Papuans. My investigation of "human resource development" shows that the Indonesian state claims that Papuans are responsible for "underdevelopment" because their alleged primitiveness, poor culture and refusal to conform to Indonesian patriotism make them poor-quality human resources. While Indonesia blames Papuans, scholarly research argues that Papuans are marginalized, colonized, and subjected to state-sponsored killings, torture, racism, and exclusion (Rutherford 2001, Ballard 2002, Kirsch 2002, Budiardjo 1988, Osborne 1985). This thesis therefore argues that the ideology of "human resource development" is an instrument of state control that obscures marginalization in Papua.

Interviews with students about HIV/AIDS were used to tap into how students' react to Indonesian state discourse. This is because Papua is facing an emerging epidemic of HIV/AIDS, and it has exposed and exacerbated state

discourse on development and associated claims about Papuans' supposed primitiveness and promiscuity.⁵ For instance, government officials frequently articulate in the media that indigenous Papuans are causing the high rate of infection because of "underdevelopment" that makes them isolated, tied to negative traditional practices and beliefs, and unable to understand AIDS prevention.

In order to explore how Papuan youth react to Indonesian governance, this thesis investigates how they internalize, reject, and manipulate state development ideology because, in Indonesia, the state uses development ideologies and programs for control, power and authority. The authoritarian government of former president Suharto (1965 to 1998) pushed "development" as the most important and pressing national task. According to scholars, the state has used development to define a "generic moral and social order," (Brenner 1999) as an attempt at social engineering, and to put forth "a complete set of ethics" (Newland 2001: 23) for how people should think and act. Development ideology defines appropriate gender roles and "proper" ways of living. From the perspective of the Indonesian government, for example, people in isolated areas of the country should re-make their lifestyles in line with the priorities of national development, by reorganizing the layout of their villages, planting crops that are approved by the government, adhering to a designated world religion, and showing allegiance to Indonesian political, economic and cultural beliefs over their own customs (see Li 1999a, 1999b, Tsing 1993). Scholars have argued that these values and practices mean that the Indonesian government uses

⁵ In 2001, health authorities in the province stated that there were just 599 cases of HIV/AIDS. In 2003, authorities have announced that there are 1,398 cases, although they call this estimate the "tip of the iceberg." While just 1% of Indonesia's population of 220 million lives in Papua province, 40% of Indonesia's HIV/AIDS cases are found there.

ideologies of development to make moral claims about how citizens should behave (Brenner 1999: 22-23, Hunter 1996: 169, 186-7).

My use of the term “development” refers to economic development, in which development is viewed as a way to overcome poverty and economic backwardness (Robinson 1986). My use of the term “underdevelopment,” on the other hand, references all of those ways in which state officials describe Papuans’ alleged ignorance, backwardness, poverty, and primitiveness. In this thesis, “development” also refers to Indonesia’s language of development, in which development is associated with mental, moral and spiritual development (Hunter 1996: 169), and which presses for appropriate conduct. In interviews, Papuan youth articulate other conceptualisations of development. They associate development with unfair treatment of Papuans and negative influences such as bars and brothels, but they also define development, under the right leadership, as social, political and economic, involving improvements in health services, transportation, media, and morality. According to students, development can reduce the isolation and “primitiveness” of Papuans, can help prevent HIV/AIDS, and can be used to further Papuan aspirations for their own country.

All of the students I interviewed are *suku* Dani, or from the Dani cultural group. Dani are among the most ill-treated of Papuans, living in the isolated mountains most often marked as “primitive” by government officials. In this area, around the town of Wamena, education and health services are some of the poorest in the country, which is why students in Manado who are educated, literate and mobile are relatively privileged among Papuan youth even though they still have experiences of racism and marginalization in Manado. Most of the students I got to know in Manado are politically active and support independence from Indonesia.

Students' situation in Manado makes development ideology particularly influential. In Manado, students become acquainted with a modern, prosperous, Christian town where economic development appears to have produced wealth and stability for many people (Buchholt and Mai 1994, Weber 1994). Students also spend much time thinking about home, wondering what is going on in Papua, and thinking about what they can do with their education back home. They are also highly familiar with the history of marginalization in Papua and think that Papuans have been treated unfairly. In Manado, students sometimes experience discrimination as well, such as being stigmatized as "OPM,"⁶ or as "black people," yet they also see what life could be like in Papua. Students see that Papua could be developed but still Christian, or that Papuans could be wealthier yet still have cultural values and traditions. Manado provides an example of prosperity in an outer island context, away from Java and Jakarta. Students want to find a way forward for Papua; at the same time, they are exposed to national messages on development and consume a good deal of print media. State discourse argues that development is the way forward, and singles out educated people for a special role in achieving prosperity and power.

The Indonesian state has a history of trying to govern youth through development ideology that pressures youth to behave "properly" (Shiraishi 1997, Ryter 2001). In particular, "human resource development" is an ideology that has been used in an attempt to contain young people who might challenge the state (Ryter 2001). This history invites an examination of "human resource development" as a strategy of governance. It also invites an examination of

⁶ The Free Papua Movement, or *Organisasi Papua Merdeka* (OPM) is an armed resistance movement, usually described in the Indonesian press as men with bows and arrows who live in the jungle and periodically wage attacks against Indonesia and its interests. There is widespread support of the OPM, particularly in the highlands, as it symbolizes a much wider effort for Papuan independence.

young Papuans' reactions to development discourse. This thesis will discuss in upcoming chapters the broader implications of the photo of Lowan, a representation of how Dani students have internalized state development ideology, including its negative representations of Papuans, yet also manipulate state discourse to further Papuan aspirations.

First, this thesis will examine "development" as a tool of regulation in Indonesia. It will introduce the concept of "human resource development" and review its history in Indonesia and in Papua in particular.

Chapter three reviews research methods used in Manado, including media analysis. This chapter also describes interview methods used to examine how students understand HIV/AIDS. Lastly, a portrayal of Dani students in Manado provides a context for how and why students internalise, but also reject, what the government says about Papuans, AIDS, and development. Dani students in the research group are avid and critical consumers of print media, and I argue that Dani students are influenced by state discourse from the media.

Chapter four presents the results of media analysis of the concept of "human resource development." It shows how the state articulates appropriate conduct through the media, promoting conformity, and trying to shape the way people think about what is right and wrong. The overarching message in discourse about Papuan human resources is that Papua needs development and Papuans are responsible for underdevelopment. HIV/AIDS is seen to expose and exacerbate these claims about development in Papua.

State discourse on human resources only shows one side of the story because it does not tell us how citizens respond to its promotion of virtues, right ways of thinking, or its demeaning representations. The results of interviews with Dani students on HIV/AIDS are presented in chapter five. Understandings of AIDS show that Dani students "take on" development in the sense that they

internalize key aspects of state development discourse, but also intend to “take on” Indonesian rule, through development, at home in Papua. Chapter six provides a broad-level analysis of research findings.

In sum, the main purpose of this thesis is to examine how Papuan students react to Indonesian development discourse, and by extension, Indonesian governance. By doing so, this thesis will explore young peoples’ resistance and conformity to the language of governance in development discourse.

Chapter Two: Regulation and Evaluation in “Human Resource Development”

The coming to power of Suharto’s “New Order” government in 1965 ushered in a radical change in government policies, leading to a change in Indonesia’s operational motto from Revolution to Development (McDonald 1980: 68, cited in Robinson 1986: 93). The priority of national development, modernization and progress has permeated local lives. In particular, as this chapter will discuss, development is used by the state as a “right of way” for making moral claims about how citizens should behave. During Suharto’s 33 years in power, young people in Indonesia were targeted for regulation, in part through socializing the priority of national development, but also by defining the “growth and development of their lives” as a national issue of “human resource development.” The notion of developing Indonesia’s “human resources” was ushered in around the same time that “development” became “a central national discourse,” (Atkinson 2003: 137) but has received relatively little attention as an effort to evaluate and regulate citizens. This chapter introduces the concept of “human resource development” in Indonesia, and shows that it touches on issues of morality, conformity, regulation and blame that surface in the rest of this thesis.

Development and “The Conduct of Conduct”

In 1990s Indonesia, dissent from the principles of *pembangunan* (development), like Pancasila,⁷ the state philosophy of Indonesia, was potentially subversive (Van Langenberg 1990: 124). In 1990, Michael Van Langenberg wrote,

⁷ Literally the five pillars (sometimes translated as the five virtues), Pancasila comprises: belief in one God; just and civilized humanitarianism; a united Indonesia; democracy guided by wisdom, through consultation and representation; and social justice for all the Indonesian people (Vatikiotis 1993: 95). The Pancasila is taught at every level from school to university and beyond (Vatikiotis 1993: 106). For any citizen to deny the Pancasila, or for any social group to refuse to acknowledge it as their sole philosophical base is to be seditious (Van Langenberg 1990: 123).

“For twenty-three years the term *pembangunan* (development) has remained the consistent doctrine to legitimise the very existence of the New Order” (124).

According to Van Langenberg (1990: 124-5),

Underpinning the very rationale of *pembangunan* [development] is the notion of modernization achieved through scientific planning and stable public administration. *Pembangunan* [development] and *modernisasi* [modernization] in turn depend on the state-system ensuring political stability and order.

In the post-Suharto era (1998-present), development remains a core component of state power.

Legitimizing the state’s authority... in its national dimensions, “development” can be considered one of the more significant “everyday forms of state formation,” which offers, like education, public administration, and land law, an arena in which “the state” can continuously restate its *raison d’être* and become instantiated in routine processes and events. (Li 1999b: 300)

Development does not only legitimise the state’s authority, as Li suggests, but it plays a role in governance by articulating appropriate conduct for citizens.

This thesis draws on a Foucauldian interpretation of government.

Defining government as “the conduct of conduct” (Dean 1999: 10) highlights the role of morality, defined as codes of right and wrong that articulate appropriate conduct, in governance. Indonesia’s official state philosophy, Pancasila, or Five Virtues, has received much attention as an overt way of defining appropriate conduct for citizens, sometimes called moral education (e.g. Cribb and Brown 1995). However, Development, or *Pembangunan*, has also played a fundamental role in governance (Li 1999b, Heryanto 1988) by defining appropriate conduct. Codes of right and wrong in state development ideology argue that young people should be healthy and skilled, or that women should use family planning, for the sake of national development. Codes of right and wrong are also codes of

evaluation (Dean 1994: 154), because they judge whether actions, beliefs and ways of thinking are proper or improper. Codes of evaluation “are not imposed by coercion” (Gramsci, cited in Machin 2002: 75). Rather, the Indonesian state’s definition of proper conduct, or morality, “may form part of everyday life and may form the consensus” (Gramsci, cited in Machin 2002: 75). In summary, the state’s assertions about morality are part of a strategy to manage the population, and its assertions may become part of everyday life.

One site where the state uses development to shape conduct is through development programs that “define a complete set of ethics,” (Newland 2001: 23) on the grounds that certain conduct is necessary for national development. In Indonesia, state development programs conflate improving the population, in terms of health, wealth, education, and so forth, with national progress. A number of scholars have argued that Indonesia uses “development” as an excuse for interventions into the lives of citizens (Li 1999b, Hunter 1996, Brenner 1999). Moreover, they argue that the state’s development agenda is intended to transform not just the economy, but the way people think (Newland 2001: 23). For instance, the extensive family planning program of the state promotes an ideal of two children for the sake of national progress, and is part of a development agenda to create modern Indonesian citizens. Family planning is “not just an attempt to limit reproduction,” it contains “a complete set of ethics” about appropriate behaviour (Newland 2001: 23). Family planning is one of Indonesia’s most thoroughly analysed attempts to use development to define appropriate conduct and promote conformity. However, there is also evidence that development is used for regulation in less well-explored contexts. In particular, Indonesia has used development discourse to socialize youth to the priority of national development, and as a distraction and deterrent from politics. If we want to investigate state regulation and control, youth deserve attention.

Youth: Moral Education and Containment

Scholars suggest that youth are underestimated, overlooked, particularly when it comes to social and political consciousness (Bucholtz 2003, Sharp 2003). Yet in Indonesia, youth are viewed by the state as significant political actors who can support or threaten the state. In state discourse, youth embody the territory's current stability as well as its future potential (Sharp 2003: 77). Young people in Indonesia are the first targets for moral education of national values, in elementary school (Shiraishi 1997). The Pancasila philosophy is an integral part of socializing state morals to young people in elementary school. In fact, the education system, including Pancasila morality and the idea of national development, was engineered with the production of citizens in mind (Shiraishi 1997).

The idea of national development was to strive for a new and modern Indonesia, and the transformation of modern consciousness became one of the main aims of development. This transformation of consciousness was to take place in education, and youth were its focus (Weber 1994). Ideology promoting the legitimacy of the New Order became a mandatory part of elementary education (Budianta 2001: 126). Suharto's government defined itself as the *Orde Pembangunan*, the Development Order, and youth were educated about development. In speeches and lectures, constant appeals to the necessity of development were made; parts of the concept were introduced in the school curricula, in universities and other institutions of education (Weber 1994: 196). Prior to their final examinations, university students were sent to the villages for several weeks in order to assist and to motivate the rural population to implement local development projects (Weber 1994: 196).

Youth have also been targets of Indonesian regulation as potential threats that might cause problems for the government. In Indonesia, youth were active

in early Indonesian nationalism, working for independence from Dutch rule. As a result, young people were considered heroes of Indonesian independence. Young people were involved in helping Suharto's New Order administration come to power, and youth movements played an active role in toppling the same administration 33 years later, in 1998. Under the New Order, the meaning of "youth" was reformulated to prevent young people from being what they had been, those political actors and social critics, "the embodiment of radical change" that helped the New Order come to power in the first place (Ryter 2001: 137). A realignment of the term "youth" (*pemuda*) produced different designations to delimit the young. University students, *mahasiswa*, were increasingly regarded as a separate category from *pemuda* (youth) and were themselves eventually cut off from active politics by policies that defined student activism as inappropriate for campus (Ryter 2001: 137).

Aside from new definitions and regulations for youth, the path chosen by authorities to govern youth was one that promoted development, and focused on the improvement of youth as "human resources" in particular:

As part of this transformation of 'youth', the state focussed on a new problem facing young people...the growth and development of the lives of our teen-youths...this approach tended to focus on turning youth on the one hand into teens and, on the other, into "human natural resources" (SDM, *Sumber Daya Manusia*). (Ryter 2001: 141)

"Human resource development" is part of the state's project to regulate and control young people. As the following section suggests, the ideology of "human resource development" deserves attention because it defines a new problem that requires state intervention: a lack of skilled, educated, and virtuous citizens.

"Human Resource Development"

"Human resource development" (HRD) was intimated early on in Indonesia's agenda of national development, in the sense that citizens were obligated, and motivated by the state, to get involved in development. The critical role of education and moral behaviour is central to "Human resource development" and surfaces in this thesis and in interviews with Dani students. This section introduces the concept of "human resource development" as an effort to indoctrinate and socialize proper conduct.

For the last five decades, development has been cast as a national duty for Indonesian citizens. The idea of national development emerged as a project of nation-building after Indonesia became an independent state in 1945. At the core of the idea of modern progress was the notion that "our fate is in our hands" (Hatta 1950: 72, cited in Weber 1994: 196), an ideology intended to get citizens invested and involved in development. The imperative of development was put to the citizenry, motivated to participate by state apparatus' such as mass media and the Indonesian armed forces (Weber 1994: 195).

In the 1960s and 1970s, new attention was paid by international organizations to economic development in Indonesia and elsewhere. Under the New Order administration (1965-1998) national economic development was given top priority. The emphasis was on technological advancement. Economic development initiatives quickly required new types of citizens, skilled in "technology," "management" and "leadership" (see Means 1985: 15). External organizations and international agencies thus became involved in funding and promoting "Human resource development."⁸ In the 1970s, international

⁸ Early studies on human resource development were co-funded by external agencies, such as UNICEF, UNDP, USAID, and the World Bank. One of the early publications on human resource development in Indonesia was co-authored by USAID and Indonesia's Department of Labor

development agencies such as the World Bank identified the need for improvement in education and training facilities in Indonesia so that manpower requirements could keep pace with successful economic development (Means 1985: 15).

The idea of “investing in human capital,” or “human resource development,” gained currency in Indonesia in the 1980s (Means 1985). In 1981, a World Bank report concluded that local management and technological skills were in such short supply that local initiative and leadership was the primary impediment to development, particularly in “the more economically depressed provinces” (Means 1985: 15). Thus the major priority for Indonesia’s 4th Five Year Development Plan (*Rencana Pembangunan Lima Tahun; Repelita*) (1984-1989) was human resource development (Means 1985: 15).

“Human resource development” is typically understood as the improvement of the skills or education of “manpower,” or “the workforce.” In Indonesia, “human resource development” is understood as much more than the development of a skilled workforce. Human resource development includes religion, education, health, and morality. Government officials quoted in *Kompas* in 2001 described a program to develop human resources as follows:

This program to improve the human resources will include a variety of sectors such as religion, education, health, social welfare, agriculture, and other aspects which can improve the quality of one’s self and the morality of the people.⁹

(1964). The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has been an external force driving human resource development in Indonesia since 1972. The UNDP declares that it “has devoted more attention to the promotion of the development of human skills and potential than any other external assistance effort [in the world].”

⁹ *Kompas*, “Tahun 2002, Sultra Prioritaskan Investasi SDM.” December 17, 2001.

Program peningkatan sdm lapos bawah ini meliputi lintas sector seperti agama, pendidikan, kesehatan, kesejahteraan sosial, pertanian dan aspek-aspek lain yang bisa meningkatkan kualitas diri dan moral/akhlak rakyat.

In the above quote, human resource development is ultimately understood to include any interventions or efforts that involve self-improvement and/or the improvement of public virtue.

Human resource development is particularly concerned with educating young people into good citizens who are useful for development. According to President Megawati, quoted in *Kompas* on July 3, 2001,

If the nation is currently troubled with many new problems...it is indicative of the unpreparedness of the human resources. This includes immaturity in perspective that affects the nation. The mindset must be implanted from a young age through education and teachings. It is the early lessons in life...that plant the seeds of the values of togetherness, tolerance, and fellowship so that youth will later become strong seeds for creation of the human resources.¹⁰

The concept of human resource development does not give much away. That is, the technical terminology does not reveal much, leaving "human resource development" open to interpretation. In Indonesia, human resource development has taken on new properties, such as "ways of thinking," and "virtues." This is common key language in contemporary Indonesian state discourse.

As previously noted, "Human resources" is a term that became part of Indonesia's vocabulary when World Bank experts identified Indonesia's

¹⁰ *Kompas*, "Taman Kanak-kanak Tentukan Pembentukan Karakter Bangsa." July 3, 2001. Jika kini bangsa diguncang banyak masalah baru...itu menunjukkan kekurangsiapan sumber daya manusia (SDM). Termasuk di dalamnya kekurangmatangan dalam wawasan yang melingkupi kehidupan berbangsa, yang seharusnya sudah ditanamkan sejak kecil. Wawasan sedini mungkin bisa ditanam lewat pendidikan dan pengajaran. "Hal ini says nilai penting karena pada tingkat pertama masalah wawasan sangat erat bertautan dengan pembentukan sikap, perilaku, cara pandangan, dan cara pikir," katanya. Wapres menambahkan, pembentukan cara pandang dan cara pikir, serta sikap dan perilaku tadi sebaiknya dimulai dari kecil, yakni di TK. Saat itulah penentu perkembangan kejiwaan anak, yang selanjutnya bisa menyemaikan nilai kebersamaan, sikap toleran, persahabatan, untuk kemudian menjadi benih yang kokoh bagi pembentukan SDM warga....

predominantly rural agriculturalist population as a hindrance to development: “unskilled,” “uneducated,” “isolated,” and needing improvement (Means 1985: 15). The premise of “human resource development” was to prepare local people for their role in development (see Means 1985). An example of human resource development in practice is marginal peoples, particularly those groups of indigenous minorities, like Papuans, who are considered “isolated/estranged populations” in the language of the state (Tsing 1993, Li 1999a).

Indonesia is home to approximately 220 million people dispersed unevenly over 6,000 islands. The world’s largest archipelago is a land of diversity. Diversity does not mean equality. In fact, heterogeneity sometimes obscures hierarchy:

In contemporary Indonesia, people and their ways of living in the “uplands” have been marked as both different and deficient in and through state discourses. (Li 1999a: 3)

Under Suharto’s New Order’s “development” regime (1965-1998), tribal people came to be classified according to their overriding shared cultural trait—their primitiveness (Li 1999b: 304). Anna Tsing describes the state’s evaluation of indigenous minorities, which it has termed, “*masyarakat terasing*,” or “isolated populations.” In the Indonesian language, *masyarakat terasing* connotes people who are secluded, separated, exotic and strange (Li 1999b: 300).

In Indonesia there are...1.5 million members of isolated populations. The manner of life and livelihood of these people is very simple. They live in small groups isolated and scattered in mountain areas....Their social life is influenced by a tribal way of life, and they are always suspicious of what comes from outside. Their thought patterns are very simple, static and traditional. Thus, too, their social system, economy, and culture are backward. They lack everything: nutrients, knowledge, skills, etc. in the effort to raise their standard of living, the program to care for isolated populations is operated with the goal of guiding the direction of their social, economic, cultural, and religious arrangements in accordance with

the norms that operate for the Indonesian people. (Hamda 1979: 2, cited in Tsing 1993: 92)

Programs for isolated populations came into being around the same time that Indonesia's lack of educated "human resources" skilled in "leadership," "technology," and "management" became an issue for the state. The agenda of "modernizing" the lifestyles of "primitive" minorities is comparable to the premise of human resource development: making local people more suitable for the goal of national development. Like human resource development, programs for isolated people articulate "a complete set of ethics" for how "the Indonesian people" should live, reaching into areas such as religion, education, health, social welfare, and "economic arrangements."

Papua is one of the places in the country that is typically marked "different and deficient" (Li 1999a: 3). In its efforts to govern in Papua, the Indonesian state began by defining a new set of cultural norms or standards associated with development. As one Indonesian sociologist described as he prepared for research in the interior of the province in the 1980s,

All the information emphasized the undeveloped state of the area. The people were portrayed as highly passive, non-thinking creatures; the inference was that only by assistance from the modernized thinking segment of the Indonesians in Jakarta would the Irianese [Papuan] become a "better" people. (cited in Meiselas 2003: 150)

From the earliest stages of Indonesian authority in Papua, the perception held among agents of the state was that Papuan ways were inferior, and required interventions to improve them. Thus control, and development, in Papua were always connected to judgments about Papuans, their virtues, education, morality, and lack of skills or knowledge of appropriate behaviour. The spread of regulation of daily life was based on the premise that Papuan ways were in need of development. Human resource development draws on this history,

transplanting it into the context of contemporary moral claims about AIDS, economic development and state regulation. Nonetheless, “inappropriate behaviour” takes on new meaning in the context of Indonesian colonization and Papuan resistance, and human resource development may be used as a tool to highlight duty and socialize conformity, or for disparagement and blame. This ideology is a useful tool for control that can be deployed differently depending on the extent of the need to regulate. Human resource development underlines the role that local people play in obstructing development or making it happen. It has the potential to be a powerful premise, though tangled in moral claims and negative language, for Dani students who currently envision their roles in “promoting Papuan aspirations.”

Chapter Three: Methods

Manado is the capital city of the province of North Sulawesi. This coastal city, population 400,000, sits on the northern tip of the island of Sulawesi, facing the Celebes Sea. The port of Bitung, a two-hour drive from Manado, is approximately 1800 kilometres from Jayapura, the provincial capital of Papua. The trip to Sulawesi takes about four days by ship, which is how most Papuan students get there. In Manado, a group of 24 Dani students became my informants for five weeks of research in 2003. The group of Dani students consisted of 16 men and 8 women, ranging in age from 19 to 34. Two-thirds (n=16) were born between 1977 and 1981, making them aged 22-26 when I interviewed them. This chapter introduces the Dani students in Manado and discusses my research activities there. My introduction to the students will discuss education and politics, key contextual elements for understanding their reactions to state discourse. An outline of research methods will follow, including a description of interview and media analysis methods and a discussion of media as a source of state discourse in Indonesia.

Manado: Lively, Christian and Modern

Sulawesi is one of Indonesia's outer islands. Surrounded to the east, west and south by hilly, at times, volcanic terrain, Manado is closer to Manila, the capital city of the Philippines, than it is to Indonesia's capital city of Jakarta. Known as "*maju*" (modern), the area has the reputation of being economically and socially more advanced than other outer island regions of the country (Buchholt and Mai 1994). This reputation grew under the New Order administration, which directed funds to help produce "a good communication network, electrification, water supply, the educational system, road network"

(Buchholt and Mai 1994: 10). The people who live in North Sulawesi are predominantly Christian, unlike most Indonesians, who are Muslim.

Manado is known as a rich source of educated professionals for Indonesia's civil service (Buchholt 1994). The education system is known for producing civil servants, with students concentrated in law, administration, sociology (Buchholt 1994: 188). The majority of students at Sam Ratulangi University, one of Manado's largest universities, are "certainly looking for a career as government employees" (Buchholt 1994: 188). Ten of 24 students I interviewed were attending Sam Ratulangi University, or UNSRAT (*Universitas Sam Ratulangi*). Sam Ratulangi is located in an urban setting, and students live in dorms or homestays scattered around the city, although there are also sponsored dormitories (see Figure 2).



Figure 2: Catholic Men's Dorm in Manado

The majority of Papuan students in Manado attend the National University of Manado, or UNEMA (*Universitas Negeri Manado*) (see Figure 3).



Figure 3: National University of Manado (UNEMA)



Figure 4: Jayawijaya students' dormitory at UNEMA, with Manokwari district dormitory behind

Seven of 24 Dani students in the research group were attending UNEMA.

UNEMA is located in the town of Tondano in a mountainous area about one hour's drive from the city of Manado. Because many Papuans attend UNEMA, Papuans are visible in the town of Tondano in a way they are not in the city of Manado itself. At UNEMA, dorms have been built for Papuan students by the district governments in Papua. For example, some students from Papua's central highlands live in a "Jayawijaya" dorm named after the district of Jayawijaya, while a brand new dorm was being built for Papuan students from Manokwari district during the time I was there (see Figure 4).

Of 24 Dani students I interviewed, five were studying sociology or anthropology, five were studying administration or management, and three were studying banking or economics. Two students were each studying law, communication, and history. The remaining five students were studying sports, geography, biology, trades, and agriculture. Half of the students (n=12) had been living in Manado for 1-4 years; seven had been living in Manado for 5-8 years; and five students had been living in Manado for 9-12 years. Travel back and forth to Papua is too expensive for most students, so they are not able to return to Wamena until they have finished their education.

Students emphasize that Manado is a safe, peaceful place while Papua is unstable and unpredictable. When there are incidents in Papua involving the military or police, it is not uncommon for students to find it difficult to receive money from home to pay school fees.

Dani students are Catholic, and say that they appreciate a certain kind of fellowship with Indonesians in Manado that they do not have with most Muslim Indonesians in Papua, who are viewed with some animosity, as "newcomers," or *pendatang*. One student described a tight bond between people in Manado, saying

There is a tight bond between Christians and Muslims in Manado, because of the grace of God. It has been this way for a long time.

Dani students describe Manado as modern (*maju*) and lively (*ramai*) in contrast to Papua, which is isolated (*terpencil*). Manado is understood as a place where it is also easy to be indulgent, or fall into trouble, because alcohol and luxury items are inexpensive, and there are bars and other entertainment places. Young Manadonese are very trendy, and young Dani are impressed with how inexpensive clothing and other items are in Manado because they do not have to be flown in, as they are in Papua's highlands. "Buying clothes" was one of the activities that older students said they reminded new students of when they arrived in Manado:

Every year, we meet the new students and tell them, things in Manado are very inexpensive. You could buy a lot of alcohol or cigarettes, but you should pay your school fees and buy new clothes.

Herry, a friend and informant, regularly sported an orange baseball cap worn backwards and black cargo pants, while his friend Arthur¹¹ was commonly seen wearing a striped t-shirt with a giant picture of Bob Marley on the front. Unlike among young Manadonese men, chin-length hair was not popular among Papuans in Manado. In town, Dani women tended to dress more conservatively than Manadonese women, trading tank tops and high heels for blouses and flip-flop sandals. Students spend time socializing by visiting friends in their dormitories, and during activities such as student groups and meetings. There is a students group for all the Papuan students (IMIRJA) but there are also groups that gather based on districts in Papua, such as the Jayawijaya Students Group in which students from the highlands are involved.

¹¹ All names of Dani students are pseudonyms chosen by the participants.

Manado/Papua Politics

Papuans and Indonesians emphasize that Christianity provides a good basis for amicable relations between all people in Manado. Students in the research group attend church alongside Indonesians. Subtle and overt forms of discrimination also exist. When I tried to telephone Darius, a 28-year old Dani man who has lived in Manado for ten years, for the first time, the women at his place of employment repeatedly intervened, saying they did not understand why I wanted to talk to "the Papuan man," saying he was busy, or hanging up on me. On another occasion, Darius said that he wanted to learn to speak English so he could say that he "is not a dog" when Chinese or Indonesian businessmen tell him to get off the sidewalk, and call him animal names like "dog" or "monkey." Children regularly shriek, "*Orang Hitam!*" (black person) when Darius passes by them on the street. Darius has said he feels stigmatized (*stempel*).

Personal disputes are enmeshed in political issues. In 2002, a fight between Papuan and Indonesian youths escalated through retaliatory attacks over a period of 48 hours until one Indonesian youth was killed and another, a Papuan man, was critically injured. The Papuan students group in Manado staged a protest over what they saw as an unprovoked attack that was never addressed by the police, even after a young man showed up at the Papuan youth's house and stabbed him in the head. The students threatened that if the Papuan man in hospital died they would leave Manado en masse, and if they had to leave, they would force Indonesians out of Papua. According to the student who told this story, the government would be concerned about large numbers of angry Papuan students in the city because "they think we are all OPM."¹²

¹² See note 6.

During fieldwork, I often had conversations with a young man named Herry. A conversation with Herry proved insightful for seeing what youth think of the Indonesian government. One day, we talked about a map of Papua province that I had found in the bookstore in Manado. I told him of my curiosity to find that the map of the province had two new thick red lines, dividing Papua into three provinces. The Indonesian government has passed legislation mandating this division, however, as of the summer of 2003, only one of the three proposed new provinces was inaugurated, and the entire matter was hotly disputed in Papua, with most Papuans opposing this attempt to split up Papua and weaken the movement for Papua Merdeka (Free Papua). Yet new maps with the new borders had been printed and distributed. Herry said to me that, "The government knows that there are many Papuan students in Manado, and that we oppose this partition (*pemekaran*). They make these maps and put them here to play mind games." It is a thought-provoking proposition. In the local bookstore in Manado, there were no materials about Papua except worn postcards with pictures of Dani men wearing penis-gourds, and a stack of these maps. Whether authorities are playing mind-games or not, Herry's explanation for the new map gives some sense of what students expect from government, and how they understand its agendas to permeate their lives in Manado.

Students have extensive knowledge of politics and history in Papua, and enjoy talking about Indonesian governance. During my time in Manado, students and I regularly discussed events of historical importance, such as the "Act of Free Choice," in which Indonesia engineered a vote for Papua to become Indonesia's easternmost province (see Budiardjo 1988), or "Operation Koteka," in which Indonesia tried to force highlanders to wear clothes like 'civilized' Indonesians (see Meiselas 2003), or about the murder of Papuan leader Theys Eluay by Indonesian security forces (see Ballard 2002). They collect reading

materials about Papua, including books with titles like, *A New Chapter: The Struggle of the Papuan People*.¹³

Some of the Dani students consider their university education a means to the long-term goal of furthering 'Papuan aspirations', by which they mean an independent nation of Papua. They say that they are in Manado to learn things that are important for achieving this goal, and do in fact consider themselves part of a 'Free Papua Movement' (OPM) that can help Papua achieve its aspirations. The Morning Star flags that they paint on their windows, hang in their dormitories, and wear on their t-shirts and hats symbolize these feelings.

"Being Educated"

As Dani youth who are also in the process of becoming "educated people" in one of Indonesia's more prosperous, modern cities, Dani students form a small group of seemingly privileged youth with the unique experience of living away from Papua. Though their backgrounds would not necessarily suggest privilege, their status as university students, and university students attending school in Manado, puts them in a different category than most Papuan youth.

In Papua, education and literacy levels are lower than the rest of the country (Rusman 1998). In Jayawijaya regency, the issues of education and inequality are exacerbated. According to Rusman, the facilities, teachers and teaching materials are poor-quality (1998: 377). The 'school buildings', particularly in the remote areas, are often not suitable for educational purposes and the buildings are often in poor condition (Rusman 1998: 377). Senior high

¹³ *Babak Baru: Perlawanan Orang Papua*. Yayasan Penguatan Partisipasi, Inisiatif dan Kemitraan Masyarakat Indonesia (YAPPIKA) dan Lembaga Advokasi Hukum dan Keadilan Irian Jaya (LAHKI). Mohammad Kholifan. 1999. Forum Kerjasama LSM Irian Jaya (YAPPIKA-LAHKI-FOKER LSM).

school facilities are concentrated in the provincial or regency capital. In 1990 illiteracy was highest in Jayawijaya regency (Rusman 1998: 368). In Jayawijaya, 43 per cent of male youth and 74 per cent of female youth were illiterate. From the 1990 census data, educational attainment levels from Jayawijaya are the lowest in the province, particularly among female youth. Very few Papuan youth obtain tertiary education. In 1995 data, just 1.8 per cent of males and one per cent of females completed university, lower than the Indonesian average of approximately eight per cent (Rusman 1998: 370). Overall, Rusman's results suggest that inequalities between indigenous Papuans and in-migrant Indonesians are perpetuated in the education system and in the workplace. The structurally determined inability of Papuan youth to compete with migrant youth gives rise to allusions that Papuans are not as capable as Indonesian migrants. These are some of the underlying facts left unsaid in state discourse on poor-quality human resources in Papua.

Rusman's analysis makes clear that few highlands youth are able to attend post-secondary education. Students' language and interpretations of HIV/AIDS, as discussed in Chapter Five, will strongly demonstrate their sense of difference from other Papuans. In research from Farhadian (2004) among highlands' university students living in the provincial capital of Papua, Jayapura, students' sense of difference also emerges. In Farhadian's (2004) research, students discussed globalization:

For me, personally, since I have education, I am fine with globalization. But, for Papuans in general, I don't think that globalization is a good idea because it will make the Papuans extinct. Because Papuans don't know about globalization and they are forced to participate but they are not aware of what is happening.

Aware of being 'different', Dani students are also strongly political and deeply concerned with Papuan nationalism and the circumstances of Papuans. Although

they find themselves in quite different circumstances than Papuans at home, they still come from the most underserved part of Papua, the “underdeveloped” highlands. Dani youth I interviewed are concerned with progress in Papua, and with human resource development. In fact, some see human resource development as a way to promote the aspirations of the Papuan people, and see themselves as part of a project to create the human resources of Papua’s future. It is their passion for Papuan aspirations that leaves them most vulnerable to Indonesian development discourse. Development, after all, is the national project par excellence, though it is perhaps not Indonesia that Dani students wish to build.

Interview Methods

As part of my research activities in Manado I conducted qualitative interviews with Dani students. Qualitative interviews are ideal for investigating student’s “attitudes, beliefs, values, and perceptions” surrounding HIV/AIDS (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983: 122). Interviews were ‘semi-structured’, involving the use of an *interview guide*, or a written list of questions and topics that need to be covered in a particular order (Bernard 2001: 209). Interviews were semi-structured interviews so they could be open-ended and flexible enough to capture an array of possible perceptions and beliefs, but structured enough so that some basic data was assured.

In terms of sampling, I used what Bernard calls “judgment sampling” in which you locate one or more key individuals and ask them to name others who would be likely candidates for your research (Bernard 1988: 98). My first contact in Manado was a 28-year old Dani man named Darius, who became my research assistant. He introduced me to two other young male students living in the Catholic Men’s Dorm next door to my boarding house, Herry and Chanalir.

When I met Herry and Chanalir I told them that I was interesting in talking with Dani students to find out their perspectives about HIV/AIDS in general, and in Papua specifically. Together we went to what they call the "*asrama putri*" (lit. women's dorm, but this dorm exclusively housed Dani women). I met five women and five men there in the small lounge. On the wall was a large Morning Star flag beneath a wooden cross, referencing the importance of Papuan independence and Catholicism, the dominant Dani religion, for the students living in the dorm. The young men who accompanied me told the group that I was interested in talking to Dani students. I talked about what I was doing in Manado, where I was from, and what my project was about, saying that I was interesting in students' perspectives on HIV/AIDS. At this meeting, several students expressed interest and we exchanged phone numbers.

I interviewed many but not all of the individuals who were informed about my project or who contacted me at my guesthouse. I interviewed both men and women to test out a range of experiences and interpretations.

Many students take a long time to finish their education due to the cost of taking courses, and are still in the early stages of their education when they exceed the typical age definition of youth (15-24). Because students were not necessarily "youth," I worked from the perspective that "student" was a more important category than "youth." First, interviewees referred to themselves as "*mahasiswa*," (university student) rather than the more general terms of "*pemuda*," (youth) or "*remaja*," (adolescents). Interviewees expressed that they were different than most Papuan youth, in that they are university students. Lastly, "*mahasiswa*" are not earning money, establishing a household, getting married or having children, qualities that commonly demarcate adulthood in Indonesia.

Interviews were conducted at my place of residence in Manado, a guesthouse located downtown on Sam Ratulangi Street. The Lumape family owned this guesthouse, known to locals as Wisma Tokambene, because it used to function as a small hotel. My initial contact in Manado, Darius, knew of this place and knew that it is quite close to a young men's dormitory where several Papuan youth live.

My room was on the main floor at the back of the house, situated in such a way that the room opened onto the back patio and yard. There was also a side entrance to the yard through which I could let people in. Students seemed to enjoy this place, and some came back to visit and read newspapers or play cards. After the first few interviews, students sometimes arrived in pairs or trios and some socialized outside while I interviewed. After interviewing I gave my mailing address and email address, and often received addresses in return. Some students gave me their contact information in Wamena and hoped that I would come to see them there, saying they wanted to "keep in touch," (*selalu berkomunikasi*). An ethical protocol form approved by the University of Victoria was used to reiterate project information and to obtain consent for participating in the interview.

I conducted interviews (and all other forms of communication while in Indonesia) in the Indonesian language, Bahasa Indonesia, which I have studied for three and a half years since 1998 at the undergraduate and graduate level. I chose to take notes rather than tape-record interviews. I took extensive notes during and after each interview, recording verbatim quotes, paraphrasing answers to questions, and noting reactions of respondents.

I preferred to take notes because students were uncertain about their own limited awareness of HIV/AIDS and I felt taping would add to the formality of the interview, making it seem more like a test. Most of the students are also

approximately my age and it seemed natural to talk rather than record. When I conveyed that I was most interested in their opinions about AIDS, students became confident and relaxed. As interviews proceeded I felt that these young people were familiar with answering questions and offering opinions, and enjoyed offering their analyses of AIDS in Papua. Note taking also sometimes allowed for brief, but logical, pauses in conversation during which respondents often found they had additional things to say about the question at hand. Note taking was a good mediator in situations where young men were not used to speaking to a young woman about topics related to sex.

Interviews revealed that students' interpretations of AIDS were reminiscent of state discourse, as was their concern for development in Papua. Thus interview findings led me to further explore government discourse in the print media.

Qualitative Document Analysis and Indonesian State Discourse

Qualitative document analysis, in the form of "tracking discourse" (Altheide 1996) was used to investigate state discourse on human resource development and HIV/AIDS. Tracking discourse "refers to following certain issues, words, themes and frames over a period of time, across different issues, and across different news media" (Altheide 1996: 70). Media analysis was chosen over analysis of government documents because the single most prominent way that the Indonesian government communicates with the public is through the media (Sen and Hill 2000).

Students are avid consumers of Indonesian media, particularly newspapers; many discussions were sparked by what one saw in the newspaper. National and local newspapers are widely available in Manado, and purchased by many people, including students. Newspapers are valuable possessions,

saved and traded with friends, read for information and for entertainment. Manado is a major city in eastern Indonesia where youth are likely to hear and experience representative, national messages about development. They have more access to press and media in Manado. Students are interested in, though also critical of, what the government has to say. Given their consumption of print media, I argue that one of the ways that Dani students come to internalize aspects of state development discourse is through the media:

Whether to create loyalty, shape political understandings, foster national development, “modernize,” promote family planning, teach privatization and capitalist ethos, make good socialists, or innocuously entertain, media have been viewed as powerful tools for hegemony or social transformation. (Ginsburg, Abu-Lughod and Larkin 2002: 12)

The modern media are understood, most basically, as technologies that produce and circulate meaning in society (Jensen 2002: 6). Media, then can be used as a tool to construct “truth” that appears to be natural, neutral and rational. Media accounts are also useful for understanding how groups of people are represented in public discourse or what norms and ideals for behaviour exist in a particular time and place (Esterberg 2002: 124). My analysis of media focuses on these representations articulated by the state.

The Indonesian state has typically viewed the media as a powerful tool for influencing the public; the media is used for promoting the state’s agendas, but, if not controlled by the state, might be subversive. Hill (1996: 11) writes,

After coming to power in 1965, Major-General Suharto and his self-proclaimed ‘New Order’ cut a swathe through the country’s newspapers. In a crackdown unlike anything the country has ever seen nearly one-third of all newspapers were shut down...The New Order put in place an intricate, if chaotic, web of security restrictions and draconian legislation controlling the press.

Implicated in Suharto's concern for controlling the media, the mass media have been the most important area of maintenance and reproduction of the New Order's legitimation (Hill 1994: 298). During 33 years of power, former president Suharto needed to control the media to prevent perspectives that might undermine state authority. In Indonesia, news representations and discourses are an important part of state control because they formulate and communicate "codes of evaluation" (Dean 1994: 154). The media is used to present a "generic Indonesian moral and social order" (Brenner 1999: 35-36) that defines appropriate behaviour. After Suharto's rule ended in 1998, some scholars proposed that the media was liberated from state control to a great extent (Sen and Hill 2000). Today however, under the presidency of Megawati Sukarnoputri (2001-present), there are suspicions that government control over media is returning (Kovach 2004).

The media has also been used to disseminate development ideology, and to encourage the public to support national development (Hill 1994: 139). In fact, "national narratives of development and modernization" are said to be strongly evident in popular print media in Indonesia (Brenner 1999:15). The Indonesian media has also been used by the state in its projects for governing so-called "isolated populations" (*masyarakat terasing*). According to Li, messages about the inadequate lifestyles of isolated populations, and the need for the state to take action to improve their lives, are reiterated whenever a national or provincial seminar is held on the subject of isolated people or a resettlement site is opened (1999b: 302). Through media coverage of these events, Li writes, they presumably make their way into the consciousness of the newspaper-reading and television-watching public (1999b: 302). Such media events are used by the government to "restate the program logic, reel out numbers, and reiterate the difficulties involved in the task of 'civilizing' truly 'backward people'" (Li 1999b: 302-303).

Using the electronic databases of *Kompas* and *The Jakarta Post*, I searched for articles using key words such as “human resources,” or in Indonesian, “*sumber daya manusia*.” The electronic databases of *The Jakarta Post* and *Kompas* are also easily accessible and free to use. Some students in Manado also brought me articles about AIDS they clipped from their collections.

Kompas is Indonesia’s largest-selling daily, while *The Jakarta Post* is the preeminent English-language newspaper (Sen and Hill 2000). As national, widely-read papers, they are likely to pick up state discourse and likely to incorporate statements from the government and political leaders expressing national messages. The database of *Kompas* newspaper returned approximately 275 articles containing the phrase “human resources” or “*sumber daya manusia*” from 1999-2004. The phrase appears with increasing frequency from 1999-2004. Approximately 20% (n= 55) of articles show government officials making statements about duty, education, and good conduct for citizens through the language of development. Of 275 articles in the news database of *Kompas* containing the phrase “human resources,” approximately 10 were concerned with Papua. In *The Jakarta Post*, a smaller database than *Kompas*, there were just three articles. Although limited in number, the articles present a picture of overwhelmingly negative discourse on development in Papua, and Papua’s human resources.

The results of my document analysis are presented in the next chapter, including the nature of human resource development in Indonesia, the specificity of discourse on Papuan human resources, and an unexpected finding: pressure for human resource development entangled in state narratives on Papua’s emerging HIV/AIDS epidemic.

Chapter Four: *Sumber Daya Manusia*: Conformity, Evaluation and Culpability

This chapter presents results of qualitative analysis of state discourse on “human resources” (*sumber daya manusia*) in Indonesian print media. Results will show becoming a human resource does not just refer to educational attainment or skill, but also means to demonstrate morality, faith, and discipline. Discourse on human resource development in Papua is overwhelmingly negative, with government officials saying that Papuans have problems that interfere with development, such as backwardness, isolation, laziness, and the wrong mindset. Messages about developing the human resources also intersect with messages about HIV/AIDS in Papua. State officials say that HIV/AIDS will ruin development in Papua, and point to Papuan “primitiveness” as the cause of rising rates of HIV infection.

The Nature of Human Resource Development in Indonesia

By analyzing news media statements from government officials and politicians this sections shows that the language of human resource development is controlling and puts pressure on citizens to be devoted to development by regulating their skills, health, and values.

According to former President BJ Habibie, human resource development in Indonesia is defined by the 5K: for “*kualitas*” (quality), namely, quality of faith and piety, quality of life, quality of work, quality of creative labor, and the quality of the intellectual life of the Indonesian people.¹⁴ Habibie spoke of human

¹⁴ ICMI...lebih memfokuskan agendanya pada program tunggalnya, yaitu meningkatkan sumber daya manusia Indonesia melalui “5K”... Program “5K” ICMI yang dimaksud Achmad Tirtosudiro adalah peningkatan kualitas iman dan takwa, peningkatan kualitas hidup, peningkatan kualitas kerja, peningkatan kualitas karya, dan peningkatan kualitas pikir manusia Indonesia.

resource development through his involvement with the Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals Association (ICMI) in 2000.¹⁵

Current President Megawati and Vice President Hamzah Haz are also strong proponents of human resource development. Like other state authorities, they talk about human resources in such a way as to promote ways of behaving and thinking that benefit national development, in the arenas of education, health, faith, morality, skills. For example, President Megawati interprets human resource development to include such things as "attitude" and "way of thinking," and promotes these virtues as necessary for national progress.

Kindergarten is a decisive factor in the formation of Indonesian character in national life. Character is evident in point of view and way of thinking, along with attitude and behaviour, and must be implanted through lessons beginning when children are still in kindergarten...the problem of mindset is tightly interconnected with the formation of attitude, behaviour, point of view and way of thinking...It is best if these features are shaped early on...so that youth will later become strong seeds for creation of the human resources.¹⁶

In the above quote, the development of human resources is understood to include certain values such as togetherness as well as 'point of view'. Character

¹⁵ *Kompas*, "Muktamar III ICMI Dibuka Tingkatkan SDM Melalui '5K'." November 10, 2000.

¹⁶ *Kompas*, "Taman Kanak-kanak Tentukan Pembentukan Karakter Bangsa." July 3, 2001. Taman kanak-kanak (TK) merupakan basis penentu atau awal pembentukan karakter manusia Indonesia di dalam kehidupan berbangsa. Karakter nyata dari cara pandang dan piker, serta sikap dan perilaku itu harus ditanamkan melalui pengajaran sejak anak masih di TK. Jika kini bangsa diguncang banyak masalah baru, menyusul gerakan reformasi, itu menunjukkan kekurangsiapan sumber daya manusia (SDM). Termasuk di dalamnya kekurangmatangan dalam wawasan yang melingkupi kehidupan berbangsa, yang seharusnya sudah ditanamkan sejak kecil. Wawasan sedini mungkin bisa ditanam lewat pendidikan dan pengajaran. "Hal ini says nilai penting karena pada tingkat pertama masalah wawasan sangat erat bertautan dengan pembentukan sikap, perilaku, cara pandangan, dan cara pikir," katanya. Wapres menambahkan, pembentukan cara pandang dan cara pikir, serta sikap dan perilaku tadi sebaiknya dimulai dari kecil, yakni di TK. Saat itulah penentu perkembangan kejiwaan anak, yang selanjutnya bisa menyemaikan nilai kebersamaan, sikap toleran, persahabatan, untuk kemudian menjadi benih yang kokoh bagi pembentukan SDM warga....

must be implanted from a young age so that children will become strong human resources. 'Human resources' are understood to be synonymous with 'citizens'; Megawati suggests that the nation is having a difficult time because citizens/human resources have not been educated about, or prepared with, certain values that benefit the nation. Thus, the moral education of children into human resources is also used to make a statement to the population at large about important virtues for "Indonesian national life". Youth, called the "*generasi masa depan*," or the generation of the future, are given a special focus in human resource development, demonstrated by the statements of the Minister of Health, Achmad Sujudi in 2000:

Healthy human resources are the capital of successful local development. Children with good nutrition, free from diseases and health problems who living in a physical and social environment that is pleasant and comfortable, will grow up to become the next generation of high quality that can bring the nation and the people of Indonesia into the arena of global competition.¹⁷

Human resource development is also understood as a marker of national progress. In 2000, the Vice President said, "the quality of human resources...is a measure of the progress of the development of the nation (*bangsa*)."¹⁸ In the above examples, the media consistently articulates key statements by government officials and reflects the objectives of developing Indonesia and creating good citizens who are aware that development should be a priority.

¹⁷ *Kompas*, "Pemda Tingkat II Sepakat Tingkatkan Anggaran Kesehatan." July 29, 2000. Sumber daya manusia yang sehat merupakan modal bagi keberhasilan pembangunan daerah. Anak-anak yang cukup gizi, bebas dari penyakit dan gangguan kesehatan lain serta hidup dalam lingkungan fisik dan sosial yang nyaman, akan tumbuh menjadi generasi penurus yang berkualitas tinggi dan mampu membawa negara dan bangsa Indonesia dalam kancah persaingan global.

¹⁸ *Kompas*, "Pemda Tingkat II Sepakat Tingkatkan Anggaran Kesehatan." July 29, 2000. Kualitas sumber daya manusia...menjadi ukuran kemajuan pembangunan suatu bangsa.

Government officials provide specific directives for good behaviour, such as having good values as well as good nutrition.

We have seen that human resource development is understood to include more than just education; however, one feature of state discourse on human resource development is that education, or being educated, is given a role of heroic proportions. A former Director of Elementary Education, Djauzak Ahmad, is quoted saying

Education holds a primary role for national progress, because education creates the future of the nation. Good-quality human resources in a nation are the capital for moving forward with national development. Thus, national progress and prosperity are determined by the quality of human resources.¹⁹

Development depends on the human qualities of education, discipline and devotion. Quality human resources are said to bring power and prosperity, and being educated is the most important feature of human resource development. Consider the following passage from *Kompas*, quoting the Dean of the National University of Yogyakarta, Dr. Suyanto:

For life in the future, regions [in Indonesia] that possess superior quality human resources will be in control and will be able to make use of the momentum of empowerment that is deterministic for the prosperity of an area....The quality of human resources will be much more important than natural resources, which are widely available. No amount of natural resources will be meaningful without the skilled touch of educated people. Just look at our neighbouring countries, Japan and Singapore. Certainly their natural wealth is not as great as Indonesia, but with high-

¹⁹ *Kompas*, "Mau Ke Mana Pendidikan Dasar Kita." March 2, 2003. Pendidikan memegang peranan utama untuk kemajuan suatu bangsa, karena pendidikan menciptakan masa depan suatu bangsa. Sumber daya manusia yang berkualitas dalam suatu negara merupakan modal utama untuk memajukan pembangunan negara tersebut. Sumber daya manusia yang berkualitas dalam suatu negara akan menghasilkan sumber daya-sumber daya lain. Jadi, kunci utama kemajuan dan kemakmuran suatu bangsa ditentukan oleh kualitas sumber daya manusia yang ada di negara tersebut.

quality human resources they are able to create prosperity and justice for their nation.²⁰

In the above example, educated people are valorized as national heroes who can bring prosperity and even justice for the nation. Educated and skilled people are the only ones who will be able to make use of natural resources. Statements like this declare that the fate of national progress depends on human resource development. This also means that weak human resources cause problems for development and national progress.

Human resources are declared to be Indonesia's biggest obstacle to development. Human resources in Indonesia are said to be weak, indicating that human resource development is a longstanding national problem. In December 2003, the vice president said that

In the 58 years this nation has been independent the quality of the nation's human resources remains very weak.²¹

Similarly, in May 2002 Vice President Hamzah Haz said

The foremost problem Indonesia faces at this time is the condition of the human resources, which are still very weak. Because of this the natural resources that are available and widespread in this country cannot be exploited.²²

²⁰ *Kompas*, "Infleksibilitas Otonomi Pendidikan," August 10, 2001. Untuk kehidupan di masa yang akan datang, daerah otonom yang memiliki kualitas SDM yang lebih unggul akan menguasai dan dapat memanfaatkan momentum-momentum pemberdayaan yang sangat menentukan bagi kemakmuran....Kualitas SDM pada gilirannya akan jauh lebih penting jika dibandingkan dengan sumber-sumber alam yang tersedia di masing-masing negara. Sumber alam yang melimpah tidak akan berarti apa-apa tanpa sentuhan keterampilan manusia-manusia yang terdidik. Contoh konkret pada negara tetangga, seperti Jepang dan Singapura. Meski sumber alamnya tidak semelimpah Indonesia, toh, dengan SDM yang berkualitas baik mereka mampu menciptakan kemakmuran dan keadilan bagi bangsanya.

²¹ *Kompas*, "Wapres: SDM kita sangat lemah." December 16, 2003. Selama 58 tahun bangsa ini merdeka ternyata kualitas sumber daya manusia bangsa ini masih sangat lemah.

Human resource development is presented as the most critical factor for development, which is linked to national sovereignty. As Hamzah Haz says:

The quality of our export human resources is only in the class of workers and female workers...Since the financial crisis of 1997, we must return to the activity of development. This is imperative as a sovereign nation, so that Indonesia can stand equal to other nations in the world.²³

Officials articulate human resource development as a new national development priority that requires the attention of citizens. In 2003, President Megawati encouraged "local people" to

...stop talking about their rights [for regional autonomy] and to start focusing on their duty to improve their own province or town.²⁴

Her statement suggests that local people are too focused on themselves, and should be more concerned with the contributions they can make to the greater good. In Indonesia, this is a particularly compelling statement. Megawati draws on the principle of *gotong royong*, defined as 'community self-help', or 'mutual cooperation'. *Gotong royong* corresponds to genuinely indigenous notions of moral obligation and generalized reciprocity, but it has been reworked by the state to become a cultural-ideological instrument for development (Bowen 1986:

²² *Kompas*, "Wapres: Pemerintah Tak Halangi Pengusaha Besar untuk Maju." May 11, 2002. Masalah utama yang dihadapi oleh Indonesia sekarang ini, kata wapres hamzah haz, adalah kondisi sumber daya manusia (SDM) yang masih sangat lemah, kendati sumber daya alam (SDA) yang tersedia dan tersebar di tanah air sangat luas, namun hal itu belum bisa dikelola secara optimal.

²³ *Kompas*, "Wapres: Produk Ekspor Indonesia Tidak Memberi Nilai Tambah," July 22, 2002. Kualitas ekspor sumber daya manusia (SDM) kita hanyalah kelas Tenaga Kerja Indonesia (TKI) dan Tenaga Kerja Wanita (TKW)...setelah dilanda krisis pada tahun 1997, jelas wapres, sekarang Indonesia terpaksa harus mengulangi kembali kegiatan pembangunan. Seharusnya sebagai bangsa berdaulat, Indonesia bisa sejajar dengan negara lain di dunia.

²⁴ *The Jakarta Post*, "Megawati Campaigns Autonomy Rewrite." September 6, 2003.

546). Thus, human resource development is presented as a national duty, a national problem that requires immediate attention. At times, human resource development is also understood as something that local people, not the central government, should take responsibility for. In 2002, Hamzah Haz declared that

To improve the quality of human resources, the government would no longer force a centralized approach for fear of hampering creativity among the regions.²⁵

Citizens are encouraged to self-regulate and self-improve for human resource development. These are new duties that local people are said to understand. Self-improvement, in terms of education, health, morality, and so forth, is said to be a national priority because human resource development is “deterministic”²⁶ for progress and prosperity.

In summary, I have shown that human resource development discourse is an attempt at government, defined as “the conduct of conduct” (Dean 1999: 10). In state discourse, human resource development is understood to require character building, right ways of thinking, and devotion to the state’s agenda of national development. As a marker of national progress, and the critical factor for national development, it is articulated as a national duty for citizens. Called ‘the generation of the future’, young people are singled out for changing their behaviour for development. Being a good human resource is put forth as a national obligation, which implies that people have a choice to be healthy, educated and skilled. But being healthy or attaining education is not as simple as a choice, and commitment to development or desire for progress does not translate into health, education, or skills. When the government proposes that people could be “human resources” if they wanted to, it opens the door for

²⁵ *The Jakarta Post*, “Human Resource Development Badly Needed in Regions.” April 4, 2002.

²⁶ *Kompas*, “Mau Ke Mana Pendidikan Dasar Kita.” March 2, 2003.

blaming them for lacking education, health or prosperity. Skills, health, morality, education and nationalism are said to be qualities necessary for development. This assertion has implications for people reportedly living in “underdevelopment,” because it implies that they do not have these qualities. If they did, they would be developed. This logic of human resource development is seen in state discourse on Papua’s human resources, in which Papuans are disparaged for allegedly lacking the qualities needed for development.

Papuan Human Resource Development

When reviewing media sources in Manado, identifying state discourse on human resource development in Papua was more complicated than identifying discourse on human resource development in Indonesia more generally. This is because there were fewer articles about Papua containing the phrase “human resources.” However, there were also articles about development in Papua that made statements about the skills and education of Papuans, evocative of human resource development discourse, without using the exact phrase. Of 275 articles in the news database of *Kompas* containing the phrase “human resources,” approximately 10 were concerned with Papua. In *The Jakarta Post*, a smaller database than *Kompas*, there were just three articles. Although limited in number, the articles present a picture of overwhelmingly negative discourse on development in Papua, and Papua’s human resources.

“Primitives” and Culture Problems

Local politicians in Papua regularly speak of Papua’s problem of “underdevelopment.” In the language of human resource development, underdevelopment implies lack of education, skill, discipline, faith and power. In discourse on Papuan human resources, Papuans are belittled by negative

language; in particular, they are represented as “primitive.” Papuans are said to be problematic for development, or even culpable for its failure because of alleged “cultural” or other problems. Papuans are represented, on the whole, as poor-quality human resources.

Underdevelopment is understood to be a result of the primitive ways of Papuans. For example, one article begins with the following description, and then asks local leaders to comment on Papua’s underdevelopment. A large portion of the description is presented here because its length and level of detail are as important to evoking “primitiveness” as specific language such as “traditional” and “isolated.”

Simon Waropka (56) has to walk as far as 50 kilometers alongside a gravel road on the edge of hill, mountain and ravine between Dumpasik, the area of his *kampung*, to Okbibab district, Jayawijaya regency to find school books for his children. He gets the money from donations to the local church because this father of eight has been classified as a poor inhabitant. Day in and day out, this man, who admits to only two years of elementary school education, farms sweet potatoes and fishes for shrimp and fish in the river. He never takes in any money, because the produce in his garden is not for sale. The number of neighbours he has can be counted on two hands, and they do not need his produce because they also plant sweet potato. Even the method of farming is very traditional... They live merely from nature and it is not unusual for many residents of the village to be sick with goitre. Simon Waropka and his wife Maria are indigenous inhabitants isolated in the mountains and steep ravines of Papua. All they can see is the sun rise and set each day....Their primary food is forest tubers and their clothing is the “penis-sheath” (*koteka*) or “grass skirt” (*awur/rumbai*). Their rhythm of life is like that of the animals in the jungle.²⁷

²⁷ *Kompas*, “Terpuruk di Tanah Leluhur.” February 23, 2003. Simon Waropka (56) harus berjalan sejauh 50 kilometer melewati jalan setapak di punggung bukit, gunung, dan jurang di antara Dumpasik, kampung halamannya ke Distrik Okbibab, Kabupaten Jayawijaya, Provinsi Papua, untuk mencari buku tulis anaknya. Uangnya diperoleh dari sumbangan gereja setempat karena bapak beranak delapan ini tergolong penduduk miskin. Sehari-harinya, pria yang mengaku hanya tamat kelas dua sekolah dasar ini adalah petani ubi jalar dan pencari ikan/udang di sungai. Tiap hari ia tidak pernah memegang uang, sebab hasil tanamannya tak laku dijual.

The above description plays up the “primitive” way of life of Papuan villagers from the central highlands. The villagers’ life is represented as pitiable. Simon and Maria are said to be uneducated, poor, isolated from modern commerce and technology, close to nature, and frequently suffering from disease. The author points out that the villagers are “classified as poor inhabitants,” with only “two years of elementary school education.” They have eight children, far in excess of the ideal of two children promoted by the national family planning program. The fact that Simon and Maria have eight children evokes the extent of their estrangement from the ideal, average Indonesian citizen. Their view of the world is limited; they are close to nature, and little more advanced than animals.

Subsequent to the above description of the supposed life of highland villagers, the author declares:

It is one of life’s ironies [that the villagers live as they do] because the earth that they stand on is the land of Papua, an island that is famous for its natural wealth. There is not a landing, mountain range, valley, river or sea in Papua that does not provide a potential life for its occupants. So why are many people poor (*miskin*), left behind (*tertinggal*), backward (*terbelakang*), and ignorant (*bodoh*)?²⁸

Tetangganya yang jumlahnya bisa dihitung dengan jari tidak membutuhkan hasil tanaman itu karena mereka juga bertanam ubi jalar....Pasangan suami istri Simon Waropka-Maria (46) merupakan sosok penduduk asli yang terkurung di antara gunung dan jurang terjal Papua. Mereka hanya mampu menyaksikan matahari terbit dan terbenam setiap hari. Kalau mereka merindukan perubahan/pembangunan ibarat “si cebol merindukan bulan”. Makanan utama mereka [sic] adalah umbi-umbian hutan dan pakaian mereka adalah “koteka” atau “awur/rumbai”. Irama kehidupan mereka sama mirip dengan kehidupan satwa-satwa di hutan rimba.

²⁸ Tetapi, itulah ironi kehidupan, sebab bumi yang mereka pijak adalah tanah Papua, sebuah pulau yang terkenal sangat kaya kandungan alam....Tidak ada daratan, pegunungan, lembah, sungai, dan laut di Papua yang tidak menyediakan potensi kehidupan bagi para penghuninya. Tetapi, mengapa banyak warga miskin, tertinggal, terbelakang, telanjang dan bodoh?

He continues by explaining who is responsible for the poverty and backwardness of Papuans:

The reality is that it [lack of development, poverty, backwardness] is the responsibility of all Indonesian citizens, especially the people of Papua.²⁹

Papua's natural resource wealth is confidently contrasted with the alleged "backwardness" and "ignorance" of the average villager. By Indonesian standards, Papua is an enigma: the province has an abundance of natural resources, but the people who live there are not wealthy or modern. This contradicts the assertions of state development discourse, in which economic development benefits the people, and in which citizens make use of the natural resources to promote development. This contradiction underpins assertions like the above: If Papua is not developed, it must be the responsibility of Papuans, because the land of Papua radiates with "potential life."

Melky Suebu, a prominent local businessman who is the head of the Indonesian Construction Network in Papua (*Ikatan Pengusaha Konstruksi Indonesia*) is asked for his assessment of why many people are "poor, left behind, and backward." Melky says,

The nomadic mentality and lifestyle of the Papuan people still has a strong hold....What will be gained today will also be used today. Tomorrow's needs will be found elsewhere....They never think about saving money....and developing a modern life....³⁰

²⁹ Kenyataan itu merupakan tanggung jawab seluruh warga Indonesia, terutama mereka yang ada di Papua.

³⁰ Melky Suebu Ketua Inkindo (Ikatan Pengusaha Konstruksi Indonesia) Papua mengatakan, mental dan gaya hidup nomaden masyarakat Papua masih melekat kuat. ...Apa yang diperoleh hari ini, akan dihabiskan hari ini juga. Kebutuhan hari esok akan dicari di tempat lain. Mereka tidak pernah berpikir mengenai bagaimana menabung, menyimpan, menanam, dan membangun hidup secara modern.

In the above quote, primitiveness is referenced in several ways. The reference to the “nomadic mentality and lifestyle” holds a negative connotation, implying people who perhaps live as hunter/gatherers, in contrast to “settled” people who live in “proper” houses and are more tightly connected to so-called modern life. In Indonesia, settling tribal groups in so-called proper homes has been part of the government agenda since the 1960s; state representations of these groups as primitive helped to justify belittling and intervening in their ways of life. In particular, state programs identify the fundamental problem with “isolated populations” (*masyarakat terasing*) as movement (Tsing 1993: 155). Nomads are populations whose livelihoods and living places continually shift and show living conditions and means of subsistence that are still extremely simple. In Indonesia, a designation of nomadic is disparaging. It is also strategic, a reference to primitiveness that has no bearing on the actual ways that isolated populations make their living. The majority of Papuans, for example, are sedentary agriculturalists or fishermen, not nomads.

In the same article, a local government representative named Adolf Gim Perangin is asked for his assessment of Papua’s development problem. His view resembles that of Mr. Suebu, suggesting Papuans are problematic for development because they exhibit laziness and evade familial duties.

It is time that members of parliament and public officials come to grips with the beggar mentality (*mental mengemis*) of the people. The people must be taught to live independently through hard work for the prosperity of themselves and their families.³¹

These quotes make strong moral claims that are likely to resonate in Indonesia. There are few stronger moral pronouncements than failing to live up to one’s

³¹ Sudah saatnya para pejabat dan anggota DPRD membasmi mental mengemis yang dimiliki rakyat. Rakyat harus diajari hidup mandiri dengan cara kerja keras demi kesejahteraan hidup dan keluarga.

obligations, particularly to one's family. Purported laziness is also a way of referencing primitiveness, and the failure of Papuans as human resources, because work ethic is one of the moral components of human resource development. Thus, in the above examples, development discourse designates Papuans as primitive. What is more, primitiveness is articulated as a form of poor conduct, in the form of a refusal to "develop a modern lifestyle" or work hard.

Purported cultural problems lead authorities to propose that it is the young generation that must be targeted for human resource development.

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 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.³²

In the example above, Papua's lack of human resources is cited as a major problem because their culture and ways of thinking prevent them from participating in the government's agenda of development.

While at times human resource development focuses on developing the younger generation, youth are also singled out as problematic for development.

An authority on education in Papua, cited in Rusman (1998)

argued that the poor quality of student is reflected in their low learning achievements, insufficient cognitive learning capacity and creativity. Some

³² Kompas, "Irja Hadapi Masalah Pelaksanaan Otonomi," Feb 7 2001. Kelemahan sumber daya manusia di Irian Jaya (Irja) menjadi persoalan paling pokok yang dihadapi pemerintah daerah (pemda) setempat. Cara hidup, gaya berpikir dan berbagai kebiasaan serta budaya setempat belum memungkinkan bagi mereka untuk mengikuti Irama pembangunan....Oleh karena itu...pemda harus berkorban lebih besar untuk mengangkat sumber daya para generasi muda yang ada....Memang tidak gampang membina dan mendidik generasi muda Irja. Meski demikian, bagaimanapun pemda harus memulainya....

of the reasons for this situation are rooted in family conditions such as poverty, lack of encouragement of self-reliant learning efforts and lack of intellectual stimulation in the immediate social environment. The only way to solve this problem is to separate the children from the family, and put them into '*kampung siswa*' (dormitories). Otherwise, this situation will never change.

Another leading expert said that the problem of "lack of competitive spirit," produces unfit students who end up as poor human resources:

Lack of competitive spirit is related to the importance of culture. Compared to migrants, local/indigenous youth have no spirit of entrepreneurship. They are used to living in an environment that spoils them. (cited in Rusman 1998: 379)

In these instances, arguments that Papuan youth are also hindered by culture rationalize extreme interventions such as separating children from their families. Papuan youth are also explicitly negatively compared to migrant youth, who are either not hindered by culture or whose culture gives them a positive advantage for human resource development.

All in all, very little that is positive is said about human resource development in Papua. I would like to underscore this point by offering two brief examples of discourse on human resource development in other contexts. The first deals with human resources in West Sumatra, and the second features the Minister of Education making general comments about national human resource development. On a visit to West Sumatra in 2001, the Vice President expressed hope that the area would develop its human resource potential and become a good example for development in other areas of the country:

Indonesia is left behind and marginalized because of a failure to prioritize education in national development. We are going to try to rectify the problem of education. The workforce is our human resources, so we must find a way for the local people to pay their education and health costs. If

we can do this, I hope that in 2004 West Sumatra will be a beacon for other areas.³³

In a second example, in 2003, the Minister of Education, Abdul Malik Fadjar, was quoted in an article entitled, "Education Must Grow from Local Roots."

To develop education the most important thing is not to erect a glorious building but a direct process of education that is satisfying, engrossing, and enlightening. Education like this can only be accomplished if it grows and develops on the basis of community, religion, tradition, and socio-cultural values. We must build education on the foundation of socio-cultural values, tradition, custom and religion. Then education will become a source of power for future development, and will be an investment in human resources.³⁴

In the first example, Sumatra is said to need human resource development, but the tone of the official's statements are quite positive; he even suggests that Sumatra may become a shining example for other areas. In the second example,

³³ *Kompas*, "Wapres disambut meriah di Padang: Pendidikan dan Ekonomi Harus Mendapat Prioritas." August 8, 2001. Tertinggal dan terpuruknya bangsa Indonesia seperti kondisi sekarang ini adalah karena tidak mengintensifkan, memprioritaskan pendidikan dalam pembangunan bangsa. "Kita akan mencoba membenahi masalah pendidikan. Keadaan kita yang sekarang ini tertinggal, yang terpuruk ini, adalah karena kita tidak mengintensifkan, memprioritaskan pendidikan dalam pembangunan bangsa kita," kata Hamzah Haz...Wapres mengatakan, pembangunan ekonomi harus dibarengi dengan peningkatan kemampuan tenaga kerja yang sangat menentukan dalam kemajuan ekonomi itu. Tenaga kerja itu adalah sumber daya manusia (SDM)...jadi, yang harus kita ciptakan, bagaimana rakyat dapat memikul biaya-biaya sosial yang diperlukan-biaya pendidikan dan kesehatan, dan lain lain. Kalau hal itu dapat diciptakan, saya kira, kesempatan yang ada, sumber daya yang ada di Sumbar yang luar biasa, saya berharap, mudah-mudahan tahun 2004, Padang, Sumbar, akan menjadi sinar bagi daerah-daerah yang lainnya," kata Wapres.

³⁴ *Kompas*, "Pendidikan Harus Tumbuh di atas Fondasi Masyarakat." February 3, 2003. Untuk membangun pendidikan yang paling penting bukanlah mendirikan gedung megah, tetapi proses pendidikan yang berlangsung secara menyenangkan, mengasyikkan, sekaligus mencerdaskan. Pendidikan seperti ini hanya bisa dilakukan jika lembaga pendidikan itu tumbuh dan berkembang di atas basis masyarakat, agama, tradisi, dan akar sosial budaya. Menteri pendidikan nasional (mendiknas) Abdul Malik Fadjar mengingatkan hal ini..."Bangunlah pendidikan yang berdasarkan atas kondisi sosial budaya, adat istiadat, agama dan tradisi. Jadikanlah pendidikan sebagai sumber kekuatan pembangunan masa depan....Pendidikan harus dijadikan kekuatan investasi sumber daya manusia (SDM) .

cultural values and traditions are not seen as detrimental to human resource development. Rather, they may be used to benefit human resource development. No such encouragement is found for Papuans. Why are Papuans not encouraged to develop human resources from a solid base of cultural values and customs? The above examples confirm the specificity of state discourse on Papuan human resources. Papuan culture is viewed negatively by authorities, as primitive, and therefore of little value for the project of development. At the same time, there are indications that human resource development, and its representations of Papuans, serve a governing agenda in the province.

The Use of Human Resource Development to Contain Anti-Indonesia Activities

Papuan aspirations for independence are a significant concern for the Indonesian state. The desire to control Papuan politics emerges in the language of human resource development when officials make explicit links between developing human resources and containing separatism in Papua. The following examples show that the government's concern for stifling Papuan independence also takes on the language of development in news media.

Indonesia and Papua New Guinea (PNG) agreed on Thursday to build three vocational high schools in border areas to improve human resources in both countries, and later help counter separatism....A cooperation agreement on education was signed by Indra Djati Sidi, the director of elementary and high school education at the Indonesian ministry of education, and the acting deputy secretary of the PNG education department, Damien Rapese....Sidi said the building of the schools in the border areas was also expected to help counter separatist disturbances and provocations against Indonesia as the locals will be more educated.³⁵

Authorities hope education will end separatist activities. Human resource development is seen as a way to counter 'disturbances' such as anti-Indonesia

³⁵ *The Jakarta Post*. "Three Border Schools to Help 'Counter Separatism' in Papua." May 14, 2003.

activities. The following example also demonstrates that development discourse is deployed in governing Papuan separatism. Papuan youth are encouraged to build healthy skills and bodies to promote development in their province. This particular message emerged against the backdrop of a symbolic challenge to Indonesian authority in Papua: raising the Morning Star independence flag.

In July 2003, the Coordinating Minister for Security and Political Affairs, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, gave a press conference in Jayapura, the capital of Papua, to mark two occasions: a flag-raising, and the opening of "Youth Sports and Arts Week." His speech was reported in national and local newspapers.

By 'flag-raising,' I mean that a group of Papuan students and other interested parties had gathered in front of the local government office in the town of Wamena in Papua, and raised the Papuan independence flag, the Morning Star, as a sign of protest against Indonesian authority. Papuans are frequently injured or killed after state security forces bring 'order' to situations like this by trying to disperse the crowd or force protesters to lower the Morning Star flag (Rutherford and Mote 2001). In July, the incident resulted in the death of one young person and the injury of another.

The Minister made the following comments about the raising of the flag, suggesting that incidents like these, initiated by Papuans, are causing problems for development:

Trouble shouldn't happen if everyone wanted to create security and develop Papua...According to Yudhoyono, situations like these need not be repeated if everyone had the same commitment to develop a prosperous, safe and orderly Papua.... "We very much regret this incident. Why must events like these happen? Why must there be a flag-flying and victims? All sides must be aware of the importance of security and order

so that the process of development can proceed in a safe and orderly fashion," said Yudhoyono.³⁶

The above quote shows the government using development to promote acquiescence by threatening that development will not occur if Papuan activities continue to produce disorder. Minister Yudhoyono also questions Papuans' commitment to developing a prosperous and safe society, implying that Papuans play a role in creating the opposite: poverty and insecurity. At the opening of "Youth Sports and Arts Week Papua," Yudhoyono said, "at this time the people of Indonesia need to feel safety, peace and prosperity, including the Papuan people. Security and order are important to develop the nation."³⁷ Standing beside Manuel Kaisiepo, the National Development Minister, Yudhoyono continued his speech by telling Papuan youth to make choices that will promote prosperity and development:

Because of that, what the young generation must possess is character, personality, and a body that is strong and healthy. They must also be highly-skilled. The young generation must love the nation and hold safety and law and order in high esteem and...must firmly exhibit togetherness, unity, and discipline.³⁸

³⁶ *Kompas*, "Disesalkan, Pengibaran Bendera Separatis." July 9, 2003. Peristiwa itu semestinya tidak perlu terjadi kalau semua pihak ingin menciptakan keamanan dan membangun Papua....Menurut Yudhoyono, kasus-kasus seperti itu semestinya tidak perlu terulang kalau semua pihak memiliki komitmen yang sama membangun Papua lebih sejahtera, aman dan tertib.Semua pihak harus menyadari pentingnya keamanan dan ketertiban bersama di daerah ini sehingga proses pembangunan berjalan aman, tertib, dan lancar.

³⁷ Saat ini masyarakat Indonesia membutuhkan rasa aman, damai, dan sejahtera, termasuk masyarakat Papua. Keamanan dan ketertiban bersama sangat penting untuk membangun bangsa.

³⁸ Karena itu yang harus dimiliki generasi muda adalah karakter, kepribadian, dan jasmani yang sehat dan kuat, serta memiliki keterampilan tinggi. Generasi muda harus mencintai bangsa dengan menjunjung tinggi rasa aman dan ketertiban bersama, menjaga nilai-nilai perdamaian, hidup rukun, harmonis, kritis, bertanggung jawab dan idealis....Bangga generasi muda, juga bangga terhadap bangsa dan Negara Kesatuan RI karena persatuan dan kesatuan sebagai bangsa dan negara harus tumbuh kuat di dalam hati generasi muda.

In this example, criticism of Papuans is followed by suggestions to Papuan youth that they focus on developing skills, morality, healthy bodies, and other resources for national development. The minister promotes attention to human resource development in response to the critical incident of the flag-raising, a challenge to Indonesian authority. The example also shows a different way that Papuans are held accountable for underdevelopment: because they are disrupting security in the province.

An unexpected finding of my media search for "*sumber daya manusia*" was a number of instances in which state officials make comments both about human resource development and about the emerging epidemic of HIV/AIDS in Papua. The following section shows that language about AIDS is no different than language about development.

HIV/AIDS and Human Resources: "Native Villagers," Blame and Panic

Since 2001, AIDS in Papua is increasingly in the news. New numbers of HIV/AIDS cases are released monthly, and government officials do not pretend to have things under control. In fact, they usually propose that HIV/AIDS is out of their hands, and it is up to the people of Papua to heed warnings about casual sex. Representations of AIDS tend to reproduce existing hierarchies (Schoepf 1998: 99), such as Indonesian dominance in Papua. Media results show that according to predominantly Indonesian health and other government officials, so-called "native villagers," or Papuans, are said to be at the root of rising infection rates. Results presented in this section also show that there is a new language of AIDS, namely that AIDS will ruin the human resources needed for development. The implications of this interpretation are that the state proposes moral education and other interventions for the sake of development. In addition, through AIDS, Papuans are again blamed for underdevelopment.

As AIDS becomes an epidemic in Papua, it exposes and exacerbates existing racial and cultural stereotypes. Butt, Numbery and Morin (2002b: 285) report that, when it comes to disseminating AIDS information, most project leaders and state bureaucrats are Indonesians who generally hold an implicit, but widespread, belief about the role of Papuan “culture” in increasing sexual risk by promoting risky sexual behaviour:

There was a strong perception among many of the Indonesian administrators of programs that many Papuans were burdened by cultural values that prevented them from learning and adhering to safe sex principles. “Polygyny;” “wife-swapping;” “promiscuity;” an unwillingness to learn new ideas: these were examples of “traditional” cultural barriers understood to prevent Papuans from embracing knowledge about AIDS.

In media I examined, AIDS authorities in Papua report that Papuan conduct, allegedly influenced by ‘traditional culture’ is at the root of the emerging epidemic.

Health experts said the disease was spreading rapidly due to several factors – high rates of promiscuity, rituals in some Papuan tribes where partner-swapping takes place, the traditional absence of foreplay, which increased the risk of abrasions, poor education about AIDS and a lack of condoms.³⁹

Papuans are also accused of causing the epidemic due to promiscuity, as the following two examples illustrate. In both of these examples authorities, while blaming Papuans, amplify the extent of the consequences of their alleged actions using panicky language and an overwhelming number of statistics.

Executive Director John Rahail of the Indonesian Planned Parenthood Association (PKBI) in Papua said on Monday that the number of people who had contracted the deadly disease could be much higher [than 1,398] and that the current figure may only be *the tip of the iceberg*. He estimated

³⁹ Yates, Dean. Reuters. “AIDS nightmare looms in Indonesia’s Papua.” September 10, 2003.

that the actual number of people with HIV/AIDS could be 10 times the figure. He said if the estimated figure – 1/17 of the 2.4 million-strong Papuan population – was correct, it meant that Papua was *overrun* by the disease. Rahail said that the had [sic] virus spread evenly across almost all areas in the province, including remote areas...*Rahail said the spread of HIV/AIDS in remote areas was mostly caused by the negative habits of native villagers.* For example, some individuals went to towns and procured the services of sex workers, after which they returned to their home villages and passed on HIV/AIDS to their partners....Another factor contributing into the high number of people infected with the lethal disease was the lack of public awareness and knowledge on HIV/AIDS. Gunawan Ingkokusomo from the AIDS Stop Action-Family Health International asserted that *local residents were generally active with several different partners, but rarely used condoms and contributed to the rapid spread of sexually transmitted diseases.*"⁴⁰ (emphasis added)

In the above quote, a high-level authority figure on AIDS in Papua, John Rahail, proposes that Papua may actually be “overrun” with the virus, even in rural areas, where reported cases of HIV/AIDS have been minimal. Rahail openly blames “native villagers” for spreading the virus in “remote areas.” Although officials acknowledge that there is a lack of public awareness and knowledge about HIV/AIDS, in the end it is the alleged promiscuity of “local residents” that is causing rising rates of infection. This indicates that officials are aware that public education is deficient, but blaming Papuan primitiveness is an easy and effective strategy for deflecting responsibility.

Constan Karma is the deputy governor of Papua province and also the Chairman of the Commission for AIDS Prevention in Papua (*Komisi Penanggulangan AIDS Daerah*). In 2003, Constan Karma expressed his deep concern that the number of HIV/AIDS cases in the province constitutes almost 50 percent of the national figure. In an article called, “HIV/AIDS Cases in Papua

⁴⁰ *The Jakarta Post*, “HIV/AIDS Cases Continue to Soar in Papua This Year.” April 13, 2004

Reach Alarming Level," he uses inflammatory language to describe the infection rate, and ties it to casual sex among "locals:"

The number of HIV/AIDS cases nationwide is 3,782, with 1,263 cases in Papua....He said the HIV/AIDS cases was *an iceberg phenomenon*, indicating that "we will likely find one case among 100 people, and if no action is taken, we fear the number of people with HIV/AIDS will reach 126,000 in the next decade." Constan, also the province's deputy governor, said that the HIV *prevalence is alarming* because there are 24.13 HIV/AIDS cases for every 100,000 people. "At the national level, only 0.6 cases are found for every 100,000 people," he said, citing the country's population at 206.2 million. Constan said the virus was transferred via unprotected sex, and those with HIV/AIDS were between the ages of 20 and 39. *Constan called upon religious and tribal leaders to persuade locals to avoid casual sex to minimize the number of HIV/AIDS cases in the future.*⁴¹ (emphasis added)

In the above quote, Karma outlines the "alarming" threat of HIV in the province, comparing rates with the rest of the country. He specifically connects the infection rate to unprotected sex among younger people and "locals." He requests that local moral authorities, such as religious and tribal leaders, work to persuade locals to change their behaviour.

In the following examples, authorities interpret AIDS in relation to the agenda of human resource development. They also propose that Papuans are to blame for "the HIV/AIDS problem." According to health official Gunawan Ingkokusomo,

Part of the speed of transmission [of HIV] can be *attributed to the Irianese way of life*. Doctors, health officials and NGO workers say the male members of a number of *local communities still practice free sexual relations* such as exchanging wives, passing on widows to younger brothers, and acquiring new partners. They say the potential for transmission during tattooing, *practiced by many locals*, cannot be underestimated. There is also *the habit of having sex without foreplay* that can easily injure genitals. He said that the HIV/AIDS problem in Papua was similar to a fire ignited in a dry

⁴¹ *The Jakarta Post*, "HIV/AIDS Cases in Papua Reach Alarming Level." May 27, 2003.

forest: *"If we are not alert to the fire, it will spread and scorch a big part of the human resources needed to build this province."*⁴² (emphasis added)

As in other quotes, Papuans are blamed for the epidemic, and, by extension, are said to be ruining the human resources needed for development. State officials claim that there is a consensus on Papuan culpability by proposing that "doctors, health officials and NGO workers" all confirm that "members of local communities still practice free sexual relations." A frightening image of the HIV virus "scorching" the human resources (which is the foundation of progress) is presented.

In the same news articles as the above quotes, Governor Jaap Solossa and health official Ingkokusomo propose interventions to protect human resources, and development, from AIDS. Significantly, neither authority proposes more accessible, flexible or comprehensive AIDS education. The first proposes a ban on "traditional" sexual activity, while the second proposes a bylaw to legislate the use of condoms.

Health official Ingkokusomo, who completed his master's degree in medical anthropology with research on the sexual behaviour of Dani men in Wamena, said that the authorities could, for example, ban the sexual activity that took place in the Honai shelter house in Wamena.⁴³

Governor Solossa proposes a 100 per cent condom use law:

The provincial government in Irian Jaya plans to issue a local bylaw regarding the use of condoms during intimate relations with partners outside the household. The bylaw, which will be implemented in all districts of Irian Jaya, is intended to suppress the growth rate of HIV/AIDS which is increasingly spreading in various circles and regions in Irian.⁴⁴

⁴² *The Jakarta Post*, "Irianese Women Targeted in HIV/AIDS Campaign." September 30, 2001.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

These statements propose that AIDS threatens human resources, and that certain interventions are required to address the alleged mode of transmission, namely Papuan behaviour. Proposed interventions are based on stereotypes about Papuans, and value judgments about what Papuans are allegedly doing. Using language of primitiveness, such as the reference to sex in Dani huts, Papuans are plainly blamed for spreading the virus that is not only deadly, but is going to devastate development. As the following examples show, Papua's development is also threatened by the conduct of young people, if they get infected with HIV and cannot become human resources.

In 2003, an initiative was announced that aimed to teach "healthy living" to students. The program taught appropriate sexual conduct to youth. Moral education was proposed so that youth would become, in essence, good-quality human resources.

The healthy living program...is used to develop awareness and attention of the young generation towards the importance of health....so that from early on students respect sex as something that is holy and a gift from God...The program is an attempt to impress upon the young generation how to respect and implement healthy lifestyle choices.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ *Kompas*, "Irja Akan Keluarkan Perda Penggunaan Kondom: Penyebaran AIDS/HIV Sangat Memprihatinkan." January 22, 2001. Pemerintah Daerah (Pemda) Irian Jaya akan mengeluarkan peraturan daerah (perda) mengenai penggunaan kondom dalam hubungan intim dengan pasangan di luar rumah. Perda yang akan diberlakukan di seluruh wilayah Irja ini, dimaksudkan untuk menekan laju pertumbuhan HIV/AIDS yang semakin meluas di berbagai kalangan dan wilayah Irja. Penyakit ini ditakutkan akan menghambat perkembangan sumber daya manusia (SDM) Irja dan pembangunan. Demikian dikatakan Gubernur Irja JP Solossa ketika membuka pertemuan Review Penanggulangan Virus HIV/AIDS di Hotel Matoa di Jayapura, Sabtu (20/1).

⁴⁵ *Kompas*, "Guru dan Murid Diajari Hidup Sehat." June 28, 2003. Program hidup sehat...ini guna membangun kesadaran dan perhatian generasi muda mengenai pentingnya kesehatan....sehingga para siswa sejak dini menghormati seks sebagai sesuatu yang suci, sebagai anugerah Tuhan. Program ini sebagai upaya menanamkan kepada generasi muda bagaimana menghormati dan menjalankan kebiasaan hidup sehat.

According to Dr. Gunawan Ingkokusomo, who is the director of the proposed Healthy Living program, the program is needed because "Development in Papua requires a young generation that is healthy, educated, intelligent, skilled, and free from the virus HIV/AIDS."⁴⁶ The state promotes morality among youth so that development will be successful, sending the message that morality, development, and 'proper' sex are mutually reinforcing.

As a specific example of agency rhetoric of how AIDS is used to promote development and to justify regulating young people, I present an excerpt from "AIDS Continues to Destroy, Dharma Wanita is Concerned."⁴⁷ Dharma Wanita is the compulsory civil servants wives' association, an integral part of government apparatus at the local level. Dharma Wanita hosted a seminar in Papua with the theme of "Moral Endurance Can Deter Drug Use and the Virus HIV/AIDS."⁴⁸ At the seminar, experts were quoted as saying:

We must strengthen the morals and character in the family. The appearance of the use of drugs and the spread of AIDS are related to several factors, namely family, school, lack of social controls and individual characteristics. Nyai Lien, the representative of the organization, said that the impact is not only on the individual but can influence the preparation of quality human resources. 'How can we obtain a generation with high quality human resources if they can only get drunk and follow nonsensical fancies. The head of the Department of Health said that people must not often change partners (be faithful), don't have sex, and always use a condom, while the head of Religious Department discussed how to increase faith and piety in the family and in the community.'⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Ibid. Pembangunan Papua ke depan membutuhkan generasi yang sehat, cerdas, terampil, dan bebas dari gangguan virus HIV/AIDS.

⁴⁷ *Kompas*, "AIDS Terus Merancam, Dharma Wanita Prihatin." February 3, 2000.

⁴⁸ Ibid. Pada acara penyuluhan Narkoba dan HIV/AIDS dengan tema "Ketahanan Moral Dapat Menangkal Bahaya Narkoba dan Penularan HIV/AIDS."

In the above quote, the spread of HIV is said to threaten a generation of human resources. This threat is caused by moral lapse in the family, the community, and among youth, such as “following fancies.” The agency suggests that all members of the community should be concerned about, and involved in, producing a successful generation of human resources. In order to guarantee this, there must be moral education from the family and the community.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented examples of state discourse on human resource development. Human resource development is promoted as a national duty, and understood to include not just education or skills but proper virtues as well. We have seen that for Papua, talk of human resource development includes disparagement and blame, and Papuans are represented as primitive, problematic and culpable. Human resource development is understood as a possible way to curb aspirations for independence in Papua by eliciting conformity, perhaps from young people in particular. In Manado, when Dani students envision their role in Papua’s future, talk about human resource development from the media they read sends important and influential messages. State discourse on human resources gives the impression that educated people are national heroes while everyone else is standing in the way of progress. Morality, along with education, is said to be a requirement for

⁴⁹*Kompas*, “AIDS Terus Merancam, Dharma Wanita Prihatin.” February 3, 2000. Kita harus memperkuat moral dan akhlak dalam keluarga. Timbulnya penggunaan Narkoba dan penularan AIDS menurutnya ada beberapa faktor yakni dari faktor keluarga, sekolah, kurangnya kontrol sosial, dan datangnya dari diri sendiri. Dampaknya bukan hanya pada diri sendiri tetapi juga akan berpengaruh pada kesiapan SDM yang berkualitas. Bagaimana mungkin kita akan mendapatkan generasi yang SDM-nya berkualitas kalau mereka hanya bias teler dan berkhayal yang tidak-tidak.

development. Discourse on human resource development in Papua teaches and reinforces the idea that primitiveness is a 'true' problem for Papuans, and youth hear that Papuans are responsible for underdevelopment. State discourse on HIV/AIDS supports these messages. These examples only show how the state talks about development, AIDS and Papuans; they do not tell us whether the state has an influence or not on the young people who hear these kinds of messages. In the next chapter I present the results of interviews with Dani students in Manado. I show that state discourse on human resource development seeps into students' ways of thinking, but students also reject and manipulate state ideologies to serve the agenda of Papuan aspirations.

Chapter Five: Morality, Development and Power in AIDS Understandings

Dani students in Manado face something of an enigma. They describe Manado as “the big city;” one student even said that before he left Wamena his parents told him to be careful and “not get a disease” in Manado. Students talk about Manadonese women who travel to Papua to work as prostitutes in brothels. They have never heard of the reverse happening. Manado is described as rowdy and lively, (*ramai*); a place where promiscuity (*seks bebas*) is usual (*biasa*). The highlands, by contrast, are described as isolated (*terpencil*). One student said that people in the village are more “moral.” By their understandings of HIV/AIDS, Manado should be home to an emerging epidemic, not Papua. Yet they read about the crisis of AIDS in Papua almost daily. Several students brought me news articles they had clipped about AIDS in Papua.

This chapter explores Dani students’ understandings of HIV/AIDS, and HIV/AIDS in Papua in particular. Interview results demonstrate that students think about AIDS in terms of promiscuity (*seks bebas*), Papuan simpleness (*masih awam*), education, politics and aspirations for independence and prosperity in Papua. As students envision a role for themselves as a moral authority to defend Papua from AIDS (and to promote Papuan aspirations of *merdeka*), their understandings of the emerging AIDS epidemic show the influence of state messages about morality, human resource development, culpability, and educated people. At the same time, students also blame Indonesia for AIDS in Papua and articulate their desire for independence. This chapter begins with basic trends in interpretations of HIV transmission and prevention. Two case studies will illustrate general trends in interview results. Then, interview results demonstrate that students have internalized state development discourse, including its negative representations of Papuans. However, they also want to

use their education to rectify the failures of the state: protecting Papuans from AIDS and promoting development and self-determination in Papua.

AIDS Information

My interview questions inquired about such topics as the first time students heard about AIDS, what sources of information they accessed in Manado, and their understandings of HIV transmission and prevention. Asking students why they thought Papua has an AIDS crisis while the rest of Indonesia does not was one question that generated significant discussion and provocative answers. As hoped, questions about AIDS in Papua provoked discussion of politics, race, and morality. Although I did not ask, some students wanted to talk about their own relationships; one student ended our interview by asking, "I have not gotten AIDS so far, so what can I do to make sure I do not get it?"

AIDS Awareness: Cigarettes and "Seks Bebas"

Of 24 students, ten had never attended any type of information session about HIV/AIDS. Of the remaining 14, seven reported that a health team had visited their high school in Wamena. One student had attended a public event organized by a Catholic church in Manado, and one student had attended a public seminar organized by a non-governmental organization in Manado. Half of the students (n=12) mentioned receiving information about HIV from the media; ten of them reported that in fact the first time they heard about HIV/AIDS was from the media.

All of the students had heard of HIV/AIDS, and all knew that it can be transmitted sexually. Many mentioned dirty needles and cigarettes, but a few specifically said that HIV could be transmitted through blood. Just one student mentioned homosexual activity, but she did so not to describe transmission but

to describe the 'immorality' of sexual behaviour in the 'modern' times.

Overwhelmingly students said that HIV is caused or spread by *seks bebas* (promiscuity, understood to include sex before or outside marriage). This interpretation of HIV is widespread in Indonesia. Promoted by the government's national AIDS campaign, it reinforces the idea that HIV/AIDS is a problem caused by moral lapse.

AIDS is passed by direct intimate relations between men and women and by used needles. (Herry, male, 22)

It is caused by changing partners, used needles, and shaving. (Likhaz, female, 21)

Channy and Gusel were the most specific about transmission through bodily fluids:

AIDS is passed by blood and sex. (Channy, male, 23)

AIDS is caused by bodily relations, sperm and blood. (Gusel, male, 26)

Many students felt that HIV could also spread through cigarettes, kissing, touching hands or through breath. For example,

It is caused through food, sharing dishes, cigarettes, breath. (Hendrik, male, 22)

AIDS is something "you could get indirectly, so you can't stay with a person who has AIDS. (Likhaz, female, 21)

I heard it started from a Papuan man who had sex with a *pendatang* (Indonesian) woman who had AIDS, then he smoked cigarettes with his friends and passed the disease to them. (Niefe, female, 23)

The assumption that HIV could be spread through ways other than infected blood or sexual fluids increased students' fear of the disease and caused them to suggest things like quarantining infected persons.

It spreads through direct sex, kissing, touching, sex outside marriage, sex with a variety of partners. People who have it must be isolated in one place. If I had a friend with AIDS I would keep my distance because I would be afraid of it spreading through breathing or touch. I would be afraid to be close with them. (Chanalir, male, 23)

Interviewees had strong feelings about what people can and should do to prevent infection. Like government discourse on AIDS prevention, students' interpretations of HIV/AIDS, and particularly AIDS prevention, are strongly influenced by ideas about appropriate conduct. In particular, avoiding casual sex is promoted as a way to prevent infection.

To prevent AIDS, avoid needles and do not have sex outside marriage. (Nina, female, 25)

To avoid getting the disease, people can avoid free sex, entertainment places, prostitutes, people who already have it, needles. (Chanalir, male, 23)

You should avoid *seks bebas* (promiscuity), changing partners and brothels, as well as blood transfusion. (Channy, male, 23)

Students spoke of HIV prevention strategies such as "awareness" and "morality," focusing on how people should conduct themselves in order to be safe from the virus.

To prevent AIDS, stay away from *seks bebas*. (Alfrida, female, 24)

AIDS can be prevented by a return to morality. (Tius, male, 20)

AIDS can be prevented by human awareness. (Mekan, male, 24)

Some students also spoke about the effect that religious moralities or faith can have on AIDS prevention. On average, religious moralities are said to have a positive effect on prevention by forbidding sexual activity and promoting morality, similar to dominant government prevention messages.

Religion could help to prevent AIDS because people would be given a warning about sex. (Herry, male, 23)

Religion can help prevent AIDS if you make yourself closer to God because religion forbids this kind of sexual activity. (Tina, female, 25)

Religious leaders say that if you are married you are safe, if not, you should not have sex because it is a sin. (Niefe, female, 23)

For Likhaz (female, 21), "the main thing is to return to God," though she also said that "to prevent AIDS, don't have excessive sex, don't use used needles or razors."

AIDS was interpreted as a disease that could be avoided if people were more aware of the dangers of casual sex and, if they chose to change their behaviour by avoiding sex altogether, or by only having sex with a spouse. Some students, like Sandi and Era, felt that there is an element of choice: if people want to become aware of the disease then they can prevent it.

It's a normal biological need to look for sex, but it depends on the character of the person, and if they have been educated by their parents, by the church or by the government. (Sandi, male, 31)

People become aware, then they are afraid and they avoid *seks bebas* (casual sex). Those who really want to have *seks bebas* are the ones that will get AIDS. (Era, male, 20)

Strong moral overtones in AIDS interpretations occasionally led to outright judgments.

If I had a friend with AIDS I would not want to be their friend. I would tell them they have to straighten up their life, go back to God. (Likhaz, female, 21)

In terms of AIDS awareness, students are all aware that HIV is a virus and that it is transmitted sexually and through contaminated needles. Interpretations of AIDS have strong moral overtones, sometimes with a religious element. For the

most part, students connect HIV transmission to promiscuity, or *seks bebas*, and say that people must be aware that casual sex is dangerous, and immoral, and avoid it to prevent illness. The following two case studies provide a summary of the above trends of awareness, transmission and prevention, as well as introduce some of the trends of blame and resistance that will be explored later in this chapter.

Case Study # 1 Herry: "Papuan Cannot Control Their Desire"

Herry was born in Wamena in 1981. His parents are farmers, and he has lived in Manado since 2001. He is studying administration at Sam Ratulangi University. He is a quiet and thoughtful person who is well-liked by other Dani students. He is involved in many activities related to the Jayawijaya Students' Group in Manado, such as meeting new students arriving in Manado from Papua's highlands.

He recalls hearing about AIDS for the first time in school in Wamena. As he remembers, it was one of his teachers talking about levels of HIV infection in the southern Papuan city of Merauke, and not an information session from health or other authorities. In a more formal setting, he later heard about the HIV virus at a meeting in a Catholic social building, where there was a local leader and a doctor. When he first heard about the disease, he says, he did not know anything about it so he was not worried. Once he heard about AIDS in church. A Dutch pastor came to talk about the disease. Herry recalls that people came for the church service and were surprised to find this Dutch man talking about AIDS. The message Herry took away was that it was important not to have casual sex. In Manado, he usually hears about HIV from newspapers, radio, and television.

First, Herry says, people cannot do anything to avoid AIDS because they are “simple” (*masih awam*) except do not have sex. He says that the spread of HIV is caused by intimate relations between men and women, and by contaminated needles.

Herry recalls having a friend who had syphilis. A doctor told his friend not to have sex or to share food with anyone. Herry says that there is a place in Wamena where young people could get information about AIDS and condoms, but most would not think to ask about AIDS. They would think that condoms are new and they would feel strange about them. As Herry says, maybe Indonesians would be okay with going for information and using condoms. Herry concludes that Papua has an epidemic of AIDS because of the government program of sending prostitutes from Java to Merauke. He says that the prostitutes are looking for money, and that Papuans cannot control their desire for sex. In his estimation, Papua will most likely have an epidemic of AIDS in the future because people do not know not to have casual sex.

Case Study #2 Fransiskus: “They want to get rid of Papuans”

Fransiskus was born in 1975. He has been living in Manado for 10 years attending the Tomohon Catholic University (UKIT) and studying law. In 2003, he had recently completed his education and was making arrangements to return to Wamena.

For Fransiskus, AIDS cannot be prevented because there is no medicine. It is caused by casual sex, and in Papua it is caused in part by female workers, he says, who come into the province from other areas and have sex with locals. Fransiskus says that in his experience the government has not yet given the community information about AIDS. He recalls that some Catholic students did a study tour and gave information in Wamena. In his estimation, AIDS has a

deep connection with socio-economic inequalities: poor people get it from needing to eat, their parents don't have enough to give their children, especially those who live away from home at a dorm. Kids need food and money, so they sell themselves and get AIDS. To sum up, he says that, in Papua there is a lot of casual sex, the parents don't take care, and the church can't watch the children all the time. There is more AIDS in Papua because of the Freeport goldmine,⁵⁰ because of prostitutes, and because it is hard to watch over the kids. The parents are very poor and they do not understand. Prevention is not harder for Papuans but many are still uneducated and have not been to university. Fransiskus says,

The government does not handle AIDS seriously. They take all the money from the resources and do not give any back. They want to get rid of Papuans, and diseases are as good as shooting. What's the difference?

The above interview results and case studies illustrate the way that some students talk about AIDS. They tend to talk about transmission not necessarily in 'medical' terms, like blood and sexual fluids, but in other ways, such as casual sex, cigarettes, prostitution, poverty, and fear. AIDS is caused by neglect or abuse by the Indonesian state *and* supposed Papuan problems. In terms of the former, for example, Herry said that the Indonesian government sends prostitutes to Papua to spread HIV. Fransiskus said that "diseases are as good as shooting," and accuses the government of intending to eliminate the Papuan people. At the same time, referencing alleged Papuan problems, Herry said, "Papuans cannot control their desire for sex." Fransiskus proposes that Papuans have difficulty

⁵⁰ A reference to the Grasberg copper and gold mine in Papua's southern highlands, owned by New Orleans-based Freeport McMoRan Copper and Gold. The company began operation after Suharto came to power in the 1960s. The company has been criticized for its treatment of Papuans whose traditional territory lies in the area, and for financially supporting Indonesian security forces that protect the mine. The mine is also often held up as an example of Indonesia benefiting from Papua while Papuans receive few benefits from the extraction of natural resources in their province. The mine is said to employ 8000 'bachelors' and the nearby town of Timika is known as a central prostitution site in the province.

with prevention because they have not been to university yet, and because the parents do not understand. These diverging interpretations suggest that students internalize, but also reject and manipulate state discourse.

The following sections will show that students' understandings of HIV/AIDS are also influenced by state discourse on human resource development. At times, students use language evocative of "primitiveness" to describe Papuans, and to explain why Papuans do not know about AIDS. In this sense, Papuan "backwardness" is seen as problematic for AIDS prevention. In another example of language that is comparable to state discourse, students sometimes explicitly blame Papuans for spreading HIV because they have too much casual sex (*seks bebas*). Lastly, parallel to state discourse, students also say that HIV/AIDS is a threat to development, and that casual sex threatens human resource development.

At the same time, interpretations of HIV/AIDS also challenge state discourse. Students reject and manipulate certain messages. First, students sometimes blame the Indonesian government for HIV/AIDS, and are critical of Indonesia. Second, students' political aspirations for Papuan independence are not contained by the state's attempt at regulation. Students have internalized the message that educated people are very important for development and future prosperity, and thus have a great deal of authority. Yet they manipulate this message by insisting that, as educated people, they can and want to challenge Indonesian governance in Papua. Some students indicate that they want to use "human resource development," including moral education if necessary, to promote Papuan aspirations and protect Papuans from AIDS. The following sections therefore show conformity and challenges to state messages in the media.

Primitiveness ("masih awam")

Students frequently use language evocative of "primitiveness" to describe Papuans. For instance,

Most Papuans do not know about AIDS, they are still "left behind," (*masih ketinggalan, masih rendah*). (Niefe, female, 23)

Papuans are regularly represented as "simple." The oft-used phrase "*masih awam*," literally translates as 'lay people', which I interpret to mean "simple" or "backward." "Backwardness" is seen as problematic for AIDS prevention.

Those who are educated know to get medical attention but those who are just simple (*masih awam*) people just let it be, because they do not know. (Chanalir, male, 23)

If you had an STD you would go to the hospital, the doctor will treat you and explain it to you. They do not give condoms, Indonesians (*pendatang*) would probably use them but the community wouldn't; they don't know what this is, they are just simple people (*awam*). (Hendrik, male, 22)

In the above quote, Hendrik suggests that because Papuans are simple they would not know how to use a condom or would not use one. He also distinguishes simple Papuans from Indonesians, who would use a condom. Even though Hendrik uses language of backwardness, he acknowledges that Papuans, unlike Indonesians, may not be well informed about condom-use.

Era (male, 20) believes that prevention efforts have been extended, but questions whether rural villagers are able to understand:

Twice there were AIDS programs from the province that came to the district. If people are able, they usually understand, otherwise they are simple people (*awam*), and need the information to be repeated.

According to Era's statement, being *awam* means that people are actually unable to understand but that with repeated attempts health authorities could break

through the “simpleness.” According to Herry, on the other hand, there is not much hope for simple people to avoid AIDS:

People cannot do anything to avoid AIDS because they are simple (*masih awam*)...except do not have sex. (Herry, male, 23)

In the above quotes, Era, Chanalir, Hendrik and Niefe describe Papuans in terms that reference primitiveness. Students also find that Papuan simpleness is problematic for AIDS prevention. Their language and interpretation of the relationship between Papuans, development, and AIDS is analogous to state discourse, which proposes that, in order to prevent AIDS and promote development, Papuans need to change their behaviour.

Seks Bebas and Blame

Papuans’ supposed simpleness may at times be seen as problematic for AIDS prevention, but there are more overt expressions of Papuan culpability for AIDS, such as in Herry’s case study, above, when he says that Papuans cannot control their desire for sex. Chanalir and Alfrida echo Herry’s perspective.

There’s more AIDS in Papua because Papuans have a lot of *seks bebas* (casual sex). (Alfrida, female, 24)

Alfrida’s quote strongly shows the influence of state discourse on AIDS in Papua, as Papuans are overtly blamed for the emerging epidemic. Like state authorities, she proposes that Papuan sexuality is out of control.

If Papuans have money they take it to a prostitute instead of home to their wives....I think most Papuans know to use a condom but some are just addicted to sex. (Chanalir, male, 23)

Like Indonesian discourse on AIDS, Papuans are said to be promiscuous or immoral. In addition, Chanalir’s comment recalls statements by state officials who claim that Papuans neglect familial duties. In this case, Papuans are said to

be neglecting their family obligations by using their money for prostitutes. In the same way that state discourse does not say that Papuans have little access to appropriate information on AIDS, let alone condoms, Chanalir assumes that Papuans *do* know about condom use, they just cannot change their actions. This is an overt expression of Papuan culpability, highly evocative of state language that designates Papuans as 'refusing' to change behaviour, sexual or otherwise, that is deemed detrimental to Papuan progress. Papuans are seen as causing problems for themselves. Papuan sexuality is represented, again, as out of control: in this case they are "addicted to sex."

Some students refer to Papuan 'culture problems' that make it difficult to teach Papuans about AIDS. There are the kinds of negative representations of Papuan culture that appear in state discourse on AIDS prevention. Cletus, who has worked with the USAID-funded HIV/AIDS Prevention Project in Manado, says that the influence of Papuan culture, like "backwardness," can work against AIDS information:

In areas where culture is very strong, there are places where the health workers would not even go, because people would not want to listen... Hopefully the church can teach morality, or there can be family education. (Cletus, male, 34)

Another student, Alfrida, also references the 'strong culture' problem, saying that this perception originates in the government.

The government does not care. They are afraid that the people in the interior have not been 'socialized' (*belum sosialisasi*), and they would not accept the prevention. (Alfrida, female, 24)

Culture is represented as something that holds Papuans back, even from listening, and makes them isolated from AIDS prevention.

AIDS Threatens Human Resource Development

One of the most overt ways that understandings of AIDS show the influence of state discourse is that some students referred to AIDS as detrimental to human resource development.

AIDS will ruin the human resources. (Cletus, male, 34)

Cletus' statement is analogous to those made by state authorities such as Deputy Governor Constan Karma and health official Gunawan Ingkokusomo. The fact that some students spoke of human resource development at all, and especially in the context of AIDS, shows that state messages on human resource development are getting across very effectively. Other students' statements suggest internalisation of the fundamental state messages about development and AIDS, even if they do not specifically reference human resource development.

If there is AIDS in Papua, it will be much harder to get development.
(Nina, female, 25)

Development is good for health, the government must try to fix people so AIDS does not interfere with development. (Era, male, 20)

Development was viewed positively, on the whole, and many students felt that Papua needs development. Students such as Era and Nina, in the above quotes, suggest that AIDS will threaten development, with Era proposing that the government intervene to address people's behaviour so that AIDS does not interfere with development. Overwhelmingly, these students show how AIDS is interpreted within a development framework, like state discourse, that calls the emerging epidemic a threat to development or human resources, not people. Like state discourse, development requires morality/abstinence to protect health:

It is casual people (*orang sembarang*) who get AIDS, so do not be casual, be cautious. Be friends but do not be sexual, if you take care of yourself then you will be more able to make development happen. (Tina, female, 25)

Development is said to involve moral education that will help prevent AIDS.

Tius suggests that development is a worthwhile project for young people to devote their attention to:

Teenagers need their thoughts to be changed in a positive direction, like development, so that they do not get involved in sex. (Tius, male, 20)

Nina and Niefe say development will have a positive effect on AIDS prevention, in part because of moral education about sex:

We need development in all respects (economic, social, political) and to tell women and teenagers not to have casual sex. Papuans do not know this yet. There is more AIDS in Papua because there is not yet information, because there is a lack of transportation and the health care is also lacking. There is no progress (*kemajuan*) yet. (Nina, female, 25)

Development will be good for health, to raise the level of awareness among the community, so that people do not engage in casual sex. (Niefe, female, 23)

Niefe and Nina refer to Papuan ignorance, suggesting that Papuans need development so that they understand AIDS. Nina uses the term “progress” to describe what Papua needs so that Papuans will have information about AIDS. She says that progress will teach Papuans not to have casual sex, implying that Papuan underdevelopment is the root cause of promiscuity, a proposition that parallels state development ideology. Designating Papua as in need of “progress” is also evocative of state discourse on alleged Papuan primitiveness. Alwan, quoted below, says that

Development would help to fight AIDS because the health authority cannot go to the villages, there is no electricity, no media, and they are still ignorant (*bodoh*). (Alwan, male, 24)

Alwan, like other students quoted above, promotes development as a solution to AIDS. Underdevelopment, including the supposed ignorance of villagers, is seen as preventing "the health authority" from giving information about AIDS. Development is understood to alleviate ignorance as well as isolation, and the problem of AIDS is exacerbated by the problem of underdevelopment. The implications of this interpretation are that development is needed in order for AIDS prevention to take place and to be effective, which leaves many rural areas of the province, where most Papuans live, vulnerable to HIV infection while waiting for progress.

Deflecting State Discourse: "They are all plans to finish us off"

Interview results suggest that state discourse is influential on Dani students' understandings of HIV/AIDS. However, Dani students also reject and manipulate state discourse. Students reject state interpretations of HIV/AIDS when they accuse Indonesia of spreading the HIV virus to Papuans, or when they criticize Indonesian governance. At times, the same students who find fault in Papuans for being simple also reject state interpretations of AIDS.

Some students, both men and women, are critical of Indonesia, seeing AIDS as proof that Indonesian authorities are immoral and want to eliminate Papuans for political reasons. At its mildest, students question whether Indonesia really cares to prevent AIDS in Papua. At its extreme, students say that Indonesia is deliberately trying to eliminate the Papuan people. AIDS criticisms sometimes relate to the government's alleged desire to kill Papuans by sending sex workers (infected or uninfected) into the province. These rumours about the cause of the high rate of AIDS are widespread in Papua (Butt, Numbery and Morin 2002a, Kirsch 2002) and are apparently significant for Dani students in Manado as well.

The transmigrants, Islam, the Javanese, they are all plans to finish us off, like with the KB (*Keluarga Berencana*; Family Planning)...There is a lot of AIDS in Papua because of the smuggling of prostitutes from Manado and Java. It is the government's fault. They want to make one opinion for all people. They give permission to companies to start up operations, and then after work Papuans go to the prostitutes. There are no good facilities to control the disease, or to test prostitutes. The security apparatus lets anyone and everyone come into the province. (Chanalir, male, 23)

In the above example, AIDS in Papua is interpreted as another example of "plans to finish us off" (Chanalir, above). Chanalir equates AIDS with other state interventions that are seen as underhanded attacks on Papuans, such as transmigration of Indonesians from other parts of the country. Indonesians from Java are given special mention as agents of Papuan destruction, as is Islam, the dominant religion of Java and Indonesia. The state-sponsored family planning program is also involved. AIDS is enmeshed in feelings of being marginalized and abused by state-enforced homogenization ("making one opinion for all people," Chanalir, above) and development that leaves Papuans vulnerable to diseases.

In Papua, the government sends prostitutes on purpose to destroy the race of Papuans, like at discos, to prevent independence. Also *orang trans* (Indonesian migrants) come and marry. We have to split ourselves from the NKRI (*Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia*, or Unitary Republic of Indonesia). Our parents, the old people never knew this disease. (Tina, female, 25)

For Tina, AIDS forms part of a moral justification for independence (*merdeka*) from Indonesia. Students, as shown above, suggest that Indonesia deliberately tries to spread the disease to Papuans. In a different way, shown below, the way that the government handles AIDS is seen as part of other kinds of marginalization, called "ugly activities" by Black, below:

In Wamena the health officials gave a talk, the people's representatives were invited and told to prohibit sex and gave out condom pamphlets. Often there is information from the government but we see their ugly activities and don't want to hear. (Black, male, 26)

Seks bebas is from the government, they promote sex but they do not address the negative aspects of sex. People fall into sin whereas they used to have self-worth. (Wisnu, male, 26)

The government is responsible for informing people about AIDS but they do not care because they are doing *seks bebas* too. To overcome AIDS, people need to guide themselves better; the government must improve morals, in government and of the people, and be truly good. (Chanalir, male, 23)

AIDS is understood as another instance of unfair treatment of Papuans, such as "ugly activities" or natural resource exploitation. On the whole, accusations of genocide were frequently but not constantly articulated demonstrating that understandings of AIDS are entangled in feelings of discrimination, articulated in political terms.

Papuan students do not always place blame for AIDS on Papuans. Some students indicated that in fact, Papuans are victims of the disease, not perpetrators.

In Papua it is caused by people not knowing very much, then people from outside come in, like tourists, and it spreads from Indonesians to Papuans. (Black, male, 26)

Papua has more HIV/AIDS because of modernization, because there are no examinations, because Mega [President Megawati] has forgotten about health, and because people can freely go in and out of the province. (Sandi, male, 31)

Although many students said that it is uneducated village-dwelling Papuans who need education to avoid HIV, many (sometimes the same student) said that

wealthy or powerful people spread HIV because they have money to engage in promiscuity or go to bars. Gusel (male, 26) said

If they are rich they definitely have *seks bebas* (casual sex).

Niefe, who said that Papuans need to development in order to be taught not to have casual sex (p. 79), also said that

Usually in Papua it is bureaucrats who cheat on their wives and spread HIV because they have money.

Students reject state discourse, and point out what they see as Indonesia's failure to protect Papuans from HIV. They also manipulate state discourse to promote Papuan aspirations.

Human Resource Development for Power in Papua

In general, education is highly valued in Indonesia, but in state discourse on human resources, 'being educated' takes on heroic proportions. State discourse on human resources strongly sends the message that educated people are powerful and authoritative, but also have better ways of thinking and better conduct. This is what makes them good-quality resources for development. Students also want to take control in Papua, and this aspect of human resource development gives them strong feelings of agency, and reinforces their hopes that they can make development happen for Papuans. The influence of state discourse is seen in the ways that, in understandings of AIDS, students feel that they have better ways of thinking than those considered "*masih awam*," so they automatically know more about protecting themselves from HIV. Paralleling state language, students sometimes want to teach other Papuans to avoid *seks bebas* (casual sex). However, their desire to do so stems from their feelings that the government is not protecting Papuans, and from the belief that AIDS threatens both Papuans and Papuan aspirations.

Young men and women frequently say that education gives them an understanding of HIV and also special knowledge that most Papuans do not have. According to one male:

If we are educated (*sudah kuliah*), we do not get AIDS, we already know enough. (Hendrik, 22)

If women are educated (*sudah sarjana*) then they will know how to pick a good partner, a man who is close with God, otherwise most men will cheat on their wives. But uneducated women, they do not know this and so they cannot protect themselves. (Niefe, female, 23)

Niefe (above) indicates that being educated does not only mean to have a university degree, but means to have special knowledge, "to pick a man who is close with God."

Educated people are the heroes of human resource development. Students want to use their education to address what they see as dangerous inadequacies in Indonesian governance.

If people want to develop bars, it will be prohibited. To prevent diseases we will send the *pendatang* (Indonesian in-migrants) home, at least those who visit and make *tempat hiburan* (entertainment places, like bars, associated with casual sex). In Papua, we want to develop the human resources but because people are involved in *seks bebas* (promiscuity) they cannot follow development. (Black, male, 26)

Black's understanding of the relationship between AIDS, morality, and development is comparable to state discourse on human resources. Yet he, and Era, below, also point to specific areas where Indonesian governance in Papua contributes to the spread of HIV, or *seks bebas*, and which are in need of intervention.

We think that AIDS will spread to Papuans more easily, it depends on our preparations...students can regulate influences from outside after we are finished our education....We need to close up all the *lokalisasi* (brothels) and get rid of all the porno. (Era, male, 20)

In the above statements from interviews in Manado, students express intent to challenge Indonesian authority, perhaps by “sending in-migrants home.” They want, in particular, to be involved in controlling negative influences such as bars, brothels and pornography. These ambitions are a direct challenge to the Indonesian state (in particular, bureaucrats and the military), which is heavily involved in such industries, even though prostitution, for example, is illegal in Indonesia. Students also want to use their education, and the authority that they believe it will give them, to protect Papuans from AIDS. They want to “regulate influences,” and “close up brothels.” Some students said they hoped to take up positions in Papua after graduation to work for Papuan aspirations. Although other students expressed interest in human resource development, Niefe overtly articulated that human resource development is part of promoting Papuan aspirations.

There is something like a student movement in Manado to further the aspirations of the Papuan people. We have long term plans to become the human resources for Papua because right now people there are still left behind. Papua is rich in natural resources (*sumber daya alam*), not in human resources (*sumber daya manusia*). (Niefe, female, 23)

She uses the same juxtaposition of human and natural resources prominent in state discourse, in which officials say that Papuans’ “backward” customs and values must be responsible for underdevelopment because the area is so rich in natural resources. Human resource development, parallel to state discourse, is important for progress. Although analogous to state discourse, students’ deeper intention is to protect Papuans from AIDS in the only way they know how, because they feel the government has not done its job. Human resource development is understood as something that will benefit Papuans, so if students must do the job of governance in order to prevent Papuans from dying of AIDS and in order to promote Papuan aspirations, that is what they intend to do. Even

if the strategies of governance that they are most familiar with rely on judgment, regulation, and moral education, students manipulate state discourse to promote their own agendas or to oppose what they see as the state's agenda to destroy Papuans.

Conclusion

Interview results suggest that students' interpretations of HIV/AIDS are to a considerable degree influenced by Indonesian state discourse on human resource development. Students frequently use language that references "primitiveness," such as *masih awam* (backwards), *ketinggalan* (left behind), or *bodoh* (ignorant) to describe Papuans. These characteristics have implications for AIDS, as backwardness prevents Papuans from knowing to avoid casual sex, getting information about AIDS, or even accepting information about AIDS. Papuan "backwardness" is thus articulated as a cause of Papua's spiking HIV infection rate. Students also interpret AIDS as a threat to development, saying that it will ruin the human resources, and that it will be difficult to attract investment to the province. Promiscuity is said to be at the root of rising infection rates, and also said to cause problems for development, such as by distracting people from human resource development. These understandings of HIV/AIDS show that through their avid consumption of print media and other sources, students have internalised certain aspects of state development discourse.

Students reject state interpretations of AIDS when they blame Indonesia for the epidemic or use it to criticize Indonesian governance. They also manipulate development ideology because they want to use their education to challenge what they see as Indonesia's failures: failure to protect Papuans from disease, failure to protect Papuans from violence or exploitation, failure to enforce laws on prostitution, failure to provide AIDS prevention. They deflect

state ideology when they make plans to use human resource development to further Papuan aspirations, not national development. The following chapter develops further implications of these interview results.

Chapter Six: Development, Conformity and Resistance

In Indonesia, the ideology of human resource development shows characteristics of a basic strategy of governance, concerned with defining and promoting “appropriate” conduct for citizens (Dean 1999: 10-11). Human resource development “is associated with notions about mental, moral and spiritual development” (Hunter 1996: 169, on development in general). Indonesian development discourse on Papua shows some continuity with this language of governance. Good conduct is defined and promoted, including health, virtues and skills for young people. However, the state’s desire to control Papuans through “appropriate conduct” is much more aggressive, ranging from blaming primitiveness for Papuan poverty to pressuring youth to change their behaviour, drop their separatist aspirations, and devote their healthy and skilled bodies to the cause of national progress. This chapter broadly analyses research findings from media analysis of state language on human resource development and interviews with Dani students that tap into their reactions to state moral claims and regulation.

Good Conduct and Marginalization

Li proposes that, under Suharto, development was used as an antidote to politics, and duty to development was deployed as a remedy or a substitute for politics:

One dimension of Indonesian rule is the claim that development should be pursued as the antithesis of, and the antidote to, an excess of politics. The masses are to stay off the streets and in their orderly villages, focusing their energies on progress and “development.” (Li 1999b: 299)

My results suggest that, post-Suharto, development is still viewed as an antidote to politics. In fact, I argue that development discourse also obscures politics,

history, and inequality, and is meant to be a distraction from politics. One of the major arguments articulated in "human resource development" is that Papua needs development, as do Papuans. In the words of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, the current Minister for Security and Political Affairs, and a Presidential hopeful, Papua needs "security and order so that the process of development can proceed in a safe and orderly fashion," not "trouble," such as Morning Star flag-raising.⁵¹ Representations of primitiveness in Papua are longstanding (Kirsch 2002, Ballard 2002) and continue to play a role in state control, in part by underscoring the message that Papuans need development, and that the characteristics of Papuans are the reason for underdevelopment.

HIV/AIDS gives more exposure to the message that Papua needs development. HIV/AIDS also makes development more urgent, because AIDS in Papua is said to be caused by the isolation, traditions, and ignorance of Papuans. AIDS therefore amplifies the consequences of underdevelopment, and plays an enormous role in exacerbating blame. AIDS threatens the human resources, which is a problem because, according to Health Official Gunawan Ingkokusomo, Papua needs "to be built."⁵² Youth are targeted as important to development, implicated in resistance, and vulnerable to HIV. The element of HIV/AIDS gives added reason to regulate youth, who hold special significance as the human resources of the future. According to state discourse, if youth do not "respect sex as something that is holy and a gift from God,"⁵³ or if they "follow nonsensical fantasies,"⁵⁴ they will destroy the human resources of the future.

⁵¹ *Kompas*, "Disesalkan, Pengibaran Bendera Separatis." July 9, 2003.

⁵² *The Jakarta Post*, "Irianese Women Targeted in HIV/AIDS Campaign." September 30, 2001.

⁵³ *Kompas*, "Guru dan Murid Diajari Hidup Sehat." June 28, 2003.

⁵⁴ *Kompas*, "AIDS Terus Merancam, Dharma Wanita Prihatin." February 3, 2000.

This thesis has presented evidence that the ideology of “human resource development” is used by the Indonesian state as an instrument for controlling citizens. In the persuasive language of the state, Papua needs development, not resistance. Papua needs freedom from “backwardness,” not freedom from Indonesia. In at least one instance, “human resource development” has been articulated by the state as a way to contain separatist aspirations among Papuan youth.⁵⁵ Thus, development is meant to interrupt politics, and is used as an excuse to encroach on young people who might be involved in challenging Indonesian power.

The politics of “human resource development” in the Papuan context have especially wide-reaching consequences. Under Indonesian rule in Papua, scholars have described widespread violence, including rape and race-based murders that have resulted in up to 100,000 deaths (Budiardjo and Liong 1988: 77-92, Rutherford 2001: 189-212). The military’s control over natural resources is widely documented, as is collusion between the military and dominant resource extraction firms such as Freeport McMoRan (Browne 1998, Elmslie 2003). A recent report on human rights abuses in Papua also describes the destruction of Papuan resources and crops, as well as forced relocation (Brundige et al, 2003). Yet according to state discourse on human resources, Papua is underdeveloped because of Papuan culture, behaviour and mindset, not because Papuans are terrorized by state security forces or excluded from good-quality education and decent health services. The premise that Papua is underdeveloped because of the poor qualities of Papuans covers over a history of humiliation, violence and inequality that has led scholars to describe Indonesian-Papuan relations as “colonial.” The ideology of “human resource development” is significant because

⁵⁵ *The Jakarta Post*. “Three Border Schools to Help ‘Counter Separatism’ in Papua.” May 14, 2003.

it obscures the role of the state in marginalizing Papuans so that they have fewer opportunities to be educated, healthy or prosperous. Showing that the ideology of human resource development is really about control, the government uses the imperative of developing the human resources to press for compliance from politically active Papuan youth who oppose Indonesian rule.

The premise of human resource development thus obscures marginalization in Papua, while channelling disapproving depictions of Papuans throughout national media, and hoping to divert the attention of dissatisfied Papuan youth. In the next section, I suggest that the logic of human resource development, as well as students' experiences in Manado, presents energized and hopeful Dani students with complex political and moral terrain to navigate.

Defining government as "the conduct of conduct" (Dean 1999: 10) highlights the role of morality, defined as codes of right and wrong that articulate appropriate conduct, in governance. This research reveals that the codes of right and wrong that form the language of governance are racialized, highly malleable to the state's need for control, and amplify existing hierarchies and stereotypes. Accusations of "improper" conduct on the part of marginalized minorities are extremely useful for justifying racism, inequality and abuse. These accusations are used to argue that people get what they deserve, and deserve what they get. At the same time, looking at how marginalized citizens react to governance can also expose resistance that persists even in the face of ideologies that justify state-sponsored violence, neglect and oppression.

Taking on Development

Interview results in Chapter Five demonstrate that development discourse has shaped students' perceptions of HIV/AIDS, Papuans, and *merdeka* (independence). Students simultaneously point to Papuan culpability and argue

that Indonesia is irresponsible and duplicitous. Students feel that development *is* what Papuans need, but that they can use human resource development to further Papuan aspirations.

For students living in Manado, the claims of human resource development obscure differences between the histories of Manadonese and Papuans, such as that the state has made long-term investments in infrastructure, education, and health services in Manado (Buchholt and Mai 1994), or that there are not thousands of state security forces keeping "order" or terrorizing Manadonese (see Kirsch 2002 for contrast with Papua). Amidst claims that level of development is a reflection of qualities, culture, and good conduct, students are from a place known for "primitiveness" and "underdevelopment," living in a city where development looks easy, available, attractive, and where many people seem to live well. I observed, while in Manado, that Papuans in Manado are stigmatized as "OPM" or as "black people," in a city where Papuans stand out; so-called "black people" only make up a fragment of the population. Students reiterated that racism is a daily experience. "Underdevelopment" in Papua permeates their relations with Manadonese, even if students themselves are highly educated and relatively privileged among Papuan youth. In Manado, students see development, the cultures of Manado are celebrated (see Sondakh 2002), and economic development appears to have produced prosperity and stability (Buchholt and Mai 1994). There is not an AIDS crisis in Manado (Utomo, Dharmaputra, Haryanto, Hartono, Makalew, Mills, and Moran 1998), although students describe the presence of more alcohol, more parties, and more *seks bebas* (promiscuity) than Papua.

Sometimes students easily deconstruct claims made by the state that it has Papuans' best interests at heart. When Black says that "we see their ugly activities," or Wisnu says, "they promote sex but do not address the negative

aspects of sex,” students point to duplicity and irresponsibility. When students like Tina say that the government sends prostitutes to destroy the Papuan people, she articulates that the high rate of HIV infection is proof of mistreatment and deceit. Based on some of their arguments, students have considerable doubts about what the Indonesian government says and how it represents itself in the media.

Nevertheless, students have a difficult time sorting through development discourse in terms of representations of Papuans and blame. The language of “different and deficient” (Li 1999a: 3) is deeply fixed. When Alfrida argues that there is a high HIV/AIDS prevalence in Papua because Papuans are promiscuous, she articulates Papuan culpability, as well as stereotypes about primitive, uncontrolled Papuan sexuality. Other students suggest that Papuan isolation, ignorance, or culture is causing high rates of HIV infection in Papua. Students know a great deal about Indonesian state violence and oppression, yet development discourse makes it difficult to link state violence and Indonesian dominance to “underdevelopment” in the midst of ever-present declarations to the contrary.

One of the strongest overarching trends in interview results is that students say that Papua needs development, and so do Papuans. As Nina says, “We need development in all respects....” Many students said that “simplicity,” and “backwardness” were serious problems, and articulated that Papuans are isolated and disconnected. Papuan backwardness is said to be the root of HIV/AIDS, and therefore what Papuans need is development, which will increase awareness, education, reduce isolation, increase health services, and teach them not to have *seks bebas* (casual sex). The “truth” of Papuan deficiency, and “need for development” is reinforced by the fact that in Papua, according to students’ experiences, Papuans are poor, they cannot afford to go to school, and

are too embarrassed to go make use of what limited health facilities are available (see also Rusman 1998, Butt, Numbery and Morin 2002b).

Interview results suggest that state discourse is persuasive and deep-rooted, particularly the idea that Papuans need development, but also that development is the way forward.

By promising power, prosperity, and progress, "human resource development" fosters their convictions, giving specifics to their general plans to challenge Indonesian governance. Students ultimately challenge Indonesian colonialism but not the language of conformity that legitimates it. Given the established national ideology of development, ubiquitous negative language, the visible poverty in comparison with Manado, years of disparagement, and now AIDS to reinforce state claims about Papuans, it is significant that students continue to point out hypocrisy and unfairness in Indonesian governance as often and as succinctly as they do.

When Niefe asserts, "we want to become the human resources for Papua to further the aspirations of the Papuan people," she articulates that human resource development is a solid path to independence. Following the ideology that development can fulfill Papuan objectives does not expose the roots of marginalization and unfairness, though it shows spirited resistance to Indonesian rule, a willingness to point out duplicity and irresponsibility, and savvy maneuvering to promote their own agendas.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

In Indonesia, human resource development is an ideology concerned with more than skill improvement. State discourse on human resources, or "*sumber daya manusia*," attempts to control conduct by defining what is appropriate, necessary, and virtuous behaviour. These definitions are used to promote "right" ways of thinking that the government says are necessary for national development. Results of my examination of human resource development reveal an effort at regulation by the Indonesian state previously unexplored by scholars.

This thesis demonstrates that state development discourse in print media has a profound role in socializing the priority of national development and enforcing conformity. Much scholarly analysis has examined development as an agent of governance during the New Order period. The state used development to define a generic moral and social order, as an attempt at social engineering, and put forth a complete set of ethics. At the end of Suharto's New Order years (1965-1998), some scholars suggested that the media would no longer be used as a tool of the state (Sen and Hill 2000). The results of my examination of development discourse demonstrate that in Indonesia's new era of reform and democracy the language of Indonesian governance remains embedded in print media, evaluating conduct, encouraging compliance, and trying to shape the way people think about what is right and wrong.

For Dani students in Manado, it is hard to escape state discourse that claims that development reflects the qualities of the people, referencing good conduct, "right" ways of thinking, and beneficial culture. Indonesian governance is difficult to negotiate because development simultaneously disparages Papuans, obscures marginalization, and also articulates a way forward by teaching that what Papua needs is development. The emphasis on development comes at the expense of acknowledging inequality, and that what Papuans might

need is rights, protection, services or self-determination. AIDS is used as further evidence that Papuans are ruining development. Yet just as students paint the spaces they inhabit in Manado with symbols of independence, they work to fulfill Papuan aspirations in the best ways they know how. This project includes addressing the HIV/AIDS crisis. Their methods are influenced by development ideology of the state, yet they are also used to challenge the state. AIDS is understood to be strongly related to underdevelopment. Because Papuans are *masih awam* (simple), they cannot do anything to avoid AIDS.⁵⁶ The mere presence of HIV references culpability, because "Those who really want to have *seks bebas* (casual sex) are the ones that will get AIDS."⁵⁷ Culpability is articulated in state discourse, and when AIDS is interpreted as the ruination of development, this reinforces the assertion that Papua needs development, and that Papuans are causing problems for development. AIDS exacerbates and exposes state development ideology, but students also see AIDS as evidence of Indonesian malice, insincerity or neglect.

The photo of Lowan's shirt with images of Sukarno and Wahid represents the way that the legacy of alleged Papuan "primitiveness" continues to permeate Indonesian politics. Sukarno remains a nationalist hero, yet his Indonesian nationalism undercut Papuan self-determination. Neither Indonesian governance nor Papuan resistance can escape the legacy of claims about "underdevelopment." Yet students like Lowan still try to resist Indonesian rule, facing up to the state although their political projects are confronted by language of "primitiveness" and coloured by claims about Papua's "underdevelopment." Lowan's support for former President Wahid and the moves he made toward a

⁵⁶ Herry, male, 23.

⁵⁷ Era, male, 20.

dialogue on Papuan independence that involved Papuan voices persists despite being overwhelmed by authoritarian politics that continue to rely on “primitiveness” for purposes of control in Papua. The results of this thesis reinforce Li’s argument. Li (1999a: 2) writes,

The cultural, economic and political projects of people living and working in the uplands are constituted in relation to various hegemonic agendas, but never are they simple reflections of them.

The reactions of students like Lowan show that the cultural, economic, and political projects of Papuan youth are in fact intimately related to the agenda of development, and are complex, involving resistance and conformity.

These results suggest the need for further research into how “development,” including representations of “primitiveness” and promises of power, continues to permeate the lives of ethnic minorities in Indonesia in the post-Suharto era. Dani students take on negative language and disparaging moral claims about Papuans, but they also take on development as a path to challenging one of things that Indonesia has held over Papuans all these years: “underdevelopment.” Dani students seem to feel certain that they will have authority back in Papua, and it remains to be seen how Indonesia will deal with Papuan youth who want to take on development, not as a way to show devotion to Indonesia, and not just as a path to prosperity and authority, but as a way to free Papua.

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