

# **Cultivating good human resources: Morality, conformity and marginalization in an Indonesian state development ideology**

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2004

Illumine: Journal of the Centre for Studies in Religion and Society

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Original citation:

Munro, J. (2004). Cultivating good human resources: Morality, conformity and marginalization in an Indonesian state development ideology. *Illumine*, 3(1), 27–34. <https://doi.org/10.18357/illumine3120041580>

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# Cultivating Good Human Resources: Morality, Conformity and Marginalization in an Indonesian State Development Ideology

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## Abstract

*Scholars of Indonesia argue that the state has a long history of using development ideology to regulate behaviour, define gender roles, and judge the conduct of citizens. Through a critical examination of state discourse in national newspapers, this paper draws attention to “human resource development” as an ideology used by the government to promote conformity and morality. Looking at discourse on “human resource development” in Indonesia’s easternmost province of Papua, I argue that the ideology is highly entangled in state politics, and obscures marginalization in Papua.*

## Introduction

For the last five decades, the priority of national development (*pembangunan*) has permeated local lives in Indonesia. By “development,” I mean a focus on economic development believed to overcome poverty and backwardness. For example, according to the government, citizens should be devoted to national development.<sup>1</sup> In Indonesia, the state has a language of development that includes mental, moral and spiritual improvement. Because they should be devoted to national development, they should use family planning.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Michael Van Langenberg, “The New Order State: Language, Ideology, Hegemony,” in *State and Civil Society in Indonesia*, ed. Arief Budiman (Melbourne, Australia: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University, 1990); Suzanne Brenner, “On the Public Intimacy of the New Order: Images of Women in the Popular Indonesian Print Media,” *Indonesia* 67 (1999) 13-37; Cynthia Hunter, “Women as ‘Good Citizens’: Maternal and Child Health in a Sasak Village” in *Maternal and Reproductive Health in Asian Societies*, ed. Pranee L. Rice and Lenore Manderson, (Australia: Harwood Academic Press, 1996), 169-189.

<sup>2</sup> Lynda Newland, “The Deployment of the Prosperous Family: Family Planning in West Java,” *NWSA Journal* 13 (2001) 22-48; Helen Pausacker, “Dalangs and family planning propaganda in Indonesia,” in *Love, Sex and Power: Women in Southeast Asia*, ed. Susan Blackburn (Clayton, Australia: Monash Asia Institute, Monash University Press, 2001), 89-114.

Development ideology defines appropriate gender roles<sup>3</sup> and “proper” ways of living. From the perspective of the Indonesian government, 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.<sup>4</sup> Scholars have argued that these values and practices mean that the Indonesian government uses ideologies of development to make moral claims about how citizens should behave.<sup>5</sup> This paper critically examines the concept of developing the “human resources” (*sumber daya manusia*) in Indonesia, arguing that although largely overlooked by scholars, it is, like family planning and programs for “isolated” populations, also an attempt to regulate behaviour and promote good conduct.<sup>6</sup> The concept of “human resource development” highlights the role that local people play in development, which makes it a powerful means to celebrate the cultures, qualities or conformity of local people or to belittle and blame them for “underdevelopment.” After providing background information on Papua and reviewing the concept of “development” in Indonesia, this paper will discuss the nature of “human resource development” using examples of state discourse from national newspapers *Kompas* and *The Jakarta Post*. Scholars of Indonesia have

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<sup>3</sup> Laurie J. Sears, “Introduction: Fragile Identities,” in *Fantasizing the Feminine in Indonesia*, ed. Laurie J. Sears (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), 1-44.

<sup>4</sup> Tania Murray Li, “Compromising Power: Development, Culture, and Rule in Indonesia,” *Cultural Anthropology* 14 (1999) 295-322; Tania Murray Li, “Marginality, Power and Production: Analysing Upland Transformations,” in *Transforming the Indonesian Uplands: Marginality, Power and Production*, ed. Tania Murray Li (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1999), 1-44.

<sup>5</sup> Brenner, 22-23; Newland, 23, 37; Hunter, 169, 186-7; Li, “Compromising Power,” 300-302.

<sup>6</sup> See Loren Rytter, “Pemuda Pancasila: The Last Loyalist Free Men of Suharto’s Order?” in *Violence and the State in Suharto’s Indonesia*, ed. Benedict Anderson (Ithaca: Cornell University Press), 137-138, for a brief discussion of “human natural resources” in Indonesia.

consistently argued that the Indonesian government uses the national media as a tool to disseminate development ideology, and to encourage the public to support national development.<sup>7</sup> In fact, “national narratives of development and modernization” are said to be strongly evident in popular print media in Indonesia.<sup>8</sup> My discussion of “human resource development” in Indonesia will demonstrate that this ideology is understood to include more than just skill development or education; it promotes conformity and morality among citizens for the sake of national development. Second, this paper will examine state discourse on “human resources” in Indonesia’s easternmost province of Papua, showing that this ideology promotes acquiescence and moral education for Papuans. Because it also blames Papuans for “underdevelopment” or “backwardness” in the province, I argue that the Indonesia’s use of the ideology of “human resource development” obscures marginalization and inequality in Papua.

### Indonesian Rule and Papuan Resistance

Papua, occupying the western half of the island of New Guinea, is home to two million people, approximately half of whom are indigenous Papuans of Melanesian descent. Traditionally, Papuans were, and sometimes are, organized into small, autonomous tribal groups engaged in farming or fishing. The variation in Papuan landscapes is reiterated in the variety of languages and cultural practices of the indigenous people.<sup>9</sup>

Papua is the easternmost province of Indonesia. It is an area that was essentially colonized by Indonesia in the 1960s.<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup>

This area has the poorest health care and education services in the country,<sup>12</sup> and is home to an emerging HIV/AIDS crisis. 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.”<sup>13</sup> While just 1% of Indonesia’s population of 220 million lives in Papua province, 40% of Indonesia’s HIV/AIDS cases are found there.

The province is also a center of political resistance. An active movement for independence continues to evolve, supported by some church leaders, political activists, Papuans in diaspora, and with a strong following in many rural areas of the province.

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1,025 members of referendum councils handpicked by Indonesia. 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 Danilyn Rutherford, “Waiting for the End in Biak: Violence, Order and a Flag Raising,” in *Violence and the State in Suharto’s Indonesia*, ed. Benedict Anderson (New York: Southeast Asia Program Publications, Cornell University, 2001) for an analysis of “flag-raising.”

<sup>11</sup> Carmel Budiardjo and Liem Soei Liong, *West Papua: The Obliteration of a People* (UK: TAPOL, 1988); Chris Ballard, “Papua,” *Contemporary Pacific* 14 (2002): 467-476.

<sup>12</sup> Roosmalawati Rusman, “Youth, Education and Employment in Irian Jaya,” in *Perspectives on the Bird’s Head of Irian Jaya, Indonesia: Proceedings of the Conference, Leiden, 13-17 October 1997*, ed. Jelle Miedema, Cecilia Ode, and Rien A.C. Dam (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1998), 364-384; Leslie Butt, Jenny Munro and Joanna Wong, “Border Testimonials: Patterns of AIDS Awareness across New Guinea,” *Papua New Guinea Medical Journal*, forthcoming.

<sup>13</sup> Dean Yates, Reuters, “AIDS nightmare looms in Indonesia’s Papua,” September 10, 2003.

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<sup>7</sup> David T. Hill, *The Press in New Order Indonesia* (Nedlands, Western Australia: University of Western Australia Press, 1994), 139.

<sup>8</sup> Brenner, 15.

<sup>9</sup> Carmel Budiardjo and Liem Soei Liong, *West Papua: The Obliteration of a People* (UK: TAPOL, 1988).

<sup>10</sup> 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. Rather, in 1969, an ‘Act of Free Choice’ was held amidst widespread political unrest and resistance. It involved

## Developing “Good Conduct”

“Development” in Indonesia is associated with ideas about mental, moral and spiritual development.<sup>14</sup> It is promoted as a way to overcome poverty, backwardness, and isolation. According to the Indonesian state, these are hallmark features of “underdevelopment.” For 33 years former president Suharto was styled as the “Father of Development” (*Bapak Pembangunan*), and his government, the “Development Order.” In the 1990s, dissent from the principles of “development” was potentially subversive.<sup>15</sup> The lives of local people were saturated with the imperative of development, and many ways of life were targeted as “traditional” and therefore problematic for development. The ideology of national development was taught in the national school system, and young people, before graduation, were sent to villages to promote activities related to national development.<sup>16</sup> Other young people were sent to the outer islands of Indonesia to teach ethnic minorities “proper” ways of eating, dressing, speaking, and making a living.<sup>17</sup> In other words, “development” defined and articulated a moral order, complete with codes of evaluation used to judge local people, particularly indigenous minorities deemed primitive. In the post-Suharto era (1998-present), development remains a core component of state power.<sup>18</sup> Both the ideology of “development” and the government programs that arise from it communicate correct conduct for citizens.<sup>19</sup> One site where the state uses development to shape conduct is through programs that “define a complete set of ethics,” on the grounds that certain conduct is necessary for national development.<sup>20</sup> The following section explores state discourse on “human resource development” using examples from Indonesia’s national newspaper, *Kompas*.

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<sup>14</sup> Hunter, 169.

<sup>15</sup> Van Langenberg, 124.

<sup>16</sup> Helmut Weber, “The Indonesian Concept of Development and Its Impact on the Process of Social Transformation,” in *Continuity, Change, and Aspirations: Social and Cultural Life in Minahasa, Indonesia*, eds. Helmut Buchholt and Ulrich Mai (Singapore: Institute for Southeast Asian Studies, 1994), 196.

<sup>17</sup> Richard Chauvel and Ikrar Nusa Bakti, *The Papua Conflict: Jakarta’s Perceptions and Policies* (Hawaii: East-West Center Policy Studies, 2004).

<sup>18</sup> Li, “Compromising Power,” 300.

<sup>19</sup> Li, “Compromising Power,” 296-297.

<sup>20</sup> Newland, 23.

## “Human Resource Development”

In the 1960s and 1970s, international organizations paid new attention to economic development in Indonesia and elsewhere. Under the administration of Suharto (1965-1998) national economic development in Indonesia was given top priority. Development initiatives emphasized technological advancement, and required new types of citizens, accomplished in “technology,” “management” and “leadership.”<sup>21</sup>

“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 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.<sup>22</sup>

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. According to former president Habibie, human resource development is defined by the 5K: for “*kualitas*” (quality), namely, quality of faith and piety, quality of life, quality of work, quality of creative labour, and the quality of the intellectual life of the Indonesian people.<sup>23</sup>

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

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<sup>21</sup> Gordon Means, *The Rural Sector and Human Resource Development in Indonesia* (Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto-York University Joint Centre on Modern East Asia’s Southeast Asia/ASEAN Project, 1985), 15.

<sup>22</sup> *Kompas*, “Tahun 2002, Sultra Prioritaskan Investasi SDM,” December 17, 2001.

<sup>23</sup> *Kompas*, “Muktamar III ICMI Dibuka Tingkatkan SDM Melalui ‘5K’.” November 10, 2000.

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. If the nation is currently troubled with many new problems, stemming from the *reformasi* [reform] movement, 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. I think this is important because, in the first place, 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. It is the early lessons in life that determine the development of the soul of the child, this development in turn can 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.<sup>24</sup>

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 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, and who are 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.<sup>25</sup>

In Indonesia, human resource development has taken on new moral properties, such as “ways of thinking,” and “virtues.” 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. Called “the generation of the future,” the development of young people as good-quality human resources is also a priority.

The above examples show state authorities promoting conformity and intimate an agenda of evaluation. The following section shows that evaluation and conformity are also evident in language about marginalized ethnic minorities such as Papuans.

### **Human Resource Development and Marginal Peoples**

Indonesia is home to approximately 220 million people dispersed unevenly over 6,000 islands. The world’s largest archipelago is a land of diversity, but 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.<sup>26</sup>

Under Suharto’s “development” regime (1965-1998), tribal people came to be classified according to their overriding shared cultural trait - their primitiveness.<sup>27</sup> Anna Tsing describes the state’s evaluation of indigenous minorities, which it has termed, isolated/estranged populations (*masyarakat terasing*).

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

<sup>24</sup> *Kompas*, “Taman Kanak-kanak Tentukan Pembentukan Karakter Bangsa,” July 3, 2001.

<sup>25</sup> *Kompas*, “Pemda Tingkat II Sepakat Tingkatkan Anggaran Kesehatan,” July 29, 2000.

<sup>26</sup> Li, “Marginality,” 3.

<sup>27</sup> Li, “Compromising Power,” 304.

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.<sup>28</sup>

“Human resources” is a term that became part of Indonesia’s vocabulary when World Bank experts identified Indonesia’s predominantly rural agriculturalist population as a hindrance to development: “unskilled,” “uneducated,” “isolated,” and needing improvement.<sup>29</sup> The premise of “human resource development” was to prepare local people for their role in development. 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. 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”<sup>30</sup> for how “the Indonesian people” should live, reaching into areas such as religion, education, health, social welfare, and “economic arrangements.”<sup>31</sup>

Papua is one part of Indonesia where the indigenous people have been classified as “different and deficient.”<sup>32</sup> Local politicians in Papua regularly speak of Papua’s problem of “underdevelopment.” The following section presents examples of state discourse on human resources in Papua. Belittled by negative language and described as “primitive,”

Papuans are represented, on the whole, as poor-quality human resources.

In fact, as the following example argues, inadequate human resources are not only caused by Papuan culture, but are the primary roadblock to successful development in the province.

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.<sup>33</sup>

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

Papuan aspirations for independence are a significant concern for the Indonesian government. Human resource development is seen as a way to promote good behaviour for youth, so they do not engage in separatist activities:

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.<sup>34</sup>

Authorities hope education will end separatist activities. This confirms that human resource

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<sup>28</sup> Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing, *In the Realm of the Diamond Queen: Marginality in an Out-of-the-Way Place* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 92.

<sup>29</sup> Means, 15.

<sup>30</sup> Newland, 23.

<sup>31</sup> Tsing, 92.

<sup>32</sup> Li, “Marginality,” 3.

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<sup>33</sup> *Kompas*, “Irja Hadapi Masalah Pelaksanaan Otonomi,” February 7, 2001.

<sup>34</sup> *The Jakarta Post*, “Three Border Schools to Help ‘Counter Separatism’ in Papua,” May 14, 2003

development is seen as a way to counter 'disturbances' and other kinds of poor conduct. In the following example, Papuans are scolded for poor behaviour that threatens development, and youth are encouraged to become good-quality human resources who are skilled, loyal to the nation, and disciplined. 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.<sup>35</sup>

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."<sup>36</sup> Standing side by side with 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.<sup>37</sup>

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.

In summary, the concept of human resource development underlines the role that local people play in obstructing development or making it happen. 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. In other words, human resource development is like longstanding ideologies of primitiveness that judge Papuans and find their cultures and ways of living deficient. The moral imperatives of human resource development, such as discipline, skills and patriotism, are used to promote compliance. Exhortations to skill development arise in circumstances of political tension and challenges to Indonesian authority.

As the following section demonstrates, these exhortations to moral discipline and skill advancement also crop up out of the rising HIV/AIDS crisis in Papua.

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<sup>35</sup> *Kompas*, "Disesalkan, Pengibaran Bendera Separatis," July 9, 2003.

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<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

## HIV/AIDS and Human Resources: “Native Villagers,” Blame, and Moral Education

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. 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.<sup>38</sup> My examination of print media in *Kompas* and *The Jakarta Post* shows that there is a new language of AIDS, namely that AIDS, and by extension Papuan behaviour, will ruin the human resources needed for development. The imperative of human resource development leads to further calls for Papuan youth to be educated in “virtues” and “proper sex.”

In the following examples, authorities interpret AIDS in relation to the agenda of human resource development. They propose that Papuans are to blame for “the HIV/AIDS problem.” According to health official Gunawan Inkokusomo, the HIV/AIDS problem in Papua was similar to a fire ignited in a dry 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.<sup>39</sup>

Inkokusomo presents a frightening image of the HIV virus “scorching” the human resources. In the same news article, Governor Jaap Solossa and health official Inkokusomo propose interventions to protect human resources, and development, from AIDS. Significantly, neither proposes more accessible, flexible, or comprehensive AIDS education. The first proposes a ban on “traditional” sexual activity,<sup>40</sup> while the second proposes a bylaw to legislate the use of condoms.<sup>41</sup>

In 2003, an initiative was announced that aimed to teach “healthy living” to students. The program taught appropriate sexual conduct to youth. Moral

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<sup>38</sup> Leslie Butt, Gerdha Numbery, and Jake Morin, “The Smokescreen of Culture: AIDS and the Indigenous in Papua, Indonesia,” *Pacific Health Dialog* 9 (2002) 284.

<sup>39</sup> *The Jakarta Post*, “Irianese Women Targeted in HIV/AIDS Campaign,” September 30, 2001.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> *Kompas*, “Irja Akan Keluarkan Perda Penggunaan Kondom: Penyebaran AIDS/HIV Sangat Memprihatinkan,” January 22, 2001.

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.<sup>42</sup>

According to Dr. Gunawan Inkokusomo, 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.<sup>43</sup>

In 2000, a seminar was held in Papua with the theme of “Moral Endurance Can Deter Drug Use and the Virus HIV/AIDS.”<sup>44</sup> At the seminar, experts were quoted 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?’<sup>45</sup>

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.” Ultimately, AIDS fuels the agenda of human resource development, which promotes a “complete set of ethics,” especially for young people, including how they should treat their bodies, where they should direct their political energies, why they should obtain education, and how they should feel about the Indonesian nation.

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<sup>42</sup> *Kompas*, “Guru dan Murid Diajari Hidup Sehat,” June 28, 2003.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> *Kompas*, “AIDS Terus Merancam, Dharma Wanita Prihatin,” February 3, 2000.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

## Conclusion

This paper has presented examples of state discourse on human resource development. In Indonesia, human resource development is an ideology concerned with more than improving the skills of the workforce. State discourse on human resources, or “*sumber daya manusia*,” attempts to shape conduct by defining what is appropriate, necessary, and virtuous behaviour. Morality, along with education, is said to be a requirement for development. Human resource development is understood as a possible way to curb aspirations for independence in Papua by eliciting conformity from young people. Rising rates of HIV/AIDS in Papua have exacerbated attention to “human resource development,” which authorities say will be destroyed if youth do not “respect sex as something that is holy and a gift from God,”<sup>46</sup> or if they “follow nonsensical fantasies.”<sup>47</sup>

This paper has presented evidence that the ideology of “human resource development” is used by the Indonesian state as an instrument for controlling citizens. 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 an estimated 3,000 deaths.<sup>48</sup> 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.<sup>49</sup> A recent report on human rights abuses in Papua also describes the destruction of Papuan resources and crops, as well as forced relocation.<sup>50</sup> 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. In conclusion, 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 it obscures the fact that it is difficult to be educated, healthy, and skilled in the midst of exclusion and state terror. Ignoring these disadvantages, the Indonesian government uses the imperative of developing the human resources to articulate a set of values and directives for “proper” citizens, to disparage Papuans, and to press for compliance from politically active youth who oppose Indonesian rule.

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<sup>46</sup> *Kompas*, “Guru dan Murid Diajari Hidup Sehat.” June 28, 2003.

<sup>47</sup> *Kompas*, “AIDS Terus Merancam, Dharma Wanita Prihatin.” February 3, 2000.

<sup>48</sup> Rutherford, 189-212; Budiardjo et al, 77-92.

<sup>49</sup> Jim Elmslie, *Irian Jaya Under the Gun: Indonesian Economic Development Versus West Papuan Nationalism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003); Susan Browne, *Irian Jaya: 30 Years of Indonesian Control* (Clayton, Australia: Monash Asia Institute, Monash University, 1998), 4, 11-15.

<sup>50</sup> Elizabeth Brundige, Winter King, Priyeha Vahali, Stephen Vladick, and Xiang Yuan, *Indonesian Human Rights Abuses in West Papua: Application of the Law of Genocide to the History of Indonesian Control* (New Haven: Allard K. Lowenstein International Human Rights Clinic, Yale Law School, 2003).