

CHAPTER TWO - Development in Irian Jaya

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

Social Development

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

¹²⁵ G.Larson *The Structure and Demography of the Cycle of Warfare Among the Ilaga Dani of Irian Jaya*, (Unpublished doctoral thesis, 1984), p.33

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

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

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

Health

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p.96

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

Informal Education

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

Adult Education

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

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

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

Children's Education

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

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

¹⁴⁴ Smith *God's Miracles*, p.118

¹⁴⁵ Mattinson *Wholistic Ministry*, p.44

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

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

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

Figure 6

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

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

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

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

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

Figure 7

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

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

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

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

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

Indonesianising/"Civilising"

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

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

¹⁵³ Djopari "Proyek Perintis", p.99

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

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

¹⁵⁶ Djopari "Proyek Perintis", p.99

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

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

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

Economic Development

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

¹⁵⁸ Personal communication with Indonesian friends at Monash University

¹⁵⁹ McBeth "At Loggerheads", p.50

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

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

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

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

Business

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

¹⁶² Mattinson *Wholistic Ministry*, p.47

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

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

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

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p.6

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.77-113 *passim*

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

Tourism

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

Roads

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

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

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p.6

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.126-150 *passim*

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p.150

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p.37

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

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

Mining

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

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

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

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

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p.49

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

Transmigration

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

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

¹⁷⁸ Personal communication with Danis and missionaries in the North Baliem

¹⁷⁹ McBeth "Treasure Island", p.49

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

¹⁸¹ McBeth "At Loggerheads", p.50

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

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

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

Political Development

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

¹⁸² Personal experience in Makki, August 1994

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

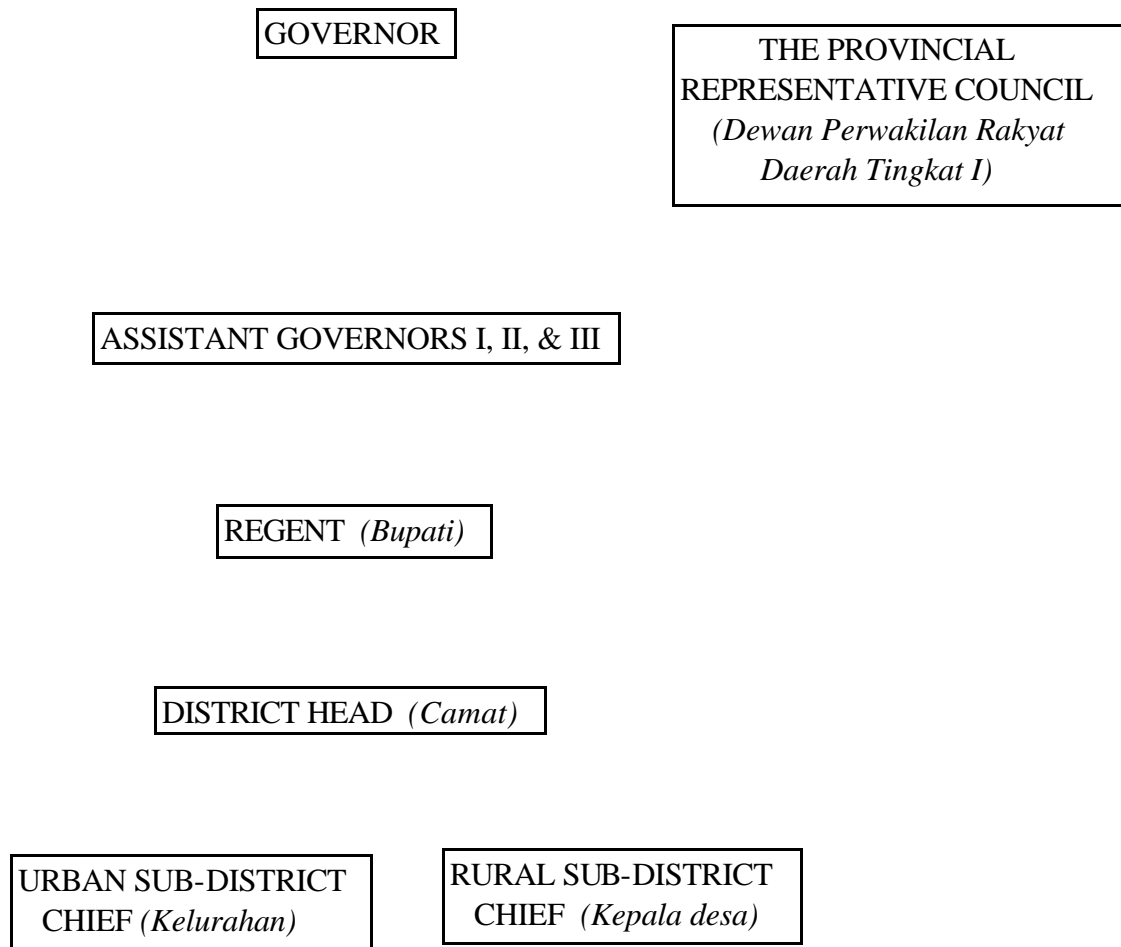
¹⁸⁹ Rustam "Kebijakan Pembangunan", p.14 & Wounde "Masalah Keseimbangan", *passim*

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

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

¹⁹¹ Rustam "Kebijakan Pembangunan", p.15

¹⁹² Personal communication with Rod Bensley

Figure 8**HIERARCHY OF IRIAN JAYA GOVERNMENT**

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

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

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

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

¹⁹⁴ Rustam "Kebijakan Pembangunan", p.15

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

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

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

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

¹⁹⁶ Rustam "Kebijakan Pembangunan", p.17

¹⁹⁷ Djopari "Proyek Perintis", p.100

¹⁹⁸ Kasiepo "Menghindari Modernisasi", p.89

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

²⁰⁰ Suebu "Menilai Pengalaman", p.37

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

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

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

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

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

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

²⁰³ Rustam "Kebijakan Pembangunan", p.17

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

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