

DECOLONISING THINKING ABOUT HIV/AIDS IN
WEST PAPUA: COLONIALISM, SEXUALITY, AND
HIV PREVENTION AMONG KAMORO PEOPLE

By

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Abstract

HIV is a growing epidemic in West Papua, eastern Indonesia. It is spread mostly through heterosexual contact, followed by mother-to-child transmission, concentrated in the younger generation and among rural Indigenous West Papuans. This research aimed to identify norms of masculinity and femininity, and sexual culture, and examine how history and cultural aspects formed sexuality. It also examines the ways in which these understandings of gender and sexuality shape the roles and sexual behaviour of women and men today and discusses ways to redefine the currently hegemonic concepts and values about these characteristics and the values of gender and sexual behaviour and to apply these to possible changes in thinking about HIV prevention.

This thesis does this by focusing specifically on the experiences of the Kamoro people, a group of Indigenous West Papuans, the shaping of their sexual culture, and HIV prevention efforts directed towards them and their responses to these.

It is argued that Kamoro sexual culture and HIV prevention programs cannot be understood without grasping the impact of colonialism, both the Dutch colonial period and the imposition of Indonesian power and culture and the impact of globalisation. The presence of the Freeport gold mine on land adjacent to Kamoro land is particularly significant.

The thesis' author identifies as an Indigenous West Papuan scholar, although not a Kamoro person. Thus, the thesis includes a discussion of the researcher's status as both an insider and outsider among Kamoro through an elaboration of the principles of an Indigenous research methodology.

In-depth interviews, focus group discussions and field notes were used to generate data from Kamoro women and men, who were purposively selected from three categories of geographical landscape; remote, semi-urban, and urban.

The first chapter of original findings of the research discusses the changing Kamoro sexual culture presenting communal memories of past cultural norms, practices and values that governed Kamoro life, fertility and sexuality in the past, and Dutch and Indonesian colonial ideology and practices toward the Kamoro way of life.

The second chapter of original findings discusses the young Kamoro people, revealing that Indonesian and global norms of sexuality, and Freeport's presence have influenced their contemporary life.

This study also found a lack of appropriate cultural engagement with Kamoro in the HIV prevention programs based in Timika, the regional administration centre for Kamoro people. It finds persistence of discrimination and judgmental attitudes, approaches and practices on the part of the


agencies which deliver the programs. Colonialist images of Kamoro people and culture and their health remain embedded in the AIDS programs.

The thesis concludes that the cultural and historical circumstances of the Kamoro, and by implication other Indigenous West Papuans, should be considered in designing and implementing HIV prevention programs. Cultural engagement means Indigenising HIV prevention programs through the acknowledgement of Indigenous knowledge including concepts of health and sexuality. This also means allowing the Kamoro people to discuss and design their own HIV prevention protocols and train staff who will deliver such programs with cultural competence.

Key Words: *Gender, Sexual Culture, HIV/AIDS, Postcolonial, Indigenous Knowledge, West Papua, Indonesia, Kamoro.*

DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text

Signature : 

Name : Els Tienieke Rieke Katmo

Date : 3rd March, 2018

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABC	Abstinence, Be faithful, and Condom
ABCDE	Abstinence, Be faithful, Condom, Drugs and Education
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ANU	Australian National University
ARV	Anti-Retroviral
AUD	Australian Dollar
AusAID	Australian Agency for International Development
BPKI	Badan Penyelidikan Kemerdekaan Indonesia
BPS	Badan Pusat Statistik
COW	Contract of Work
Cs	Convenience, Confidentiality and Credibility
DFAT	Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade
EBM	Evidence Based Medical
FORERI	Forum for Reconciliation in Irian Jaya
FSWs	Female Sex Workers
GPS	Global Positioning System
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IASTP	Indonesia-Australia Specialized Training Project
IBBS	Integrated Bio-Behavioural Survey
ICAAP	International Conference on AIDS in Asia and the Pacific
IDU	Injected Drug Use
IRIN	Integrated Regional Information Networks
KESBANGPOL	Kesatuan Bangsa dan Politik
KPA	Komis Penanggulangan AIDS
LEMASKO	Lembaga Masyarakat Kamoro
LIPI	Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia
LPIAK	Lembaga Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Amungme Kamoro
MSC	Catholic Sacred Heart Mission

NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
OMK	Orang Muda Katolik
OPM	Oraganisasi Papua Merdeka
Pelni	Pelayaran Nasional Indonesia
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy
PILA	Pemuda Indonesia Lawan AIDS
PLHA	People Living with HIV
PLWHA	People Living with HIV/AIDS
PNG	Papua New Guinea
PTFI	PT. Freeport Indonesia
RSMM	Rumah Sakit Mitra Masyarakat
STDs	Sexually Transmitted Diseases
SP1	Satuan Pemukiman 1
SP2	Satuan Pemukiman 2
SSGM	State, Society and Government in Melanesia
STIs	Sexually Transmitted Infections
TRIKORA	Tri Komando Rakyat
UNTEA	United Nation Temporary Executive Authority
US	United State
USA	United State of America
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VCT	Voluntary Counselling and Testing
WHO	World Health Organization
YAPEDA	Yayasan Peduli AIDS

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

The prevalence of Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) and Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) cases in West Papua, Indonesia, is a crisis. Infection rates are higher among Indigenous West Papuans than among non-Indigenous people. This study focuses on the HIV virus as experienced by the Kamoro people, a group of Indigenous West Papuan people. In particular, this study investigates norms of masculinity and femininity, and sexual culture, and examines how history and cultural aspects formed sexuality. It also examines the ways in which these understandings of gender and sexuality shape the roles and sexual behaviour of women and men today and discusses ways to redefine the currently hegemonic concepts and values about these characteristics and the values of gender and sexual behaviour and to apply these to possible changes in thinking about HIV prevention.

Papua Land, or *Tanah Papua* as it is called by Papuan people, with an area of 416,000 square kilometres (Mansoben, 1995), comprises two provinces of Indonesia, Papua province and West Papua province. In this thesis *Tanah Papua* refers to both provinces of West Papua. The region is located in the far east of Indonesia on the western half of the island of New Guinea to the north of Australia. This land is inhabited by Melanesians who have black skin and curly hair (Chauvel, 2005). West Papuans are culturally diverse with around 240 language groups (Mansoben 1995, p. 42) spread across different ecological zones which have influenced their cultural systems.

The Kamoro people live in the Timika area, Timika is located in the southern coastal area of West Papua from longitude 134.31 degrees to 138.31 degrees east and from latitude 4.60 degrees to 5.18 degrees south (BPS-Statistics of Mimika Regency, 2014). There are two Indigenous landowners in the Timika area, the Amungme people who live in the highland area and the Kamoro people in the coastal area. The name Mimika is mostly used in government administration but ordinary people prefer to use Timika as this is how the area was known before it became a new District, developed from the main former District, in 1999. In this thesis I will use both names; Timika is mostly used and known by the people although Mimika will be used for most official and administrative accounts.

In 2013 the population in Papua province where Timika is located was about 3.5 million (BPS-Statistics of Papua Province, 2013). This number is not disaggregated by ethnicity however Elmslie (2017) from the Department of Peace and Conflict Studies at The University of Sydney identified that in 2010 the Indigenous West Papuan population was about 48 percent of the overall population. Elmslie (2017) explained that the census of 1971 found a total population of 923,000

with 96 percent Papuan and only 4 percent or 36,000 non-Papuan people (p. 2). Elmslie (2017) stated that for the period from 1971 up to 2000 the long-term annual growth rate for the Papuan population in West Papua (both provinces) was 1.84 percent and that of the non-Papuan population 10.82 percent. Kleden, an Indonesian scholar (in Elmslie, 2017, p.3) described the unavailability of information about the ethnic composition of the Papuan population as a reflection of Indonesia's lasting political stand on these issues. "Both old and New Order regimes held the view that knowing the truth about ethnic composition could result in social and political instability".

The Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) epidemic is rapidly increasing in West Papua. Both provinces were recently placed in third position among all Indonesian provinces for rates of infection, after Jakarta and West Java. Even though West Papua's population is only around one percent of Indonesia's population, it has contributed 15 percent of Indonesia's recorded HIV/AIDS cases (Munro, 2014b). The World Health Organization Indonesia (n.d.) reported that Indonesia's HIV epidemic is typically concentrated in key affected populations. These are people who inject drugs (IDU), female sex workers, men who have sex with men and transgender women. But in West Papua the disease is considered to be a generalised epidemic which means that this illness has reached those who are not classified as being in a high-risk group (such as sex workers, and men who have sex with men). Currently available statistics show that around 68 percent of HIV infection in West Papua is among Indigenous West Papuans (Munro, 2013; Munro & McIntyre, 2015). It is also reported that the Indigenous West Papuans aged 15–24 living in the remote and rural areas are the most vulnerable group. Scholars from Australia and Canada state that unlike in the rest of Indonesia, in West Papua HIV is transmitted mostly through heterosexual relations (Munro & McIntyre, 2015).

As well as being the name of the area, Timika is the name of the city on the south coast of West Papua where the Freeport Indonesia mine is located. According to the Indonesian Statistics Bureau in Mimika District, in 2013 the population of Mimika, which includes the three research sites for this thesis (Kaugapu, Atuka, and Koperapoka), was 196,401 people consisting of 110,825 men and only 85,576 women. There is no information about the population numbers based on ethnicity therefore the figure of Indigenous West Papuans in Timika could not be accessed. Political issues are most often used by the local government as the reason not to publish ethnically segregated data. Nonetheless, Elmslie, (2017) argues that the non-Papuan population in Mimika was about 57.49 percent in 2010 (p. 5). A group of collaborative researchers from Universitas Cenderawasih (UNCEN), Australian National University (ANU) and Freeport Indonesia, (Dumatubun et al., 1998) stated that immigrants have settled in the area since the Freeport-McMoRan Copper & Gold Inc. arrived in 1967 and the Indonesian Transmigration Department targeted the Timika area. Transmigration was established in 1985 for the first Transmigration Settlement or *Satuan Pemukiman* (SP1) and the following year for the second Transmigration Settlement or *Satuan Pemukiman* (SP2): a further seven SPs have been opened in the Timika area (p. 36). Contact with

Freeport Indonesia influences the contemporary situation of the Kamoro people. Since Freeport began its activity in 1967, several communities have been relocated out of their tribal territory into a new settlement. This relocation has taken Kamoro people away from their relationship with their land and food stock resources. Dumatubun et al. (1998) argued that this has caused confusion in leadership and has resulted in decision making that is based on the needs of only part of the sub-tribe. This has also impacted on tribe cohesion.

In towns such as Timika, where the Freeport mine company has such a dominating presence, HIV/AIDS is a complex issue. Lack of infrastructure development, low level of knowledge about HIV/AIDS, global images of sexuality that have spread throughout the region and the impact of colonialism have all influenced the spread of HIV in this town. The Freeport presence also triggered migration and has shaped Timika to become a male dominated region which has led to an increasing demand for sex workers.

The AIDS commission in Timika was launched in 2006. As a government agency, its aim is to address the issue of HIV/AIDS, mostly by coordinating with local and national government and international donors or local NGOs, providing data and information, and developing an HIV prevention strategic plan and evaluation of the program. Nevertheless the number of HIV/AIDS cases has continued to increase. Some researchers argue that the failure to stop this increase is caused by lack of health facilities and the cultural history of experiences of colonial trauma (Ballard, in Munro & McIntyre, 2016). The widespread presence of stereotypes of West Papuan sexuality (Butt, 2013; Butt & Munro, 2007; Munro & Butt, 2012) that are underpinned by the moral values of Indonesian settlers in West Papua (Butt & Munro, 2007) are also offered as an explanatory factor for the inadequate strategy and approaches to HIV prevention in West Papua. Indonesia's response to HIV/AIDS has been uncomplicated and tends to imitate international models and practices with little modification (Munro & McIntyre, 2015). In West Papua they follow the same initiatives as in the other part of Indonesia, despite the very different nature of the epidemic (Butt, 2011).

The failure of the HIV prevention program in West Papua can also be attributed to the political situation that prevails. In 2012–2014, Nafsiah Mboi, who served as Minister of Health of Republic Indonesia and automatically functioned as the Secretary of the National AIDS Commission of Indonesia, issued a national directive stating that the issue of AIDS in West Papua was *not* to be made a political matter (Munro & McIntyre, 2015). Mboi stated that “if we turn the disease into a political commodity, it will indeed be we ourselves who are killing the people. We have to save the Papua people soon and don't blame others as we are all responsible for the problem” (Antara News as cited in Munro & McIntyre, 2015, p. 160). Munro and McIntyre (2015), scholars from Australia and Canada, described this avoidance of an acknowledgment of inequalities and marginalisation as an illustration of a fear that to do so would encourage

WestPapua people's longstanding demands for independence. Munro and McIntyre (2015) emphasised that Mboi's comments came in the context of other statements normalising the epidemic as cultural in a place where people have practiced high-risk sex. Munro and McIntyre (2015, p. 159) noted that "racial dynamics and mutual distrust filter into the health system". Mboi's statement most likely illustrated political anxiety as she realised the failure of Indonesian development in West Papua. As a high level government officer her statement indicated that she was well aware that Indonesia has failed to address the HIV/AIDS issue in West Papua. Her statement was made in a speech given in a journalist training course on health and legal affairs which was held in cooperation with the Indonesia-Australia Specialized Training Project (IASTP). The National AIDS Commission, of which Mboi was the secretary, had not presented data about HIV/AIDS in West Papua which was broken down by cultural background. If her statement reflected a genuine enthusiasm to save West Papuans in the era where information transparency is compulsory, data about HIV/AIDS disaggregated by cultural background would be provided and published. On another occasion, Mboi described West Papua "as a culture that has always practiced high-risk sex", and describes the HIV epidemic as "similar to outbreaks of sexually transmitted infections that occurred even during the Dutch colonial times before Indonesian governance", (Vatsikopolous, in Munro and Butt, 2012, p. 345). Butt, (2005b p. 47) a Canadian scholar, found that other Indonesian people also describe West Papuans people and culture as primitive and reported that West Papuans "are not seen as having culture; they are instead *primitif sekali* (very primitive), Papua *bodoh* (stupid Papuans), *terbelakang* (backward), and by implication inferior to other Indonesians" (Tsing, as cited in Butt, 2005b, p. 48). These images of West Papuans influence the perception of the spread of HIV in West Papua. Yates (in Munro & Butt, 2012), stated "HIV/AIDS in Papua was initially described by prominent industry figures as a problem of alleged primitiveness, cultural deficiencies and hyper sexuality among Papuans" (p. 345).

This thesis argues that HIV in West Papua is specifically political and that it must be considered in the context of social inequality and marginalisation as an impact of the colonialism by first the Dutch and then, and now, the Indonesian state. Thus, HIV in West Papua should be addressed with its political context in mind. This thesis explores the effects of colonialism on the Kamoro people. It focuses on the effects of colonialism on Kamoro sexual culture, gender and health, especially the Kamoro experience of HIV. It explores HIV prevention programs provided by NGOs and the Indonesian government and Kamoro people's response to these. Globalisation makes people, information, idea and values flow beyond the border. Ritzer (2011) stated that "globalization is transplanetary process (es) involving increasing liquidity and growing multi-directional flows as well as the structure they encounter and create" (p.2). These include hegemonic approaches, frameworks and methods that are applied in research that is globalised through international organisations that fund some studies or conduct programs related to AIDS in certain

regions. Very few West Papuan scholars write about the issue of HIV/AIDS. This is impacted by particular practical issues related to the hegemonic approaches and power relations which shape research and which filter into knowledge production and epistemological frameworks. There are, however, a small group of non-Papuan scholars who I consider in this thesis as critical scholars in the field of HIV/AIDS or other issues engaging social inequality and marginalisation.

Many scholars believe that the sexuality of colonised people has been constituted through the hegemony of settler colonialism (Morgensen, 2011; Stoler, 2010). The history of sexuality in West Papua has been shaped first by what Eves and Butt (2008, p. 17) called an Indigenous moral framework, then by Dutch colonialism which brought modernity and Christianity, and most recently by Indonesian norms and moral behaviour (Munro & Butt, 2012, p. 339). This thesis attempts to understand the AIDS issues from post-colonial and Indigenous perspectives by examining the cultural and historical experiences of the Kamoro people. The Kamoro history has been documented by Dutch anthropologists and Catholic missionaries and is mainly written in Dutch (Dumatubun et al., 1998). There have been no substantial accounts of Kamoro written by the Kamoro people (p.13). The image of West Papuan sexuality, including the Kamoro, in the mainstream literature has been constructed in a certain way which has been impacted by the power relationship between the researchers and the researched. That is, the way that the Kamoro people are presented in mainstream literature reflects the dominant research culture.

The colonial practices and attitudes of the Indonesian government are present in development approaches in all aspects of life in West Papua including health. Apart from systematic and widespread human right abuses under Indonesian rule, Anderson (2015, p. 13) from the Netherland Institute for War, Holocaust, and Genocide Studies stated that the Indonesian policies have also done

significant environmental damage, undermining the culture, political, and economic bases of Papuan society, and contributing to the prevalence of disease among indigenous people in West Papua due to inadequate provision of health and sanitation facilities.

HIV prevention in Timika is offered by government agencies, local NGOs, International donors and Freeport Indonesia – a subsidiary of the US based company Freeport McMoRan. However, these HIV prevention providers fail to acknowledge the specificity of HIV transmission among Indigenous people. Condom use is low in Timika and untreated sexually transmitted infections are probably high among the younger generations. Knowledge about HIV/AIDS is low, stigma about condoms prevails and lack of support from religious leaders is an issue in promoting condoms. There is a 'hidden' group of Indigenous sex workers who have not been reached by the HIV prevention programs and coercive sex is still a major issue. Lack of recognition of Indigenous culture and the absence of efforts to eliminate the political and social barriers faced by Indigenous people have contributed to the failure of HIV prevention. Military conflict and trauma are also part of the context for HIV and the HIV prevention program and discourage younger generations from

becoming involved. Local government lacks the political commitment to address the issue of HIV/AIDS.

To me Mboi's concern reflected the colonialisng political interest of Indonesia. The effect of the approach is contrary to Australian scholar Dennis Altman's view (1999) that responses to AIDS in all countries must be politically informed. A political response to AIDS in West Papua is needed and this includes acknowledging the political context of West Papua. I highlight three crucial issues in Altman's model of an appropriate political response to HIV/AIDS in this thesis and reflect on them in the West Papua context. First, undoubtedly a strong commitment by government leaders at the national or local level is important. Second, comparative freedom in discussing sexuality must be encouraged, based on appropriate knowledge production. Third, sufficient resources to finance an effective intervention program must be made available.

The main intention of this thesis is to re-position HIV/AIDS into the political context in West Papua. It is important to describe how dominant ways of describing 'the other' have become legitimate knowledge and the implications of this for HIV prevention in West Papua. Knowledge production about Papuans or being Papuan has mostly been produced by colonisers (Dutch and Indonesian). This study widens the focus to understand how colonial images of West Papuan sexuality and life have impacted on HIV prevention. This study places the increasing number of HIV and AIDS cases among Indigenous West Papuans in the context of the politics of knowledge production, including the lack of status given to Indigenous knowledges. It seeks to privilege Indigenous knowledges.

In order to examine the effect of colonialism on the current situation of West Papua, this thesis adopts a postcolonial Indigenous paradigm. In this context, a qualitative approach was selected to conduct investigation among Kamoro women and men, younger and older as well as elders. The data was generated based on the personal experiences, self-reflection, communal memories and cultural understanding of Kamoro people. The research was conducted in three Kamoro villages: Atuka, Kaugapu and Koperapoka. These villages were chosen to represent where Kamoro people live; remote, semi-urban and urban areas which without doubt have different contexts. Some non-Kamoro people who engage with the Kamoro culture and HIV prevention programs in Timika were also involved in this study.

The postcolonial Indigenous paradigm allows researchers to examine how colonialism influences Indigenous people (Chilisa, 2012). Feminist scholarship is also considered in this account as this study focuses on how colonialism has impacted on women's issues which include women's bodies, and sexuality, ideas of beauty, and women's role in society. Feminism, in the context of colonialism in this account, incorporates the daily life experiences, thought, and knowledge of Indigenous women of Kamoro. African scholar Chilisa (2012) states that

“postcolonial theories discuss the role of imperialism, colonization, globalization and their literature and language in the construction of knowledge” (p. 48). These theories apply post structural lenses to view the world with the aim of deconstructing truth, beliefs, values and norms that are presented as normal and natural and presenting them as politically and socially constructed (Chilisa, 2012, pp. 48-49). The postcolonial Indigenous paradigm allows the researched people to describe themselves based on a way they recognise, know themselves and would like others to know them (Chilisa, 2012, p. 191). By applying the postcolonial Indigenous approach, this research aims not only to document the Kamoro people’s experiences as a colonised people based on their own cultural understanding and values, but also to represent them in the literature in ways that confront misconceptions about the Kamoro people. By doing this, the voice of self-determination and social justice through knowledge production is made more possible. For the conventional social sciences researcher, the postcolonial Indigenous paradigm means that the need to decolonise the mind must be taken in to account.

I identify as an Indigenous West Papuan although not a Kamoro person. I am from mixed Muyu, in the inland of south east and Numfor, an island up in the north of West Papua. As a West Papuan Indo-Western trained researcher, I am consciously aware of the effect of colonialism on my mind and have practised critical self-reflection as part of the research. In the postcolonial period some scholars remind us of the effect of colonialism in creating not only a hybrid generation like my father’s, but also hybrid knowledge as I myself received from colonial institutions. Therefore, decolonising my mind is crucial. My experience of colonialism was shaped by my upbringing, through my father as part of a ‘local elite’ appointed and shaped by the Dutch, and my mother who was influenced mostly by early Indonesian teachers. I have also experienced the imposition of Indonesian rule through education institutions and in my social life.

On the other hand it is fortunate for me that my father and mother have always reminded me and my siblings since we were children of the truth of West Papuan history. I remember my father used to whisper when sharing stories in the middle of the night after switching off the light. We were instructed to use particular words or terms to describe those who fight for West Papua freedom and to name the Indonesian army. These stories mostly contained his memories of how the 1969 Act of Free Choice was conducted, the killing and murder by Indonesian military and his experiences as a West Papuan political prisoner. They were like secret and sacred stories which we were directed not to share with non-Papuans or even West Papuans who had an unknown political standpoint. But we were asked to share the stories with our offspring. At that time, I was confused because at school I also received the Indonesian version of West Papua’s history. These experiences have encouraged my critical consciousness as a colonised West Papuan researcher to reflect on these experiences and apply postcolonial, Indigenous perspectives in this thesis.

1.2 Historical Context

1.2.1 Pre-colonial Period

Historically, West Papua has been strongly impacted by European colonialism, the Pacific war and Indonesian independence. The political and economic interests of the Netherlands, Indonesia and the United States of America (USA) have all influenced the current situation in West Papua. Ondawame (2000), a West Papuan scholar, explained that some years after the first European explorer landed and named the island of New Guinea in 1545, the Dutch East Indies Company colonised sovereign nations in the Malay Archipelago, such as Aceh and the Moluccas. The Dutch proclaimed its sovereignty over West Papua and claimed it as Dutch territory in 1828 (Ondawame, 2000; Elmslie, 2002). Similarly, Anderson (2015) described that even though the Dutch were not the first European nation to arrive in West Papua (the Spanish and British also visited); they were the first to set up a presence on the island through the establishment of administrative posts, in 1898 and 1902. They then administered the island separately under the name of the Netherlands New Guinea after fixing the colonial boundaries of Dutch colonies at 141 degrees east longitude (p. 67). This then separates West New Guinea and Papua New Guinea (see Figure 1-1).

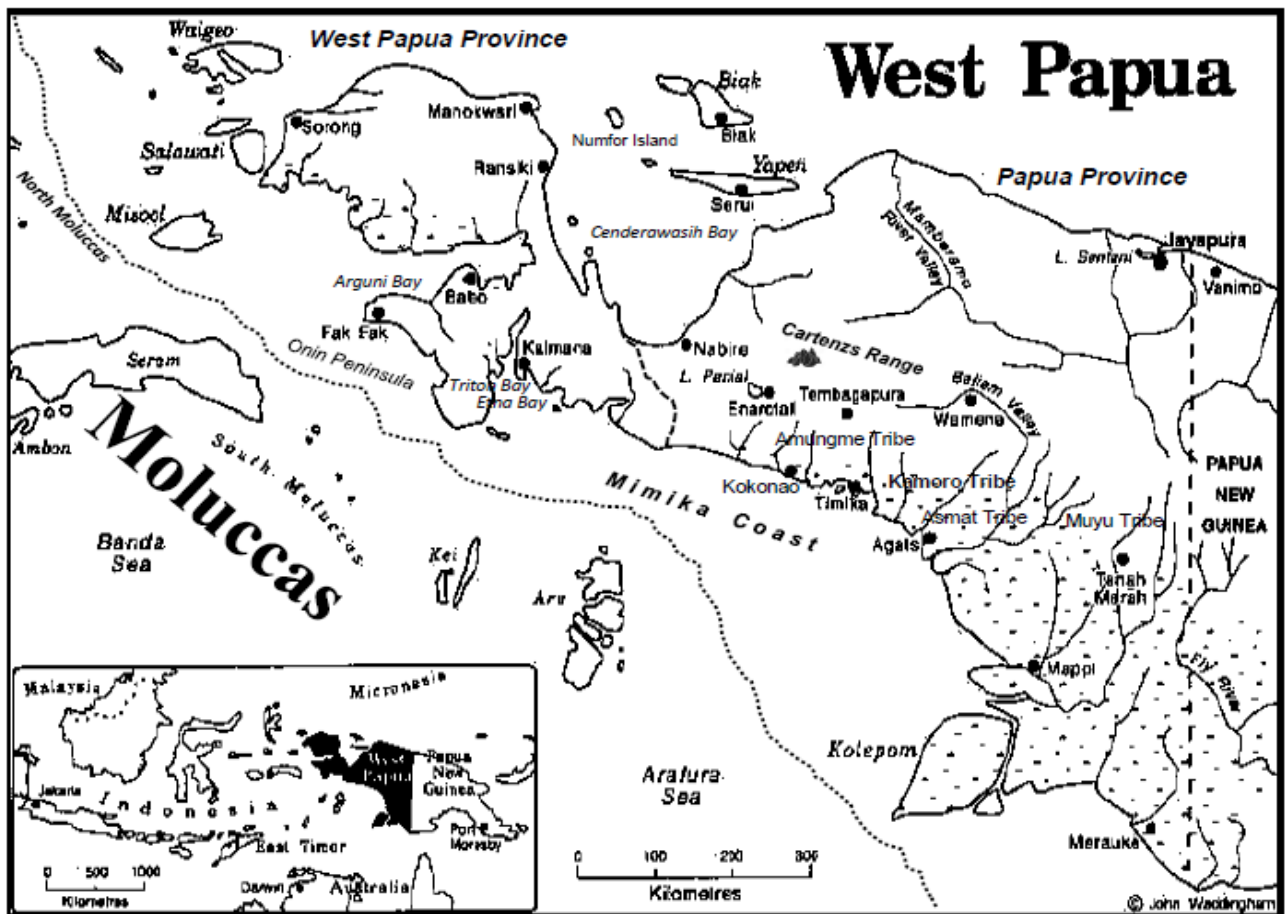


Figure 1-1 Map of West Papua (Source: West Papua map, n.d)

In the 16th century early trading contact for Kamoro people with other outsiders created an

extensive network that linked the Timika coast to the Onin peninsula in Fakfak in the west of Timika region. Thereafter this contact extended to some islands in the South Moluccas; Aru, Kei, the Island of Ceram group and the North Moluccan sultanate of Tidore (Dumatubun et al., 1998). According to Dumatubun et al., (1998) at this stage western Kamoro suffered badly from slaving invasions by Onin and Ceram slavers. Apart from these slaving invasions, extractions and trade of natural resources were common in the early 19th century. Some traders, especially from Aru, made payments of trade goods to Kamoro leaders to reciprocate for their access to the inland waterways which contained Massoi trees. Following this, in 1915, Chinese traders under Dutch protection took over from the Moluccan traders and initiated a much more constant system of barter and exchange with the Kamoro, mostly facilitated by the mediators from Arguni Bay and FakFak (in West Papua) who settled and inter-married with Kamoro people (Dumatubun et al., 1998). Before this time, the Dutch focussed more on exploitation rather than development of the West Papuans. European ships had made some initial contacts with the Kamoro people in the 17th century beginning with the Spanish then continuing to Dutch vessels in 1623 led by Jan Cartensz. Cartensz viewed from a distance the snow-covered peak which he named the Cartensz Range, or *Nemang Kawi* in the local language of Amungme, when sailing from west to east along the Mimika coast. Some of the crew who went ashore to fish were ambushed and killed. The first ship to land on the Mimika coast was a Dutch warship in 1826 and those aboard were able to glimpse the Kamoro settlement (Dumatubun et al., 1998). Subsequently, during the 1870s more Europeans, including Italian and Russian naturalists and scientist explorers, arrived on the Mimika coast. Resistance to the presence of the outsiders was indicated in attacks and murders of the intruders by the local people (Dumatubun et al., 1998).

1.2.2 The Dutch Colonial Period

The Dutch government commenced exploration and mapping of the south coast of what they called Dutch New Guinea from 1903 to 1905, conducting an intensive series of surveys (Dumatubun et al., 1998). The main survey following this was the Dutch Military Expedition in 1907-1915 which mapped each major river of the Mimika coast. Little was documented of Kamoro society during these times (Dumatubun et al., 1998). Further exploration in the early 20th century is an important part in Kamoro history because then there is written documentation and plenty of photographs of the Kamoro were taken. The Wollaston Expedition led by A.F.R. Wollaston in 1912 reached the foot of the Cartensz glacier by trekking through rivers in Kamoro land. The relationship between the Kamoro people and the crew of the expeditions from 1910 to 1912 seems to have been cordial and even friendly on certain occasions. Dumatubun et al. (1998) described however that while the Europeans collected large quantities of Kamoro's carving, they "tended to be more disparaging about Kamoro people and their way of life in general, commenting on the reluctance of Kamoro to work for the expedition, or to travel far from rivers by land," (p.20). Unfortunately, Dumatubun et al. (1998) stated that there are no written accounts that might be balanced against

the European descriptions about the Kamoro. Even in their study, Dumatubun et al. (1980) stated that they had not been able to record any Kamoro oral narratives. This differs from the practice of the Amungme who shared their strong oral traditions of their encounter with Wollaston, in 1912. Before the government and Catholic mission post were established in around 1918 the Kamoro suffered substantial losses due to the international influenza pandemic.

The Dutch established a government post in Kokonao, west Mimika in October 1926 and Kokonao became the centre of mission and government activity. The first Dutch administration duties were to end the raiding of Asmat culture in the east of Mimika region, administratively known as Agats District (Dumatubun et al., 1998). The government, together with the mission, commenced a resettlement program of Kamoro communities into large, permanent villages on the coast. Kampong or *kampung* (in Indonesian language) were introduced in the 1930s to the Kamoro people in Atuka, Mimika and Uta as an effort to convince other Kamoro of the advantages of settled residential life (Dumatubun et al., 1998, p. 21). Yet, the Kamoro people confronted the decentralisation attempt and left the kampong to return to their seasonal patterns of subsistence living. The Dutch also interfered in the tribal leadership system of Kamoro. Dumatubun et al. (1998, p. 29) stated that “preference of Dutch administration and the Catholic mission for a more western-style patrilineal documentation for administrative purposes has confounded the once predominantly matrilineal *taparu* system”. This impacted on the family structure of the Kamoro as well as their gender roles. The resettlements also tended to undermine sub-tribe cohesion, causing confusion in leadership and resulting in decisions based on the needs of only part of the sub-tribe (Dumatubun et al., 1998). Nevertheless in the Dutch era, some tribal leaders were appointed as government officers.

The first Catholic missionary to arrive in Mimika area was the Catholic Father C. le Cocq d'Armandville in 1896. He was killed by the Kamoro people which then discouraged the next mission project. The first permanent mission post was established in 1927 by Father Kowatzki from the Catholic Sacred Heart Mission (MSC) in Mimika. In 1930 and 1933, schools were developed by Catholic missions in major villages, as were health programs which addressed the primary diseases; malaria, tuberculosis and yaws. Another expedition in 1931 by Dutch military medical officer, H.J.T. Bijlmer, accompanied by Catholic missionary Tillemans, ventured into the Mimika hinterland and began contact with Kamoro people in the upper river (Dumatubun et al., 1998). The Catholics opened around 21 schools in the Kamoro region with 1,200 pupils in 1932 and started to baptise the Kamoro people. The Catholic mission hired people from Kei Island who worked for missions as teachers, catechists, and carpenters and Dutch administration staff, and police to work in Mimika. Dumatubun et al. (1998) state that the presence of Kei influenced the culture of the Kamoro and the relationship between the Kamoro hosts and their Kei guests remains very complex (p.23).

1.2.3 Indonesian Imposition

In the preparation to transfer the administration of Indonesia after the country proclaimed its independence in 1945, the status of West Papua was not discussed by the Dutch and Indonesia. They did not consider Papuans' opinions. In May and July 1945 in the pre-independence period, the status of West Papua was debated in relation to the concept of an Indonesian state by Indonesian nationalists in the *Badan Penyelidikan Kemerdekaan Indonesia* (BPKI) or Indonesia Independence Investigatory Body. Australian and Indonesian scholars, Chauvel and Bhakti (2004, p. 6) argue that Soekarno, soon to become president of Indonesia, and Mohammed Yamin, an Indonesian nationalist, claimed that West Papua was part of the Indonesian archipelago and noted its historical relations with the pre-colonial kingdom of Nusantara or Indonesia archipelago. Mohammed Hatta, the soon to be vice president of Indonesia, considered West Papua to be separate from Indonesia as he was concerned about ethnic difference. "Papuans were Melanesians, he said, and had the right to become an independent people", (Chauvel & Bhakti 2004, p.6; Budiardjo & Liong in Ondawame, 2000, p. 214). Ondawame (2000) described that Hatta warned Soekarno and Yamin that their plan related to West Papua could be regarded as expansionist and imperialistic, however, Hatta received less support from other Indonesian nationalists. The main argument to include West Papua was the claim to a shared feeling as colonised people of the Dutch (Chauvel & Bhakti, 2004). In the cabinet meeting prior to the preparation of transfer of sovereignty to Indonesia, the Dutch had tried not to incorporate West Papua as part of the region that was to be handed over to Indonesia. The Dutch avoided integrating West Papua into the transfer of sovereignty at the Round Table Conference in 1949. Anderson (2015) stated that the "Dutch also desired to retain West Papua as a Dutch foothold in Southeast Asia" (p. 12). Chauvel and Bhakti (2004, p. 6) claim that "article 2 of the agreement stated that Papua would continue under Dutch administration with the stipulation that by the end of the first year, the question of Papua's future political status would be determined by negotiations between Indonesia and the Netherlands". Negotiations between the Dutch and Indonesia established a joint Indonesia-Netherlands Commission. In this commission the Dutch and Indonesians had opposite arguments about West Papua. An Indonesian representative in a forum in this commission argued that some Ambones from the Moluccas who had worked in West Papua did not want West Papua to be separated from Indonesia. Meantime, the Dutch authority in West Papua was not challenged by West Papuans. West Papua was administered as part of the neighbouring Moluccas islands and it was not included in the federal state of East Indonesia established by the Netherlands in 1946 (Chauvel & Bhakti, 2004).

The Dutch and Indonesia failed to agree about the status of West Papua as an independent nation and West Papua remained under Dutch administrative control for a further twelve years. The Dutch continued to prepare for the decolonisation of West Papua and aimed to achieve its political independence by 1971 (Ondawame, 2000, p. 69). The ten year decolonisation plan

included the establishment of the New Guinea (West Papua) Council. In some areas of West Papua the election of members to this council received little attention from West Papuans especially in the area where pro-Indonesia feelings dominated. A Kei heritage scholar in history from UNCEN describes that some Indonesian political prisoners who had been detained in West Papua by the Dutch colonial government played an important role in developing Indonesian nationalism among West Papuans in areas such as Serui and Jayapura (Meteray, 2012). Some of these Indonesians, Dutch former inmates who were then hired by the Dutch as teachers, used that moment to socialise anti-Dutch feelings among West Papuans. The Dutch had developed Papuan elites with a Melanesian and pro-Western rather than Indonesian focus (Chauvel & Bhakti, 2004, p. 10). The elites were members of the New Guinea council that consisted of 22 West Papuans out of 28 members. In September 1961 the self-determination plan known as the Luns Plan was introduced to the United Nations General Assembly which recommended self-determination. The Indonesia foreign ministry contended that “the right of self-determination should not be implemented where it would lead to partial or total disruption of a country’s national unity and territorial integrity” (Chauvel & Bhakti, 2004, p. 10). The Luns Plan and Indonesia’s response encouraged the Papuan elites to adopt *manifest politik* in 1961 (Chauvel & Bhakti, 2004; Ondawame, 2000). Torey, a West Papuan council member, explained that “*manifest politik* was drafted because Papuans did not want to passively listen to the claims of the Indonesian and Netherlands governments and be forced to support one of the advisories and lose their own voices at the UN or international community” (Chauvel & Bhakti, 2004, p. 10). This manifesto stated that the national symbols of West Papua (flag and national anthem) will be presented and stated the name of the land and people of West Papua. The elites then stated; “on this basis we the Papuan people demand to obtain our own place like other free peoples and among nations we the Papuan people wish to contribute to the maintenance of freedom in the world” (Chauvel & Bhakti, 2004, p. 11). Ondawame (2000) argued that from some West Papuans’ point of view the colonisation plan was not a serious plan but solely manipulation of public opinion due to Indonesia’s military and diplomatic pressure about the future of West Papua. On 1st December 1961, West Papua’s national flag was raised alongside the Dutch flag for one day in Jayapura which was celebrated as National Flag Day (Ondawame, 2000). In response to the situation Indonesia then announced military aggression declared as *Trikora* (*Tri Komando Rakyat* or Three People’s Commands) in 1962. The declaration was to end the state of West Papua that was created by the Dutch. Soekarno then declared battle against the Dutch in West Papua.

Supposedly communist influence in Indonesia threatened regional stability in the Pacific and undermined the hegemonic power of the United States of America (USA) and its western allies. The United States mediated the Indonesia-Dutch conflict regarding West Papua and signed the New York Agreement together with the Indonesian and Dutch in 1962 but omitted West Papua, the subject of conflict (Ondawame, 2000). This agreement agreed to conduct the Act of Free

Choice in 1969 under UNTEA (United Nation Temporary Executive Authority) administration which was empowered by the USA and its western allies (Ondawame, 2002). Muridan Widjojo, a Javanese Indonesian scholar stated that “the Act of Free Choice was conducted during military suppression and not as a democratic plebiscite as envisioned in the New York Agreement of 1962” (2006, p.11). He further explained that “instead of following the principle of one-man one vote, the government of Indonesia hand-picked over one thousand representatives who would vote for integration with Indonesia instead of independence”. Similarly, Ondawame (2000) and Anderson (2015) described that under manipulation, intimidation, killing and bribery around 1,026 West Papuans who were selected to represent West Papua agreed to join with Indonesia. The process of political transfer from the colonial power of the Dutch to Indonesia violated the UN Resolution 1514-X (Ondawame, 2000). This resolution indicated that sovereignty over a colonised territory should not be transferred from the colonial power to another power, it has to be returned to the Indigenous people of each territory. From the West Papuans’ point of view, West Papua was sacrificed for the interest of others (Chauvel & Bhakti, 2004, p. 11). After the Act of Free Choice, West Papua began a new era under Indonesian colonisation. Some of the West Papuans who were disappointed with the result of the Act of Free Choice left their land and crossed the border to Papua New Guinea. This included Ondawame who went on to write the history of West Papua which I draw heavily on in this discussion.

West Papuans are not only victims of colonialism and Western civilisation but also fighters for self-determination. Chauvel (2005) stated that the desire to be separated from a foreign power like Indonesia was not new, but something Papuans had long wanted. This had been occurring as cultural resistance since first contact with outsiders or foreigners or *amberi*, as West Papuan, Biak people call all non-white foreigners (Kamma, 1972). Biak, an island off the north coast of West Papua was the centre where the resistance movement in West Papua began. It began when Biak people refused to pay taxes and work as labourers for the Tidore sultanate in North Moluccas which was part of Dutch East Indies or Netherlands East Indies, now known as Indonesia, and rejected Christianity and modernisation (clothes) that were introduced by Dutch missionaries (Kamma, 1972). Before Europeans arrived, Tidore sultanate together with Srivijaya in Sumatera Island and Majapahitin Java Island, and various coastal and agrarian inland kingdoms supported Indonesian archipelago’s commercial trading. The Tidore sultanate had influence on some coastal areas in West Papua including Biak. This movement, known as the *koreri* movement during Dutch colonisation first arose to demand improvement in social conditions until it transformed to be politically oriented (Ondawame, 2000). As described in Kamma (1972), it was Angganeta Manufandu, a Biak woman, who was a spiritual leader who initiated the *koreri* movement to confront the colonialism of the Dutch and Japanese during World War II. She had many Papuan followers not only in Biak, but also Serui, Manokwari and some regions in Cenderawasih Bay. Her presence and the movement threatened colonial governance, so she was sent away from Biak and

imprisoned by the Dutch in Ternate (Moluccas) then killed by the Japanese in Manokwari. According to Ondawame the proto-nationalist groups in Biak declared 'independence' and raised a West New Guinea flag in 1942 during the Japanese occupation. The *koreri* movement became the spirit of other movements. It established the consciousness of solidarity as Papuans, encouraging Biak people to think of themselves as part of a broader identity as Papuans. It announced a revolutionary program (Chauvel, 2005), created the Papuan flag and had their own army (Kamma, 1972). The *koreri* movement also had an anti-*amberi* (Indonesia) tenor (Chauvel, 2005, p. 38). The *koreri* movement then inspired other similar movements in West Papua. The resistance against foreign occupation intensified during the Indonesian occupation after 1965 with a more political movement. The organisation that has fought for independence is the Free Papua movement (OPM or *Organisasi Papua Merdeka* in Bahasa) which was founded in 1963 to advocate for the autonomy of West Papua (Anderson, 2015). Anderson explained how the OPM became more militant over time, for example in 1977 it cut the fuel and slurry pipelines to the Freeport (Grasberg) mine (p. 14). This caused indiscriminate reprisal attacks by the Indonesian military who burnt villages and killed civilians. Anderson (2015) described that even though the OPM was well-established throughout West Papua it was lightly armed with most fighters not even having firearms. Military aggression restricted the OPM's activities within West Papua. The Free West Papua movement then changed its approaches to gain international attention as negotiation and consultation with the Indonesia government had failed (Ondawame, 2010 p. 353), thus the Free West Papua movement could follow an independent foreign policy and become a full member of the international community. This was supported by political democracy in Indonesia after Soeharto stepped down.

1.2.4 Freeport Presence

The existence of Freeport-McMoRan Copper & Gold Incin Timika has contributed to the current situation. Wilson (in Ballard, 2002) described the discovery of a substantial copper deposit in Ertsberg in the Amungme area which led to further exploration in 1960 by an American based mining company, Freeport Sulphur, the predecessor of Freeport-McMoRan Copper & Gold. Ballard (2002) an Australian anthropologist from the Australian National University stated that "Freeport mine played an important role in the history of Irian Jaya [West Papua] under Soeharto's New Order regime" (p.15). Furthermore, an Indonesian scholar, Bachriadi (1998), who mostly focuses on agriculture and human rights issues around the mining industry in Indonesia, describes the political situation in Indonesia and negotiation of Freeport Sulphur's contract when the status of West Papua had not been legally decided. He illustrated that in 1965 the military coup in Indonesia forced Soekarno to leave the presidency and in 1966, General Soeharto was controversially appointed as President of Indonesia. Bachriadi (1998) further explained that in January 1967 the Indonesian government issued Law Number 1/1967 about foreign investment in response to Freeport Company's demands to start mining activity. In 1967, the Indonesian government and

Freeport Sulphur Company signed a contract to begin to mine the Ertsberg deposit in Timika by providing \$60 million to be given to the Indonesia government (Hasan, 2009). Moreover, Bachriadi (1998) noted that some West Papuans were dissatisfied as at the time the contract was signed, the Act of Free Choice had not yet been administered. Even though the Indonesian government, Freeport, and the US government knew full well the political status of West Papua, they ignored this and detailed in the Freeport contract that Indonesia was open for business, and by 1969 around \$1,226 billion of foreign capital and aid had been poured into Indonesia (Kingsbury, 2005; Leith, 2003; McDonald, 1981; Saltford, 2003 in Hasan, 2009, p. 132). Hasan (2009) further noted that the Indigenous landowners, the Kamoro and Amungme were disregarded in the consultation process. Hasan, an Indonesian scholar, also stated that in regards to international law, the contract between Freeport and Indonesia was controversial as Indonesia had no sovereignty over West Papua (p.132). The Ertsberg mine project generated an average of US \$300 million of revenue annually for almost 20 years from 1973.

In 1988, Freeport Indonesia found Grasberg, another new mineral deposit area that brought it new contracts with Jakarta in 1991 and 1994. However, Sumule (2002), a non-West Papuan scholar raised in West Papua, outlined that Freeport's contribution to the Papuan economy is significantly lower compared with its contribution to the Central Government's economy (pp. 9-10). He also explained that only 16 percent of the total Freeport workforce and its supporting companies are Papuans. This proportion has not changed significantly today. Hasan (2009) described how Freeport was accused of bribing government officials as it was not subject to environmental laws or required to compensate the Indigenous landowners for loss of their land. In the new contract in 1991, Freeport was required to operate a subsidiary which was incorporated in Indonesia and changed its name to Freeport Indonesia (PTFI) (Hasan, 2009). The Ertsberg project discharged 25,000 tons per day (tpd) of tailings into the local river system and dumped twice that amount into the alpine valley which has polluted 336.6 square miles off-shore and 143.3 square miles on-shore (Leith in Hasan, 2009, p. 133). This practice destroyed the sources of food of the Kamoro people and has taken a significant part of their customary land in Koperapoka (Sumule, 2002). Additionally, the mine tailings, as well as leaving toxicity in the local gardens, fishing, hunting area and wildlife, and, physical destroying the landscape, have destroyed the river system and separated people from their resources and livelihood (Hasan, 2009). Environmental NGOs and press participation raised global and Indonesian public awareness of the environmental issues resulting in Freeport's first waste management and recycling program in 1994. In 1996 Freeport announced its concern to local people due to the protests and international criticism regarding human rights violations which resulted in two programs; 'Land Rights Trust Fund' and 'One Percent Trust Fund'. Freeport was considered as a most strategic industry in Indonesia, therefore the Indonesian government has deployed more than 1,000 military and police troops to protect it (Davies, in Sumule, 2002). Marginalisation of the Indigenous people due to the impact of

Freeport's presence is considered a driver of the demand for West Papuan independence.

1.2.5 Special Autonomy

Indonesia's first democratic President after Soeharto, Abdurahman Wahid preferred a non-violent approach to West Papua (Widjojo, 2006). He supported the Papua Mass Consultation or *kongres Papua* in 2000 by contributing 1 billion Rupiah (around \$94,210 Australian dollars) to the event (Chauvel & Bhakti, 2004). In his visit to West Papua in December 1999, he allowed the raising of *Bintang Kejora*, the West Papua flag, which resulted in military conflict. Parliament members in Jakarta did not support what the President did in West Papua. On this visit the President of Indonesia also renamed the province of Irian Jaya to *Tanah Papua*, which in the Indonesia language means Papua Land (Chauvel & Bhakti, 2004). The mass consultation which consisted of West Papuan scholars, church leaders, tribal leaders and NGO activists negotiated the demands of West Papua independence with the President. The Indonesian government then offered Special Autonomy to West Papua to address the demands for independence. The draft of the Special Autonomy bill that established West Papua has a strong spirit of self-determination even though the demand for Independence is not literally stated. Political tension and distrust of Jakarta by Papuan leaders in West Papua impacted on the implementation of Special Autonomy delaying its implementation. The anxiety of Jakarta was mostly due to the establishment of the Papuan People's Assembly as mandated in the Special Autonomy bill. Jakarta argued that this will give political powers to protect the rights of West Papuans. Therefore, instead of implementing this law appropriately, Jakarta offered partition of the province into two new provinces, West Papua province and Papua province, which included some former districts and establishment of new districts. There are three major political benefits, all relating to the elimination of the demand for independence, to Indonesia of partition of West Papua according to Professor Ermaya, an Indonesian scholar who advised on this partition. He initially recommended partition into three provinces. First, "specifically partition would make it easier for central government to escape a referendum (for independence) because a referendum might be possible in one province but not in three. Second, partition would undermine the symbolic nexus linking the name Papua, the *Bintang Kejora* flag, and Papuan nationalism. Third, three provinces would be more stable and peaceful and increase and encourage investment, business and economic development" (Chauvel & Bhakti, 2004, p. 38).

1.3 The Kamoro People

Understanding the history of the Kamoro is crucial to understanding their contemporary culture including sexual culture and response to HIV prevention. Images of Kamoro people and their tribal practices in the past had been produced by outsiders. The history of contact of the Kamoro people with outsiders includes slaving and trade, exploitation by European scientists and the Dutch government, the Catholic mission project and Indonesia and the Freeport Company

presence. Resistance of Indigenous people to the presence of outsiders has occurred in the pre-colonial, and colonial eras and recently in response to the Indonesians and the Freeport mine. Kamoro, which translates as living person in opposition to the dead, ghosts, things, plants, animals (Harple, 2000) and spirit (Pouwer, 2010) are one of the Indigenous landowner groups of Timika (See Figure 1-2.).

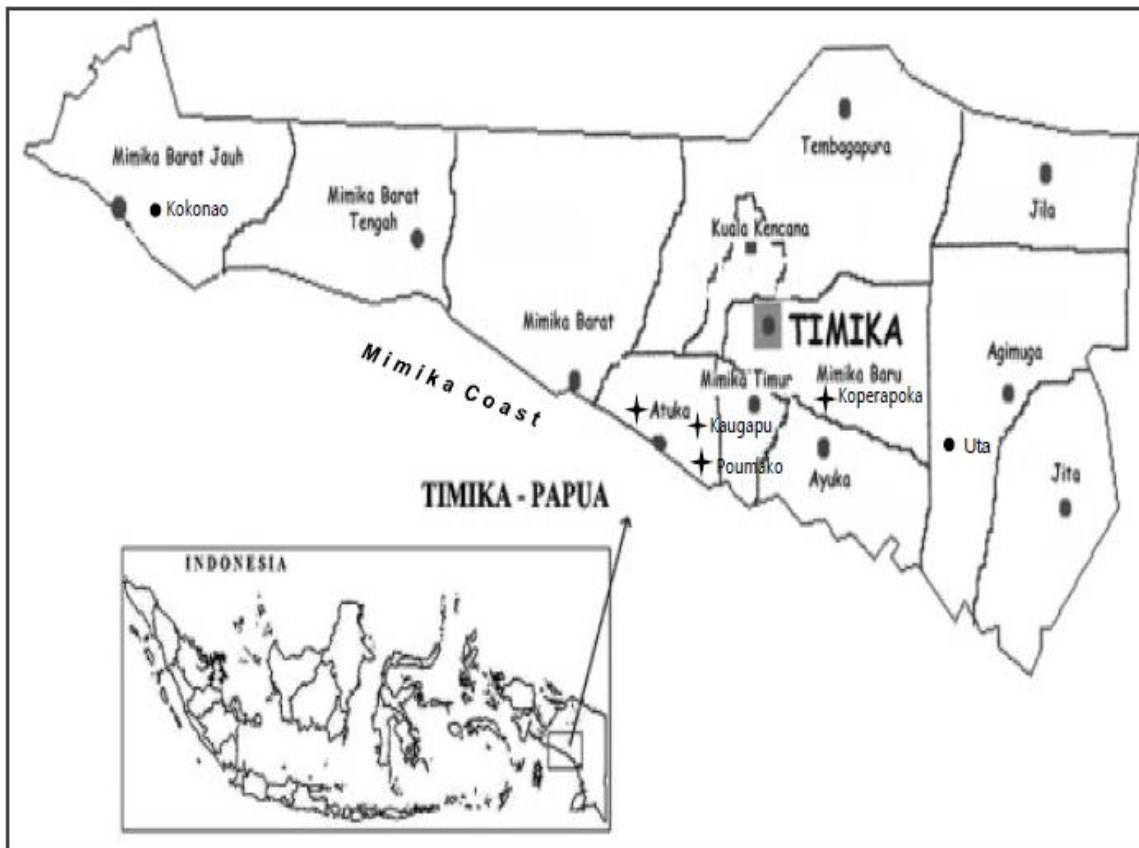


Figure 1-2 Map of Timika (Source: Karyana, et al., 2008)

Kamoro people live along the coastal region between Asmat, a neighbouring tribe in the east, and Etna Bay in the west (see figure 1-1). In the past Kamoro people were semi-nomadic. They depended on the rivers and swampy area for daily economic activities which were dominated by gathering food and small-scale gardening and hunting. Unlike Amungme, Kamoro's main staple food was sago (Ondawame, 2002). In the belief system of Melanesia society, the Kamoro people have ecological spirituality hence water and rivers have been seen as the centre of their belief system (Erari, 1999). Prior to the Dutch administration and mission existence in Mimika, the Kamoro people lived a cycle of feasts and rituals which were crucial in their social and economic role. There was regular transmission of oral tradition and communication with neighbouring villages (Dumatubun et al., 1998). Before the arrival of the Dutch the Kamoro territory was governed by tribal leaders known as *weyaiku* and *akwarewe*. The *weyaiku* were tribal leaders and the highest authority throughout the clan or *taparu*, while the *akwarewe* functioned as an advisor for the *weyaiku* in each *taparu*.

Research for this thesis has been undertaken in three Kamoro villages Atuka, Kaugapu and Koperapoka. Atuka is a village in Mimika Timur Tengah sub-district with a population in 2013 of just over 3,000. Kaugapu, which is part of the Mimika Timur sub-district, had a higher population with over 9,500 and Mimika Baru sub-district where Koperapoka is located had a very large population of over 120,000.

It is important to examine the Kamoro people and their context regarding the issues of HIV/AIDS not only because Timika is in the third position of HIV prevalence in West Papua, but also in terms of the intersection between multiple agents that shape understanding of HIV prevention in Timika, which are reflected generally in West Papua. According to the Papua Province Health Office, in March 2014, the cumulative number of people infected by HIV in Timika was 4,162 (in Tambaip et al., 2017) with no consideration of their cultural background. The Timika AIDS Commission (2007) reported that the HIV prevalence in Timika was mainly transmitted through heterosexual intercourse, followed by mother-to-child transmission. Many of the most vulnerable groups in Timika, such as seasonal workers or the unemployed, married women, peasants, and young people in the rural areas, are not classified as a key population in HIV prevention in Indonesia. Even though the HIV prevalence among Indigenous people in Timika could not be found as the provided data are not segregated along ethnic backgrounds, the trends in untreated sexually transmitted diseases among younger Indigenous people are reported as high. In order to understand the current situation in West Papua, history needs to be considered. The transmission of HIV in West Papua is mostly driven by unsafe sexual behaviour. Yet, efforts to seek and understand the cultural history of sexuality in the country have gained less attention in Indonesia's HIV prevention and research about HIV/AIDS in West Papua. Instead, representations of the sexuality of West Papuans that were produced by colonisers continue.

The issue of HIV/AIDS in West Papua should be politicised. The Indonesian government has struggled to neutralise this issue by promoting the idea that anyone can become infected with HIV. But it has fuelled the political sentiment of West Papuans. Hiding the HIV figures among the Indigenous West Papuans is an example of normalising the issue due to fear of increasing demands for independence.

1.4 Definition of Terms

In this thesis I describe both the Dutch and Indonesian presence in West Papua as colonisation. This is evident in the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Indonesian people in West Papua and in the attitudes, and ideology that have been introduced by the occupying powers. Anderson (2015) explained that "colonialism is characterised by a regime of foreign domination, the exploitation of the land and resources, and the imposition of foreign ideologies and

belief systems” (p. 10). The Dutch proclamation of the land of West Papua in 1828 as theirs when they arrived in West Papua, symbolised by flying the Dutch flag in the land, naming the land according to a Dutch name, conducting exploration with military support – are all considered colonial practices. The Dutch arrival in several parts of West Papua was challenged by native people but colonisation continued with the establishment of the administration and ‘civilisation’ of the Indigenous people through education and missionary projects which legitimised Dutch power to regulate the colonised people. Anderson (2015) writes that “peoples conceptualized as primitive, such as the Indigenous inhabitants of West Papua, are not fully-valued but rather exist only as obstacles to progress, a half-human component of a menacing topography” (p. 11). Furthermore, Anderson explained that “since contact with Europeans, West Papua has often been seen by outsiders as a primitive and marginal region. Under Dutch rule, West Papua was a periphery of the periphery: it was marginal to the Dutch East Indies, which were themselves marginal in relation to the Netherlands core” (p. 11). Colonialism is described as “a settlement in a new country...a body of people who settle in a new locality, forming a community subject to or connected with their parent state; the community so formed, consisting of original settlers and their descendants and successors, as long as the connection with the parent state is kept up” (Loomba 2015, p.19). Colonialism according to Loomba is differentiated into two parts, earlier colonialism which is pre-capitalist, and modern colonialism. The former occurred through the extraction of tribute, goods and wealth from the countries that were conquered, while modern colonialism restricted the economics of the colonised, drawing them into the complex relationship with their own thus creating a flow of human and natural resources between colonisers and colonised (p.21). Loomba (2015) stressed that “colonialism is not just something that happens from outside a country or a people, not just something that operates with the collusion of forces inside” (p.32). In his description of West Papua, Ondawame (2000) noted that a colony is usually found in the periphery. The relationship between the periphery and centre is exploitative and unbalanced where the periphery supply resources to enrich the centre, power and wealth are accumulated in the centre, while the periphery remain poor.

Understanding West Papua as a territory colonised by Indonesia is not a new idea. Some Indonesian nationalists have seen the annexation of West Papua as a new form of colonialism. For example Herlina, a Javanese woman, an Indonesian freedom fighter who was sent by Soekarno to deliberate for West Papua in the *Trikora* operation in 1961, stated that even though she enjoyed the victory of Indonesia, she felt it was a new beginning of colonisation (Chauvel & Bhakti, 2004, p. 16).

Colonialism impacts on the colonised people’s lives including their sexuality. Stoler (2010), a postcolonial feminist from the USA stated that “colonial cultures were never direct translation of European society planted in the colonies but unique cultural configurations homespun creations in which European food, dress, housing and morality were given new political meaning in specific colonial social orders” (p. 24). Moreover, Gilman (in Stoler, 2010) argued that sexuality is the most salient marker of otherness and therefore figures in any racist ideology (p. 46). The sexual culture

of West Papuans has been influenced by the colonialism of both the Dutch and Indonesians which has resulted in changes in their sexuality. As scholars writing about colonialism and Indigenous young people in Canada state “many young people’s ideas about sex, sexuality, health seeking, family, fertility and relationships are all influenced by historical and present day patterns of discrimination, which play an important role in sexual behaviour” (Devries & Free cited in Oliver et al., 2015, p.5).

Sexuality and gender are significant factors that influence the transmission of HIV, and also influence treatment, care, and support (Gupta, 2000, p. 1). Gupta, an Indian heritage feminist from America, argues that sexuality is distinct from gender but closely connected to it. Newman (2002) considered that gender is used to refer to socially constructed roles and cultural representations (p. 353). Scholars explain that human sexuality is only described, never defined, it is difficult to define (Padgug, 1979, p. 17). Colonialism has regulated the sexuality of colonised people through gender relations, its operation through family, courtship, and reproduction. Some scholars believe that colonialism has destroyed colonised people’s being. Anderson (2015) contended that colonial or neo-colonial genocides targeting Indigenous people often occur in several ways. Physical destruction of Indigenous people might not be directly intended rather, the perpetrators substantially undermine the foundation of existence for Indigenous groups through systematic oppression or wilfully reckless policies (Anderson, 2015, p. 9). Other comments are made by West Papuans as well. Historical background and quasi-constitutional arguments as discussed by Wayoi, a West Papuan politician (as cited in Chauvel, 2005) indicated that West Papua “since 1963 had been a colonized territory in which Papuans had not been treated as Indonesian citizens” (p. 14). Benny Giay, another West Papuan scholar (in Chauvel, 2005) argued that Indonesia’s national government program is a new form of colonialism that marginalised Papuans; advantaging outsiders [non-Papuans] and by the process of transmigration making Papuans a minority in their own land (p. 12). Ondawame (2000) concluded that West Papua is considered a colony of Indonesia as it was coercively integrated into Indonesia in 1963. He further explained that the rights of West Papuans were denied and have been denied by the Indonesian government and West Papuans were forced to accept the dominant culture.

The ‘development’ of knowledge about Papua by Indonesia is for West Papuan scholars a practice of colonisation. Development by the Indonesian government started in West Papua with the effort to erase Dutch influences. The most obvious ways that Indonesians tried to erase Dutch influence was in changing the names of the towns and some geographical landscape features which previously had Dutch names. Even the official name of Papua became Irian Jaya. Elmslie, (in Ondawame, 2000), explained that this new name symbolised the ascendancy of the Republic over the colonial master. The official language was changed from Dutch to Indonesian and bureaucratic structures were developed. National development in West Papua by Indonesia since the annexation has been conducted through indoctrination into Indonesian nationalism, the suppression of the cultural and historical identities of West Papua by discouraging the use of the

native language, promotion of an Indonesian version of West Papua's history and hiding the truth of history through education and other social institutions in West Papua.

The tendency of the coloniser is to promote the differences and unbalanced power relations in order to show the backwardness and primitiveness of the colonised people. John Comaroff, an American anthropologist who focuses on colonial and postcolonial states (in Eves, 2006) claimed that the coloniser legitimised his right to rule and to civilise on one hand, and on the other hand eventually erase the differences in the name of common humanity and modernity. Moreover, Indigenous groups have long been subject to racist ideologies, which characterise them as inferior. The assumption of civilising missions is that Indigenous peoples are fundamentally primitive and that only by removing the very fact of their Indigeness can progress be achieved (Anderson, 2015, p. 11).

Sarwo Edhie, a high level military official in the Soeharto era, suggested that assimilation between West Papuans and Indonesians was needed to strengthen nation-building (Chauvel & Bhakti, 2004). The Research Institute of Oppressed Peoples in Amsterdam (in Ondawame, 2000) contended that some Indonesians still stereotype West Papuans as a primitive, backward and inferior race living in the Stone Age, therefore, education must be considered and it will take generations to reach the level of the Javanese. One aspect of the Indonesia national development project in West Papua started with the distribution of Western style clothes to the West Papuans, so-called *operasi koteka* or operation penis gourd, in 1971-1972 where tons of clothes were dropped by the Indonesian air force pilots as a symbol of modernisation (Anderson, 2015). *Koteka* is a traditional West Papuan custom for highland men. This development project aimed to introduce clothes to West Papuans. This is a classical method of colonialism based on the premise of the need to civilise people by changing their ways of life, including controlling or regulating their body. "Modernisation entails a move away from environmental sustainability to more intensive and less sustainable land" (Anderson, 2015, p. 14). Sumule (2002), a non-Papuan scholar from Papua University, who grew up in the central highland region of West Papua, argues Melanesian culture has never been engaged in the curriculum in schools in West Papua. Sumule reminds us that this was the result of the approach adopted by the state, where culture of a dominant group became the national culture, while Zakaria (in Sumule, 2002) claimed this was "in turn expected to solidify Indonesian nationalism" (p.14). Trajano (2010), a Filipino scholar refers to Hechter's term of 'internal colonisation' to argue that "the idea of Javanese predominance could also be interpreted as an attempt of the Javanese to assert their superiority as well as to civilise the 'less culturally developed', non-Javanese ethnic groups" (p. 14).

Since the 1960s in Soekarno's regime, it is estimated that a total of 75,200 families have been moved from Java and Bali to West Papua through transmigration. This practice peaked under Soeharto's New Order Government which lasted more than 30 years (Sumule, 2002, p. 7). Sumule

(2002) also stated that “more than 160,000 hectares of good quality forest belonging to Indigenous West Papuan had been taken for this program”. Transmigration effected the Indigenous people in several ways. This program was conducted without respecting and compensating the rights of Indigenous people (Sumule, 2002). Some West Papuans who were threatened or felt insecure decided to leave West Papua in exile due to their protest over the Act of Free Choice. A massive exodus of West Papuans to Papua New Guinea in the 1980s was prompted by transmigration (Colchester in Sumule, 2002). Transmigration is accused of being a form of Javanese domination or colonisation of Outer Islands. For example Assman (in Sumule, 2002) claimed that cultures of Indigenous communities in West Papua have been diluted by the placement of Javanese transmigrants in their area. Transmigration affected environmental deterioration as it occurred in forested areas which were then cleared by using heavy machinery. Anderson (2015) additionally stated that “environmental destruction in West Papua is a direct consequence of Indonesia’s development policies such as transmigration and the exploitation of natural resources” (p. 14).

Sumule (2002) writes that West Papuans are a minority group and have been last to receive the benefit of the exploitation of their natural resources, it was thus not surprising that West Papua is found to have a high level of poverty, even in the context of Indonesia. Exploitation of natural resources and government supported migration (transmigration) to West Papua violated the Indigenous people’s rights over their own traditional land and resources such as forests, mining, oil and gas. Lieutenant General Kahpi Suriadireja (in Chauvel and Bhakti, 2004) contended that development in Irian Jaya [West Papua] has been neglected and its natural resources have not been utilised for the benefit of the province. He stated that the Indonesian government officers and settlers in West Papua look down on the Indigenous people as second-class citizens. Forestry management policies in West Papua have not benefitted the Indigenous people during 37 years of centralised administration by Indonesian regimes, even the involvement of conservation agencies has not produced any convincing evidence that sustainability is the underpinning principle adopted by non-indigenous parties in managing forest resources (Sumule, 2002).

Canadian scholars Fleming and Ledogar who focus on the resilience of First Nation youth of Canada (in Oliver et al., 2015) claimed that “two outcomes in particular are connected to colonialism: racism and cultural loss” (p. 5). These are related to the destructive effect colonialism has on Indigenous gender relations (Smith in Oliver et al., 2015, p. 6). The bodies and sexuality of colonised people are regulated through both civilising and missionary projects (Young, 2001). Regulating the body, re-constructed gender relationships and sex division of labour is part of the colonial project. Stoler (2010) commented:

In identifying how European conquest affected valuation of women’s work and redefined their proper domain, feminist scholars sought to explain how change in household organization, the sexual division of labour and the gender specific control of resources within

it have modified and shaped how colonial appropriation of land, labour and resources were obtained (p. 41).

With colonisation in particular, the Dutch introduced a new family structure to the Kamoro people. Kamoro men have been encouraged to be the head of the family thus they have to be a bread winner as promoted in the modern family. As the family head they have been socialised to be the owner of resources such as sago forests and land which was traditionally owned by women. Indonesia introduced the new rule regarding ownership of land and natural resources as state ownership which ignored the traditional ownership by the *taparu*.

A report from Yale Law School concluded that the people of West Papua have suffered persistent and horrible abuses at the hands of the Indonesian government. The Indonesian military and security forces have engaged in widespread violence and extra-judicial killing in West Papua (Brundige et al. in Chauvel & Bhakti, 2004). Military aggression to quieten West Papuan protests continued until recently. Sumule (2002) stated that since late 2000, extra-judicial killing had reached 136 and arbitrary detentions had risen to 838, resulting from increasing repression and human rights violations. The views opposing the nation state ideology are seen as a threat to the state (Ondawame, 2002). On behalf of the nation state's stability and security these different political views must be destroyed. Control of knowledge production by the state interfering in research topics, methods, and even who should participate in a study, as experienced by several scholars, is an example of state control. It is also not easy to implement recommendations and thoughts of some critical scholars including some findings from this current study in West Papua where there are a number of limitations to Indigenous sovereignty.

Globalisation refers to the period since the late 1960s, it refers to the growth of global capitalism, to the intensified movement of people. Freeport is a prime example – West Papua is implicated in the traffic of people, capital (money), technology, commodities, raw materials and diseases, and responses to diseases around the world. Migration as found in a study in Zambia (Akabiwa, 2007) occurred in an area with high mining activities around the 1960s. Such migration phenomenon from urban to rural areas redistributed HIV/AIDS. In the case of West Papua migration across the islands of Indonesia, and rural to urban or urban to rural movements, tend to distribute and redistribute diseases, including HIV/AIDS.

This study aims to first identify norms of masculinity and femininity, and sexual culture, and to examine how history and cultural aspects form contemporary practice and sexuality. Second, it aims to examine the ways in which these understandings of gender and sexuality shape the roles of women and men and their sexual behaviour and third, to discuss the ways to redefine the concepts and values about sexuality, femininity and masculinity and the values inherent in them and to apply these possible changes in thinking to ways to develop HIV prevention. This thesis research engages Indigenous knowledge to be able to understand all these aspects from the

perspective of the Indigenous people of Kamoro.

1.5 Thesis Structure

This thesis introduction chapter has identified the relevant issue and outlined the context in which the issue is situated. Chapter two reviews the literature related to HIV/AIDS in general and West Papua in particular. This literature review chapter is located in the broader literature about knowledge production and research on sexuality and HIV/AIDS, gender, colonialism and Indigenous people. Chapter three outlines the methodology for this study. The approach in this thesis incorporates Kamoro Indigenous concepts into conventional sociological research design which means the researcher is aware of the Kamoro's ethno philosophy, ways of knowing and has given attention to life experiences and the story that is shared by elders and how Kamoro people interpret their current situation based on their perspective. The methodology chapter explains the in-depth interview and focus group discussion processes. The changing Kamoro culture is discussed in chapter four by presenting communal memories about the Kamoro culture in the past, the effect of Dutch colonial practices, ideology in the civilisation project in Kamoro and its impact on sexuality. Chapter five considers contemporary Kamoro life and focuses on the narratives of young people and change. This chapter describes the contemporary culture of youth which impacted on sexual behaviour, gender values and sexuality among the younger generation. Chapter six presents the situation of HIV/AIDS and the Kamoro people. This chapter provides a description from both the Kamoro people and the other actors who deliver the HIV prevention program. The final chapter, chapter seven concludes the study, summarises the key items and discusses the possibility of HIV prevention which is based in the Kamoro's people context, their cultural understanding and knowledge, and acknowledgement of their traumatic experiences. This last chapter also includes recommendations based on the finding of this study.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The literature that I draw together in this chapter relates to HIV/AIDS, sexuality and sexual behaviour, gender, Indigenous people, colonialism and postcolonialism in particular in West Papua and Papua New Guinea. This review also includes literature on Africa as well as Asia. The aim is to look for approaches that are used to address the issue of HIV/AIDS from different perspectives and identify any knowledge gap that is relevant to this current study. Studies in Papua New Guinea about HIV/AIDS, conducted by foreign researchers, mostly focus on sexuality and tend to emphasise and accept cultural exoticism and hegemonic masculinity. Some studies in West Papua, conducted by West Papuan and allied foreign researchers, critically examined the social injustice and marginalisation that has contributed to the spread of HIV/AIDS in West Papua. Their accounts about sexuality, which link to the impact of Indonesia's colonisation and its values, have been produced mostly by foreign scholars, in collaborative research with some West Papuan researchers. Eves and Butt (2008) remind us that even though some Pacific countries, particularly with a Melanesian cultural background have similarities in terms of customary ways of life, the influence of Christianity, history of colonialism, and resistance to current forms of neo-colonialism, they are not homogenous. "These commonalities led to the easy assumption that the whole of Melanesia can be treated as one" (Eves & Butt, 2008, p.3), however, different histories and political contexts contribute to the AIDS epidemic and to responses to it. Colonialism and neo-colonialism have also influenced research culture and knowledge production about HIV/AIDS in West Papua. In their account entitled *Making Sense of AIDS*, Eves and Butt (2008, p.30) stated that the "AIDS epidemic is shaped through relation of power, which act upon, and react with, the particular local form of culture and sexuality". They argue that they considered power because it is "constitutive of forms of culture and sexuality that exist in any particular society" (Eves & Butt, 2008, p.3). They further argue that "as we acknowledge the dangers of misrepresentation and misinterpretation, we must also confront the dire need to gain the best possible understanding of those we seek to help" (p. 16). Producing sensitive and accurate interpretations of the meaning and significance of sexuality is crucial. This means discussion of other's sexuality should be placed in their own context, which includes their history of sexual and erotic engagement with other peoples, which helps overcome the tendency to emphasise the difference (Jolly & Manderson in Eves & Butt, 2008, p. 16). Altman (in Eves & Butt, 2008) argues that it is also important to understand the AIDS industry, the institutions and discursive framework that set the agenda for defining, managing and controlling AIDS. It includes "individual states; international agencies; transnational pharmaceutical companies; particular academic disciplines...and NGOs", (Eves & Butt, 2008, p. 5).

Efforts to understand the context that contributes to the failure of the AIDS program in West Papua needs an examination of the gap in research and knowledge production about HIV/AIDS in

West Papua as well as the gap in HIV/AIDS response in practice. In developing this chapter, I designed a mind map which is based on several questions that led me to understand the issue of HIV/AIDS globally and locally. The question 'how is HIV/AIDS currently being addressed?' encouraged me to look at the global picture to understand the AIDS response in local practices, and to consider hegemonic power relationships and globalisation. Dennis Altman (1999) in his account about globalisation, political economy and HIV/AIDS in Asia, stated two points that can be used to examine the response to AIDS. First, Altman considered that the vulnerability of people to HIV varies and is closely related to their socioeconomic status, and second, the response to AIDS is closely related to cultural and political factors (p. 576). He provides the example of Thailand as the first country in Asia to experience a major epidemic to illustrate political factors that influence AIDS responses. Altman (1999, p. 576) pointed out at least three points in Thailand: political factors which included a strong commitment to address the HIV/AIDS issues by several senior government figures, the culture that allowed comparative freedom in discussing sexuality and sufficient resources to finance an effective intervention program. Altman (1999) also described Japan, one of the richest countries in the world, as having fewer policy options in response to AIDS due to their strong taboo against homosexuality both in traditional and contemporary culture. Altman's account critiques the attitudes of international agencies and NGOs at the macro level. His stress on culture and political factors can be applied to investigate Indonesia's responses to AIDS at the national and local level in the context of West Papua. Altman's account about politics is mostly focussed on policies, decision making and leadership, thus I also consider Spivak's claims about the economic text of globalisation (in Morton, 2003). By emphasising the economic text of globalisation, Spivak reveals how the world is represented from the dominant perspective and geopolitical location of the first world to the exclusion of other disenfranchised groups. In this account political and cultural factors will be discussed in the context of colonialism and postcolonialism. Therefore, literature that is used in discussing the HIV/AIDS issue in West Papua will be classified according to political and cultural factors in AIDS response which emphasises both the practical and epistemological aspects. This also includes both epistemological and practical aspects drawn from postcolonial and feminist perspectives.

Mary Crewe and Peter Aggleton (2009), African and Western scholars in sociology and education, in their discussion of racism, HIV/AIDS and Africa, criticised the repeated role of colonialism and neo-colonialism in reproducing images of Africa as helpless and in need of assistance. They argue that many factors can be identified as being responsible in influencing individual and community vulnerability, including the legacies of colonialism and neo-colonialism, poverty and economic under-development, the effect of structural adjustment, the failure of agricultural development, continuing gender inequalities, lack of good quality education, differences in sexual behaviour and sexual networking and political indifference and denial (Crewe & Aggleton, 2009, p. 140). They further discuss that in Africa development and urbanisation and

poverty are important factors that need to be taken into consideration. There has been some writing on the social construction of HIV/AIDS in Africa related to epidemics, mostly by Western observers. It is these observers who documented the response and relayed this both outside Africa, and back to the people living there. Crewe and Aggleton (2009) pointed out that investigation of the social construction of race as a defining factor in relation to the carriers of infections, illness and death is missing. As a result, Africans are seen in simplistic ways and they believe that this simplistic and indeed racist account allows additional racism to be directed against people who are defined in other ways. Crewe and Aggleton (2009) explained that simplistic homogenisation of the continent meant that the people are too often treated as one set of racial and cultural definers, with one face and one identity or single entity. Africa and HIV, as Crewe and Aggleton argue, became linked to the notion of being primitive, less advanced and less civilised. Overlapping all these descriptions are representations of 'out of control' sexual behaviour and patterns. Crewe and Aggleton (2009) stated that the racism is inherent in popular description about Africa and affects the donor programs. Most international donors believe they can move in and solve problems; so did earlier colonial rulers. The authors argue that the donors frequently have set views of culture, of community and sex and with little or even no consultation, they define what counts as community, as culture and as suitable intervention. They come in with the legitimising weight of 'international experience', with promises of financial support and with the belief that they will and can make a difference. Crewe and Aggleton(2009) point out that claims of respecting local traditions are often at odds with the programs that are, and are not, funded. Lack of understanding of the cultural context can also be related to the employment of international consultants as they noticed that non-Africans currently do much of the research work in Africa. They illustrated that throughout Africa there is a serious failure to employ local people, and when they are hired, they are most likely to be appointed to lower level posts. The relevance of the account of the AIDS response in Africa and Asia is to reflect on political and cultural responses to AIDS issues in these countries, and how these analyses might apply to West Papua. Political responses from Thailand emphasised the political commitment of government, whilst literature about Africa in this account is used to understand the political context of colonialism and neo-colonialism in Africa both in epistemology and practices.

This chapter consist of five sections which elaborate on literature related to HIV/AIDS. Following this introduction the second section is about knowledge production and research culture on HIV/AIDS. This section discusses the hegemonic epistemology that is applied in most studies about HIV/AIDS in West Papua, how West Papua and the issue of HIV/AIDS is presented in Indonesia's research domain, and political constraints on conducting research and knowledge production in or about West Papua. The third section discusses culture and HIV/AIDS using literature around the issues of Christianity, colonialism and hegemonic culture, and unsafe sex behaviour. This is followed by a consideration of the political situation and HIV/AIDS and the fifth

section discusses how Indigenous ways are used in addressing HIV/AIDS. Research or knowledge production is one of the colonial tools used to control the colonised people therefore this chapter discusses this research and knowledge production in the following section.

2.2 Knowledge Production and Research Culture of HIV/AIDS

It is important to describe the research on how dominant ways of thinking describing ‘the other’ have become legitimate knowledge and the implications of this for HIV/AIDS prevention in West Papua. By reflecting on the work of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1998)¹ I identified some issues that were raised by critical scholars in their work about West Papua regarding knowledge production on HIV/AIDS. Instead, these concepts will be considered as indicated in studies about HIV/AIDS in West Papua, particularly culture and sexuality. I found in the works of some scholars; Butt and Munro (2012), Harple (2000), Butt (1998), and Knauff (1994) that there are issues regarding hegemony, equivocation, subaltern and representation but they did not necessarily consider these as part of the long project of colonialism. Spivak’s work has been useful for understanding the effect of colonialism in knowledge production on HIV/AIDS in West Papua, including the research methods that were used in some studies of HIV/AIDS. The issues that are raised include hegemonic epistemology, West Papua’s representation in knowledge production and the political constraints in conducting research in or about West Papua.

Hegemonic epistemology in this account is adopted from Gramsci’s idea of hegemonic culture (Morton, 2003). Here it is defined as the dominant epistemology that is used by ruling classes, or in this context those who have power, to not only support or manipulate the culture of knowledge production but also to legitimate it as universal and the valid dominant ideology. By assessing the literature (Butt & Munro, 2012; Butt 1998; Harple, 1998) I found that the hegemonic epistemology remains strong in research about HIV/AIDS in West Papua or about West Papua’s culture. Even though these scholars did not mention hegemonic epistemology in their works, their studies indicated practices of describing the other through hegemonic methods and interpretation. Although the West Papuan intellectuals are capable of conducting a study with the appropriate approaches to voice the West Papuan opinions, they are also an object under the rule of the master due to the hierarchy and power relations in the knowledge production. The colonised researchers have been seen as unable to contribute to knowledge of HIV/AIDS in West Papua.

Reflecting on Spivak’s (1998) views in her work entitled *can the subaltern speak?* suggests that the knowledge production about West Papuans is an effect of the power of western cultures to investigate other cultures. Spivak (in Morton, 2003, p. 7) reminds us “everyday lives for many ‘Third World’ women are so complex and unsystematic that they cannot be known or represented

¹To be able to articulate my understanding of Spivak’s work, I listened to an online lecture introducing Spivak’s work delivered by Campbell (2011), an Afro-American scholar in conflict resolution and philosophy as well as Morton’s account of reading Spivak (2003).

in any straightforward way by the vocabularies of western critical theory". This means it is important to consider context, method, and language that is used in representing the subaltern. Morton (2003, p.45) explains that 'subaltern' is a term that Spivak prefers to use because it is truly situational, and flexible as it can accommodate social identities and struggles that do not fall under the reductive terms of 'strict class analysis'. Even though subaltern in Spivak's essay refers to widows in Bengal, I will use subaltern to describe West Papuans in this account as they lack access to hegemonic power. The political constraints that shape representation in West Papua illustrate Spivak's statement that even when the subaltern makes an effort to speak, they are not able to be heard. Spivak (1998) stated that "the small peasant proprietors cannot represent themselves; they must be represented". Furthermore, "their [the small peasant] representative must appear simultaneously as their master, an authority over them, as unrestricted government power that protects them from the other classes and sends the rain and sunshine from above" (p.71). The story of the subaltern or oppressed people is being told by the hegemonic power. Spivak (1998) discusses two forms of representation; representation as political representation and re-representation as art or philosophy. This framework about representation will be taken into account to understand the representation of West Papua's ways of knowing in knowledge production about HIV/AIDS as well as in knowledge production about their culture and sexuality. Spivak, with other postcolonial intellectuals like Homi K. Bhabha (in Morton, 2003) provide a theoretical vocabulary and conceptual framework to question the very philosophical tradition that explains and justifies the subjection, dispossession, and exploitation of non-Western society. Spivak emphasises the significance of "the complicity of western intellectuals in silencing the voices of oppressed groups by speaking for them" (Morton, 2003, p.23). Moreover, Morton stated that without being utterly pessimistic about the history of the subaltern and the possibilities of political agency, in response to some critics of her work about the subaltern reiterated "a profound recognition of how the lives of many disempowered groups have already been damaged by dominant systems of knowledge and representation" (Morton, 2003, p. 24). Spivak challenges the idea that there is a transparent and stable correspondence between language and the so-called real world. For Spivak, one of the main problems with the transparent model of language is that it has been variously used to represent and constitute the world as a stable object of Western knowledge. Moreover, Morton (2003, p. 18) showed that Spivak refers to this dominant representation of the world as worlding or the "assumption that when the coloniser comes to the world, they encounter it as uninscribed earth upon which they write inscriptions". Morton (2003) explained that 'worlding' in Spivak's work is "referring to the way in which writing in general, or textuality, has provided a rhetorical structure to justify imperial expansion" (p. 19). For instance, there are frequent references to colonial territories as empty, uninscribed land or *terra nullius* or to Indigenous people without culture, writing or political sovereignty. An Indigenous scholar from Aotearoa, Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) described how in the colonial context research also has been seen as power and domination. Smith further outlined that the objects of the research do not

have a voice and do not contribute to research or science. She stated that “an object has no life force, no humanity, and no spirit of its own, so therefore ‘it’ cannot make an active contribution” (p.64). Bagele Chilisa (2012), an African scholar emphasised that “the problem of giving legitimacy to research knowledge is that most of the accessible research was not carried out by the researched” which in the Indonesian context, means the predominance of Java-centric thinking infused in research. Chilisa (2012) stated that “even in the cases where there is collaborative research between first-world researchers and third-world researchers, the first-world researcher’s voice is dominant and imposes foreign categories of research, hence determining what type of knowledge can be produced” (p. 89). Even in draft contract agreements between the first-world researchers and the third-world researchers it is clear who was producing knowledge and who was controlling knowledge.

Chilisa (2012) argued that colonisation “can be described as an attempt by the Western world to order the whole world according to Western standards of culture, politics, economic structures and policies” (p.81). In knowledge production about West Papua this includes the research culture of international agencies and Indonesian government agencies. The practice of colonialism which has positioned the coloniser as Self or Subject has privileged the definition of colonised other using the Self’s instruments or parameters. Chilisa (2012) reminds us that the first-world researcher might argue that they simply quote statements from the literature to show that they may not be making any value judgments about society (p. 90). Critical thinking is needed in questioning which literature is preferred, generated by which researcher and which research framework to use (Chilisa, 2012, p. 90).

The unresolved problem of HIV/AIDS in West Papua is linked to the denial of difference in designing HIV-related programs which Chilisa (2012) describes as an error of sameness “by presenting research methodologies that blur any differences in the researched Other...The error of sameness or universalism is that it can proceed only by massive domination and silencing of the less powerful” (p.81). Following Smith (2012) I believe that the West Papuan scholars have ways of reclaiming a voice, reconnecting and reordering those ways of knowing (p.72). In regard to representation of the works of Indigenous intellectuals in knowledge production, Fanon (in Smith, 2012) argued that Indigenous intellectuals have an important role in creating and legitimating a national culture represented as a battlefield (p.73).

Akena (2012), an African scholar claimed that “European colonisers have defined legitimate knowledge as Western knowledge, essentially European colonisers’ ways of knowing, often taken as objective and universal knowledge” (p. 600). He further explained that Western knowledge imposed a monolithic world view that gave power and control into the hands of Europeans while delegitimising other ways of knowing as savage, superstitious, and primitive. Akena reminds us that when knowledge is produced by an external actor and imposed on an educational system or

society, it becomes biased and negatively influences the Indigenous knowledge of people; disempowering and colonising (p. 606). He further highlighted that “knowledge produced by the dominant group in society has often been a tool of domination, oppression, and exploitation due to unequal power relations” (Akena, 2012, p. 616). Indigenous knowledge represents essentially a ‘speaking back’ to the production, categorisation, and position of cultures, identity and history (Dei in Akena, 2012, p. 601) however, in knowledge production hybrid knowledge should be considered. Akena (2012 p. 600) commented that “knowledge producers, politics, class affiliation, and group identity symbolically influence each other in a complex of manner, creating hybrid knowledge that is a product of such interactions”.

Knauft (1994) an American anthropologist, stated that “colonial constructions of south coast New Guinea in the 19th century reflected the competing interest of small but vocal constituencies; missionaries, traders and government officers” (p. 396). Knauft listed other authors who had written about the south coast culture and argued that “they also reflected collective frustration at the swampy and seemingly impenetrable southern coastline, the consistent lack of profitable or exploitable resources, and the violent hostility of the Indigenous population” (Knauft, 1994, p. 396). In his account he notes that that “today, virtually all the significant monographs published about south coast groups are based on primary research more than 30 years old”. (Knauft, 1994, p.401). He additionally states that with exception of Robert Maher whose work was published in 1961 [New Men of Papua], “no academic monographs formally consider the impact of colonial or postcolonial development on the people of this coastal region”.

In comparison to Papua New Guinea, since the 1960s and 1970s only limited studies have been conducted in West Papua because politics and research in Indonesia is made exceptionally complicated for anthropologists in terms of gaining access to field sites (Butt, 1998, p. 38). In the context of West Papua as a colonised land, this is related to the political context where restricted access indicates control over the colonised. Any investigation of the rights of Indigenous people raised by Indigenous West Papua, or Indonesian scholars, will create political implications not only in the research process but also for the researchers themselves. Previous experiences of some researchers, (Butt, 1998; Munro & Butt, 2012) show Indigenous and non-Indigenous people being intimidated as a result of conducting research that potentially raised the consciousness of a West Papuan identity (culture or political).

In her study in Wamena, highlands of West Papua, Leslie Butt, a foreign scholar was working with a research permit but her study was interfered with by Indonesian authorities (Butt, 1998). The Indonesian government does not “encourage non-Indonesians to foray into remote areas for extended periods of time to collect data about culture, particularly data that might empower or give voice to indigenous populations” (Butt, 1998, p. 39). While some Indonesian anthropologists who worked in the highlands of West Papua tended to describe the cultural system

in order to further development initiatives, foreign researchers follow a different set of directives, notably that culture is a topic of less interest, and development goals defined by policy shape the intent and the research findings (Butt, 1998, p. 39). For instance the methodology of Butt's study of the socio-politic life of infants among Dani people conducted in Wamena had to change because of the Indonesian government research policies, and the requirements that the researcher engage with long procedures and complicated requirements from the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI) and even provide a small bribe (Butt, 1998, p. 45). Furthermore, as a researcher Butt was expected by LIPI "to produce valuable information conducive to the rapid modernisation of Irianese people", and as an anthropologist warned "to write about culture but not really to believe in it" (Butt, 1998, p. 40). In any case, the military might close down the region to outside scholars or be extremely watchful of the activities of foreigners. Another issue that constrains the work of West Papuan researchers is publication, including technical issues related to publication.

As far as I know, little attention has been given to the political and historical context that has impacted on knowledge production about West Papua. Harple (2005), in his doctorate thesis project at the Australian National University, focuses on the effort to claim the authenticity or truth about West Papua's images. Harple (2005, p. 12) used 'multi-sighted' ethnography as a creative modification of the 'multi-sited' ethnography approach to examine Kamoro people's adaptation to major political and economic changes brought about by the history of interaction with outsiders. This approach was chosen to understand the socio-politics of Kamoro and their interaction with the foreign socio-politic environment across time. Harple (2005) found an "astounding number of derogatory remarks throughout all eras of Kamoro history from pre-colonisation through [to a] contemporary social consultancy report commissioned by Freeport" (p. 16). He pointed out that none of those who wrote about Kamoro were following an academic agenda. Most of these were studies carried out by individuals whose primary function in 'the field' was not that of academic researcher (Harple, 2005, p. 20) compared to Papua New Guinea which was mostly written about by academic fieldworkers. Instead, they were explorers, missionaries, or administrators. Harple stated that all of those commenting on Mimika had ulterior motives. Many were in fact players in broader international plots and competitions. Kamoro people were often portrayed in politically motivated Western images of indigeneity.

Harple (2005, p. 22) stated that even though his study was dictated by the institution he employed at the beginning, he finally made a conscious choice as he stated, "With each return, I challenge myself to separate foreign representations of the Kamoro from Indigenous ones". He highlighted the point that understanding the socio-historical context in reading the historical narratives is important. As a West Papuan I thank Harple for his admirable effort to identify some misinterpretations. One important finding of Harple is he supported and made clear Knauff's (1993) account, which challenged the mischaracterisation promoted by Herdt et al. in a collection of essays published in 1984 (Harple, 2005). Herdt claimed that the highland societies could be

compared to the south coast cultures by the characteristic practices of ritualised homosexuality and violent taking of life-force through headhunting of the coastal cultures (Harple, 2005, p. 23). Knauff (in Harple, 2005, p. 23) contested this and stated that Kamoro people did not practice ritualised homosexuality or boy insemination. Even though Knauff did not explicitly state that the Kamoro did not practice headhunting (in contrast to Asmat who did), Harple showed that the problem was rooted in the language that was used to document the Kamoro and the Asmat. Harple (2005) notes that sources about Asmat are used most because they are accessible in English.

In their article about research methods, HIV/AIDS and politics in Papua Indonesia, Australian and Canadian anthropologists, Jenny Munro and Leslie Butt (2012) indicate how hegemonic power and colonialism impacts on research about HIV/AIDS in West Papua. By analysing research methods used in the 62 studies about HIV/AIDS which were presented at the 9th International Conference on AIDS in Asia and the Pacific (ICAAP) held in Bali in 2009, Munro and Butt (2012) conclude that West Papua's HIV epidemic received very little attention in Indonesian research practices supported by International agencies and that the participation by West Papuan researchers is typically limited. These two open-minded anthropologists documented important findings in relation to the issues of HIV/AIDS in Tanah Papua during the ICAAP which assist me to understand the process of what Smith (2012) describes as 'colonising knowledge'. Munro and Butt (2012) discussed the epistemology that was mostly applied in research about HIV/AIDS in Indonesia. They argue that there was a tendency to promote a uniformity of methodology, given that broad international policy interests have provided limited space for research to incorporate experiences, values and beliefs in struggling nations (Munro and Butt, 2012, p. 335). Munro and Butt also believed that the mainstream research they observed at the conference applied approaches in which complex realities are rendered technical. Rendering technical is defined as "the process by which complex dimensions of human problems are reduced and simplified in order to produce general applicable, uncontested approaches that fit the agenda of state governments and international organisations" (Li, cited in Munro & Butt, 2012, p. 335). Lack of space in various approaches to generating data related to HIV/AIDS for different perspectives or methodologies resulted in limited policies to deal with the issues. They further criticised the most common methods, such as Evidence Based Medical (EBM) techniques, to generate the data needed in HIV prevention program designs as mostly supporting the interests and perspectives of the authors, not promoting openness to the people being researched (Munro & Butt, 2012, p. 336). The approaches in studies that were evident at the ICAAP were mostly quantitative, for instance base line studies as required by international donors to assess and evaluate their programs and policies. These international donors included the United Nations Children's Fund [UNICEF] 2004, 2007; World Health Organization [WHO] 2007; United Nations Educational, Sciences and Cultural Organisation [UNESCO] 2010, as well as the Australian Government Overseas Aid Program (AusAID), and the United States Agency for International

Development (USAID) (Munro & Butt, 2012, p. 340). Qualitative research results as described by Munro and Butt, “do not typically feed population-level interventions and policies that are desired by international organisations and governmental planners” (p. 340). The evidence based on numbers, as argued for by representatives of WHO in ICAAP, apply the positivistic paradigm which means there is no room for consideration of values, cultural practices and beliefs (Munro & Butt, 2012, p. 341). Their discussion illustrated the unbalanced power relationships between donors as invisible powers, Indonesia as the ruling power and West Papua as ruled. The state and international agencies are privileged in determining the use of certain methodological approaches in generating knowledge about the marginalised group and also to determine whose knowledge will be used. This is illustrated by neo-colonial practices; hegemonic power in knowledge production. In the context of Indonesia this occurs for a few reasons. First, donors and international agencies, who are mostly Western dominated, tend to control knowledge production. Second, as far as I experienced in Indonesia’s education institutions, as a former European colonised nation, critical thinking to challenge the Western epistemic hegemony and the effort to decolonise knowledge is lacking. The Indonesian knowledge production system is instead infused by the Western systems. Third, Indonesia as coloniser also controls West Papua through knowledge production. Munro and Butt (2012) believe that qualitative studies conducted by Indigenous Papuan scholars “can partially contest the rendering technical process” (p. 336). Thematically, qualitative studies conducted by West Papuan scholars are engaged with documenting sexual and cultural diversity, exploring complex contextualised and local understanding of sexual behaviour and sexuality and emphasise personal accounts and experiences, which is powerful. Munro and Butt listed a number of significant qualitative studies produced by Indigenous intellectuals that examine sexual values and norms in the context of culture. For example, Lokobal (1997) applied in-depth interviews, group discussion, observation and body mapping, arguing that these indicated the best methods to reflect complex beliefs and understanding. Another West Papuan researcher, Warwer (1997) investigated the influences of poverty and family dynamics on sexual practices that contribute to Sexual Transmitted Infection (STI) rates in Wamena in the central highlands of West Papua. Morin is another West Papuan academic at the local university, Universitas Cenderawasih (UNCEN) who used medical anthropology to frame a qualitative investigation to understand the context, character, location and distribution of commercial sex in urban, rural, lowland and highland regions (Munro & Butt, 2012).

Munro and Butt (2012) argue that these findings must be taken into account when designing HIV prevention approaches because they believe that first-person experiences are more powerful and persuasive than quantitative evidence or statistical presentations. They also believe that the work of the West Papuan scholars gives Indigenous West Papuans a chance to publicly speak for themselves about their experiences under Indonesian rule (p. 345). West Papuan scholars’ works are not always explicitly political, but they can pose a challenge to politically

motivated stereotyping and denial surrounding HIV/AIDS. Munro and Butt, (2012, pp. 345-346) argue that “qualitative research that provides extensive inquiry into culture and sexuality can be seen as an attempt to correct stereotypical views that minimises the epidemic or blame Indigenous cultural practices”. Such stereotypes included the alleged primitiveness, culture deficiencies, and hyper sexuality of West Papuans (Munro & Butt, 2012, p. 345). Munro and Butt (2012) also critique the works and attitudes of some international NGOs who work on the HIV/AIDS issue in West Papua. They cite a case where foreign consultants from InterAide, Addis Ababa, STOP AIDS NOW, Amsterdam and Medecins du Monde, Paris were hired to consult about grassroots HIV prevention programs in the highlands of West Papua by Medecins du Monde. These consultants concluded that “a critical step is investing in research...to understand the culture, habits and beliefs of groups of people with whom they are working”(Munro & Butt, 2012, p. 346). But, Munro and Butt point out that “such studies already exist but lack the legitimacy and recognition they deserve”. Instead, [West] Papuan-led studies “are largely absent from national domains such as ICAAP-9 or the Indonesia HIV/AIDS research inventory 2009”.

Political constraint is reflected in how colonial government works on limiting knowledge production in West Papua. This includes the systematic obstacles in disseminating research findings, conducted by West Papuan researchers themselves or experiences of some foreign researchers. International conferences such ICAAP are opportunities to legitimate the knowledge of West Papuan scholars, yet very few Papuan scholars were involved in that conference. The main reason was limited information about the conference. Munro and Butt (2012) believed that “these are some of the systematic constraints on Papuan participation in international settings that may shape academic interactions and contribute to the development of alternative knowledge traditions in Papua” (p. 342). They go onto state that the political situation is a major constraint faced by enthusiastic Indigenous (West Papuans) scholars who were anthropologically trained, and engaged in political activities as well. Scholars such as Arnold Ap, “have affirmed the importance of culture-based approaches as a potential avenue of political resistance for a generation of emerging scholars and activists” (Munro & Butt, 2012, p. 339). Arnold Ap, a West Papuan anthropologist, academic and folklorist was killed [in 1984] by the Indonesian military as a result of his efforts to raise issues of political self-determination through promoting culture. Even though researchers have acknowledged the impact of colonialism on the current situation of HIV/AIDS in West Papua they often fail to acknowledge its impact on knowledge production. An important point suggested by Munro and Butt (2012) concerns the need to develop a Papua research centre as part of West Papuans important strategy of taking control of knowledge production to challenge some of the stereotypical, racial judgments and images of West Papuans. West Papuan scholars are facing issues in relation to publishing their research findings in Indonesia due to the lack of availability of appropriate journals. Lack of English literacy is an issue for some of them who would like to publish their research findings in international journals.

Munro and Butt (2012) argue that “Papuan scholars tend to conduct qualitative research in teams, collaborating only in limited ways with Indonesian academics and institutions outside Papua” (p. 346). Munro (2014b) stated that local collaborative research providing specific, grounded evidence is needed to guide HIV prevention in West Papua. But most of the studies about HIV/AIDS in Indonesia applied a quantitative paradigm and only a few studies focused on qualitative information with an ethnographic approach. There is some collaborative research where Indonesian and West Papuan researchers work together. Sometimes this is when West Papuan researchers are classified and termed as ‘local’ researchers or *peneliti daerah* under the requirements of the International NGO standards. The classification is not based on their expertise but mostly on the geographical landscape; local–national. In the colonialism context this classification illustrates the unbalanced power relationship between centre and periphery where the centre has the authority to control the periphery. That is, local researchers are required, but not given authority in producing knowledge.

These issues raised by quantitative and positivistic approaches apply to the delivery of HIV/AIDS education programs, as well as to research. An article about transforming global AIDS knowledge written by Canadian scholar Holly Wardlow (2012), illustrated the hierarchy of knowledge in the global knowledge establishment where local educators who are positioned at a low level were expected to be unpaid volunteers playing an important role in the AIDS global economy. Wardlow’s account is important to consider as part of epistemological practices in the field even though she did not discuss this from a postcolonial perspective. Wardlow (2012) described that these educators are responsible for translating and imparting globally standardised and authorised knowledge about HIV and AIDS (p. 405). Her article is drawn from observation and textual analyses of an introductory AIDS awareness workshop in rural Papua New Guinea. According to Wardlow prevalence of HIV is most likely high in the rural area compared with the urban area and among a very young population. She stated that this is because of deteriorating health services, the high rate of untreated sexually transmitted infections, pervasive gender inequality, high rates of male mobility and an economy that is highly dependent on mining and other extractive industries (Wardlow, 2012, p. 405). Wardlow’s account focuses on the actors who transfer the knowledge. She introduces Sally Engle Merry’s concept of ‘mapping the middle’ which is “analysing the practices of those actors who do the social and epistemological labour of implementing policies that have been designed elsewhere” (p. 406). Moreover, Wardlow (2012) writes that the “anthropology of international health has effectively shown that the implementation of global policies is indeed messy and that results are often quite far from the original policy vision”. In the case of a local educator, Anna, in Huli, Papua New Guinea, Wardlow demonstrated the importance of the process of translation of the knowledge when the educator is supposed to follow the script, a manual handbook typically formulated for an English-speaking context. Translation as Aveling noted (in Wardlow, 2012) is “not a linear exercise in translation and information transfer,

but an agentic struggle over meaning for all involved” (p. 406). Apart from the issue of incompatibility between the information and the conceptual framework, Wardlow (2012) discusses hybrid knowledge which is an issue not only of Western knowledge but also Indigenous knowledge and decolonisation. In Wardlow’s account, Anna as a translator would be influenced by her class aspiration, interest and identity. In her account she shows how Anna, in translating the ABC-HIV prevention method, is not only translating but also incorporating and hybridising knowledge that she had absorbed from other sources. Anna was supplementing the handbook with her own hybridised knowledge which was not coming out of the script but instead was providing added value. Anna emphasised that men’s marital infidelity was related to women’s inability to maintain their beauty and body. She related this to women’s traditional domestic work on the farm which was associated with being dirty. This is an instance of Wardlow’s concern about hybrid knowledge. Even though Wardlow (2012) did not discuss the sources of information that contributed to Anna’s hybridised knowledge it is implied in her account that these resources were not based on traditional values or Indigenous knowledge but mostly imitated a modern way of life or Western practices. Anna is likely to be one of the Indigenous people who also meet the standardised categories to be chosen as an educator which makes this hybridisation even more important.

These arguments are critically important points to be considered in encouraging the critical consciousness of Indigenous West Papuan researchers. In Munro’s criticism of the new Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade(DFAT)funded research collaboration, led by the University of South Wales’ Kirby Institute, she foundthat “the norms for Indonesia’s HIV response, and the research behind it to be Java centric” (Munro, 2014b, p. 5). From the perspective of postcolonial Indigenousness, all the studies conducted by West Papuan scholars would have benefited the Indigenous people if these findings had been considered in the AIDS response in West Papua. However as Munro (2014b) argues, the research conducted by West Papuans “has not been taken up by government or donors in any systematic or co-ordinated fashion. This oversight relates to the fact that government agencies have yet to define or articulate any HIV research agenda for [West] Papua”. Representations which are political representations and re-representation, as argued by Spivak, are crucially important to constructing West Papuan identity and should be made central for the recognition as Munro (2014b) claims. Moreover, Munro (2014b) emphasises that “qualitative research deserves a place in [West] Papua’s HIV response, particularly as it leverages the skills and expertise of [West] Papuan researchers” (p. 5). She also makes clear that the West Papuan HIV/AIDS studies are asking questions about how political and economic inequalities contribute to the epidemic. She argued for the establishment of Papuan research centres which allow West Papuan researchers to actively contribute in the knowledge production. These Papuan research centres must consider Indigenous knowledge and other critical epistemologies.

2.3 Culture, Christianity and Politics, and HIV/AIDS

This section discusses literature about the AIDS response among the Melanesian societies of the New Guinea Islands. It is discussed in relation to Christianity, global culture, and the traditional framework, which all intersect with gender and colonialism.

2.3.1 Christianity

Christianity is one of the issues that has been the focus of study about HIV/AIDS in Melanesia. A study in the Eastern Highlands Provinces in Papua New Guinea by Public Health and Community Medicine scholars discussed sexuality among younger men and women focusing on 73 Year 12 students from three secondary schools (Kelly et al., 2010). They found that concepts about sex and sexuality in the younger generation were shaped by both traditional cultural norms and Christianity. The limitations in this article are the methods that were used in generating data about sexuality, by focus group discussion only. Discussing sexuality as a personal experience might be better explored using in-depth interviews. The authors argue that the young people in PNG are experiencing changes in the traditional values system and norms, which complicates sexuality and creates barriers to engage in safe sex as well as placing women in situations where sex is forced (Kelly et al., 2010). This study relied on texts produced by Western anthropologists. The researchers do not explore the impact of the global culture of sexuality, media and porn images or movies which have important roles in shaping the younger generation's lives. However, an important finding from this article is that sexual contact has been seen by some students as a sacred relationship, reserved for procreation, which is strongly related to Christian and cultural values. Other students see sex also for pleasure and emotional bonding, relating to the global sexual culture that I consider in the current study. Yet, this article has little discussion of the global sexual culture. The study found that younger women were less likely to discuss their sexuality publicly compared with the younger men (Kelly et al., 2010). Discussions about sex between the younger and older generations are rare in contemporary life, although explanation for this phenomenon is not provided by these authors. This article indicated that the language used by the younger generation in discussing sex is more likely connected to modern language or terms. As an example, some terms used in AIDS awareness materials written in *Tok Pisin*, a Creole language spoken throughout the region, tended to disguise sexual relations and were not recognised by students in their study. Kelly et al. (2010) claim that most of the students were more likely to use term such as 'fuck' to describe sexual intercourse instead of *koap* (Tok Pisin term for sexual contact) and as presented in HIV prevention messages. This was an example of an AIDS program in PNG that was relying on sexual language found in mainstream literature which emphasised culture, but did not consider the younger generation and their culture. I agree with the findings that emphasised the different responses from male and female students in discussing sexuality and that sharing within the younger peer group is important in discussing sex. Kelly et al. (2010) paid little attention to misogynist attitudes that shaped masculine sexuality and feminine

sexuality. This is important to take into account to provide holistic understanding to design any behavioural changes strategy.

In his article about resisting global AIDS knowledge and Christian narratives of the epidemic in Papua New Guinea, Eves (2012) implied that there is a failure of global knowledge implementation as it sits in negative tension with born-again Christian values. He commented that “imparting global AIDS knowledge is never straightforward: acceptance of even the most basic medical knowledge cannot be taken for granted. Christian beliefs about the causes and treatment of illness often present a difficult challenge to scientific explanations and methods of treatment” (p. 62). AIDS has been seen and understood from Christian viewpoints. Even global knowledge of ABC methods in HIV preventions – Abstinence, Be faithful and Condom use, were transformed into Christian principles where Condom was substituted with Christianity. This means condom use is avoided. Moreover, in his ethnography of rural communities in two separate regions in the Southern Highland province and New Ireland of Papua New Guinea in 2008 Eves (2012) illustrated that some Christians (rural communities in the research site) even reworked this completely. A for abstinence was altered to ‘Admit that you are a sinner’; B as be faithful translated to ‘Believe in the Lord’ and C for Condom becoming ‘Commit your life to Jesus’. Adding a new term alphabetically ‘D for Death’ meant prepare for death (p.68). This indicates the political impact of Christian fundamentalism in Papua New Guinea where it has become embedded in state principles. Eves (2012) also explained that Christianity has reinforced pre-existing moral frameworks, giving them a new force and authority in the context of modernity. As a result, “sexuality continues to be associated with immorality and deep shame, and open discussion of sex is frowned on, making it extremely difficult to engage in sex education and to publicly inform people about HIV prevention” (Eves, 2012, p. 64).

2.3.2 Colonialism and Hegemonic Culture

Critical study about HIV/AIDS in West Papua mostly relates the issues with social inequality and marginalisation as an impact of Indonesian colonisation. This section discusses the literature about the response of West Papua to the hegemonic culture that has been promoted by settlers, and the practices of health workers and HIV prevention staff.

An article authored by Leslie Butt and two West Papuan scholars, Gerdha Numbery and Jake Morin(2002), discussed the problematic use of a simplified concept of culture in AIDS prevention, including in discussion about condom use among Indigenous sex workers. Butt, Numbery and Morin (2002) acknowledge the political context of the colonial relationship between Indonesia and West Papua and argue that West Papuans, as colonised people, are subjected to Indonesian political culture. They found a tendency to blame culture, as illustrated by the images of West Papuans and their sexuality that they examined. Butt, Numbery and Morin found references to polygyny, wife swapping, promiscuity and unwillingness to learn new ideas, in descriptions by

Indonesian administrators as examples of traditional cultural barriers understood to prevent West Papuans from embracing knowledge about AIDS. These researchers explained that the Indonesian administrators are quick to reduce complex knowledge about West Papuan sexuality to specific behaviour such as a reluctance to use condoms or to practice safer sex. Dani people have been represented as having free sex parties, free sex and sex out of control.

In an ethnographic field trip from 2000 to 2005, Butt and Munro (2007) examined secrecy, sexuality, sex work and parenting among the Dani, a tribal group in Wamena, in the highlands of West Papua. In a paper drawn from this field trip, they investigated the impact of the hegemonic culture of Indonesia about sexuality among the younger generation. By focusing on the experiences of young Dani women, this study found that values, “institution and practices rooted in contemporary condition of colonialism intersect to impose interwoven rules and constraints on young women” (Butt & Munro, 2007, p. 587). Youth sexuality in the dominant narrative in Indonesia has been seen as abnormal, unhealthy and illegal, and these attitudes are reinforced through intimidation about the dangers of sex (Holzner & Oetomo in Butt & Munro, 2007). These dominant values of the Indonesian nation state are embodied by thousands of settlers who have migrated to Wamena and these impacted on the ongoing relationships between the settlers and the Dani. In Wamena, Indigenous people are commonly labelled by settlers as ‘left behind’, ‘backward’ or ‘stupid’ (Munro as cited in Butt & Munro, 2007) and need to be developed or transformed. Butt and Munro (2007) argue that the settlers dominate the fields of healthcare, social services and education and through these institutions, offer modern guidance (p. 588). The practices that do not fit the modern progress narratives are considered deviant and backward (Li in Butt & Munro, 2007). They also contend that sexual activity among young women is often motivated by economic reasons, however the sexuality of young women can be controlled by the family when it is related to virginity and bride wealth. Therefore, younger women are most likely to be “regularly engaged in pre- or extra-marital sex as part of attempts to resist having kin exert control over their sexuality” (Butt & Munro, 2007, p. 589). This study concluded that

themes of shame, disempowerment, judgment and vulnerability characterized the response of young girls and their families, emphasizing the widespread impact of the settler gaze and regulatory mechanism throughout young women’s sexual and reproductive lives. This study stated that young women in fact experience very high level of shame (Butt & Munro, 2007, p. 594).

I would argue that Dani women not only suffer dominant stereotyping about women through the Indonesian settler’s gaze but there is an indication of unbalanced power relationships between Dani men and women. The situation of the women reflects how power relationships are filtered through decision making and control over them. Control over their sexuality is an indication of the lack of balance in the power relationship in Dani culture.

A collaborative study conducted on the issue of stigma and HIV/AIDS in the highlands of

West Papua (2009) by Leslie Butt and West Papuan researchers Jack Morin, Gerdha Numbery, Ibrahim Peyon, and Andreas Goo illustrated how stigma is lowering the self-esteem of West Papuans. This study applied a qualitative approach to investigate stigma experienced by Indigenous people living with HIV/AIDS, how this experience differs between women and men, and in what ways the current socio-political conditions affect stigma and discrimination. There are four levels of stigmatisation as explained in this article; self-stigmatisation which is a self-generated internal mechanism, society-stigmatisation which includes abuse and ostracism at the level of culture and community, institutional-stigmatisation which is defined as preferential or discriminatory treatment in institutions, and structural-stigmatisation which encompasses wider phenomenon such as poverty and colonialism that consistently discriminate against particular groups (Butt et al., 2010, p. 5). In this study all respondents experienced strong stigma from many different sources, as well as from self-stigmatisation. Participants in this study described stigmatisation as being mostly triggered by disclosure of their HIV status. This stigma manifested in the social withdrawal and isolation of the participants. The social withdrawal is related to sanctions that were rooted in the cultural responses among the Dani people to contagious illness. Butt et al. (2010) found that the experience of stigma was roughly similar for both for men and women, however, self-stigmatising differed between men and women. Women's concerns about self-stigmatising are strongly linked to their role as potential providers of bride wealth and equity to be obtained through marriage. The men appeared to have less concern about keeping up appearances, and appear to have to do less to maintain their sense of social worth than women. Instead, men were more worried about potential loss of social status associated with disclosure. Stigmatisation was also found in health care. This included discriminatory statements such as calling people who are living with HIV/AIDS 'dirty', who should be shunned and punished. Fear of stigma was strongly linked to confidentiality. Butt et al. (2010) also found that the Indigenous people are more likely to engage with voluntary testing and follow the ARV (Anti-Retroviral) therapy if the health workers who deliver the services are West Papuans as they were particularly suspicious of migrant health workers. Indigenous women who are in ARV therapy are most likely to access the services in an Indigenous-run AIDS clinic, or an Indigenous-run NGO as they more often received support there to adhere to regimes. The study recommended several key points to address lack of cultural engagement in HIV prevention in the highlands of West Papua, however, no attention is given to Indigenous ways of healing from trauma or to enhance self-esteem of those who are stigmatised. Butt et al. (2010) acknowledge that family is crucial in providing some degree of protection to the people living with HIV/AIDS but discussion about family-based support to reduce stigma is not present in the recommendations of their study. There is also little consideration of gender issues in their account. The discussion of different responses by men and women on stigma is valuable, but it is important to understand these differences to be able to design a strategic gendered approach in HIV prevention programs. The concept of women and women's body is implied in the interviews but Butt et al. (2010) did not discuss this issue in any depth. Discussion about self-stigmatisation in the

context of colonialism could also be further discussed.

2.3.3 Unsafe Sexual Behaviours

Discussion about unsafe sexual behaviours or risky sexual contact mostly focuses on particular groups who are targeted as risk groups by AIDS programs. For example, there are articles about condoms and sex workers, condom use among the younger generation, pre-marital sex among the younger generation, coercive sex, and extra-marital sexual relations. The studies have been conducted using qualitative (Butt, Numbery & Morin, 2002; Franeubun, Buiney & Amenes, 2016) and quantitative (Silitonga et al., 2011; Diarsvitri et al., 2011) approaches. These scholars identified that most West Papuan sex workers do not work in brothels but seek sex partners at public events, through friends, and by approaching potential clients directly: this is different from the Indonesian migrant sex workers. In the rural sites where women are less able to fulfil their livelihood from subsistence production, sex work is an alternative to choose (Butt, Numbery & Morin, 2002). It is clear that the economic and social landscape of West Papua encourages women to be involved as sex workers.

Wardlow (2002) explained that some *Passindia* women in Tari, Papua New Guinea who behave like sex workers are known as *passindia meri*. Their engagement as sex workers is mostly driven by the absence of men in the society and a failure of men to fulfil cultural obligations to their family. In the case of PNG, Wardlow (2002) stated that PNG's changing economic situation has disrupted the gender roles which encourages women to turn to sex work or *passindia meri*. It is implied that men, husbands or all men in the extended family in Tari, have a cultural obligation to protect women, including from any potential sexual violation. When this cultural obligation is not fulfilled and there is a lack of legal law enforcement to protect women, women engage in what Wardlow (2002) classified as sexually promiscuous behaviour of women. She did not consider that this is a political strategy of women to counter this condition. Wardlow (2002) did not discuss the changes, including changes in the gender role in Tari society, deeply, which implicated oversimplification of certain phenomenon that occurs in the society. Yet, as stated in Wardlow (2002) high prevalence of STIs in rural PNG indicated that condom use in rural areas is low.

In West Papua, as Butt, Numbery and Morin (2002) described, condom use also repeats the stratification found within the sex work industry. Indonesian migrant sex workers are most likely to use condoms as they work in brothels and bars. This is because more condom promotion is targeted at these groups. These scholars found that less than 5 percent of West Papuan sex workers in the rural areas use condoms and a test for HIV run by a non-profit organisation indicated that among 100 Papuan men who admitted to ever having sexual contact with a sex worker, eight of them were HIV positive (Butt, Numbery & Morin, 2002, p.7).

Another unsafe sexual behaviour practice documented in a study in rural Papua New

Guinea by Wardlow (2007) is men having extra-marital sex which Wardlow identifies as infidelity. Wardlow noted that men's infidelity was related to male migration. When men leave the family for a period of time, they tend to have a paid sexual relationship. Wardlow also described that by paying bride wealth men consider they have the privilege to conduct extra-marital sex whenever they want. Wardlow points out that extra-marital sexual relationships become an issue for the spread of HIV if safe sex is not considered. However, in discussing the factors that contributed to the infidelity of men Wardlow ignores other important issues such as pornography and interaction with new norms, values and practices. When people migrate (mostly men in this case), they frequently adopt and are more open to new values, norms, and practices. Men who migrate are free to conduct extra-marital sexual relations out of their society where there is less social control and they may no longer practice safe sex. When they return to their villages, they continue to engage in extra-marital sex although they fear being caught and this encourages them to finish the sexual contact quickly and deters them from using condoms (p. 3). Extra-marital sex in the village is forbidden, which might be related to Christian or cultural values. Absence of condom use may however be related to the lack of availability of condoms in villages but Wardlow (2007) disregarded this. A critical point in Wardlow's account is that discussion about sex and sexuality in marriage between husband and wife appears to be taboo.

Pornography, for example, promotes the concept of sex as pleasure and offers certain sexual fantasies which differ from the idea of sex for procreation which is the central value in the older generation's marriage culture. The global circulation of ideas about sexuality, via popular culture for instance, brought redefinition of the nature of the intimate (Eves & Butt, 2008). Eves and Butt described how the commodification of sexuality and commercialisation of sex has occurred, and moved beyond the state boundaries.

The issue of coercive sex among youth is also raised in some studies about West Papua as well as about Papua New Guinea. Coercive sex or sexual violence in the context of HIV/AIDS is strongly related to the inability to negotiate or practice safe sex. It is also related to trauma of the sexual organs that can potentially contribute to sexual infections. Higgins, Hofman and Dworkin (2008) stated that feminists argue that gender inequality places women in an unequal power position that makes insisting on condom use difficult if not impossible (p. 436). Coercive sex indicated that the young women have less control over their sexuality. Higgins, Hofman and Dworkin (2008) state that the relationship power imbalance and gendered based violence have been associated with reduced sexual autonomy and thus greater vulnerability to HIV as well as other sexually transmitted diseases.

Most studies on Papua New Guinea emphasised the link between violence and gang rape and the spread of HIV, and most of the researchers believe that this behaviour is profound and complex and has deep cultural and historical underpinning (Lepani, 2008). In her paper about

mobility, violence and the gendering of HIV in Papua New Guinea, Katherine Lepani (2008), an Australian scholar, argues that violence, especially gender violence, defines and expresses masculinity through acts perpetrated against women.

A quantitative collaborative study conducted among sex workers in Timika by Australian, Indonesian and West Papuan researchers (Silitonga et al., 2011) aimed to investigate the trend of sexually transmissible infections (STIs) in female sexual workers in one brothel, several bars and street-based sex workers in Timika. It was estimated by the Mimika Health District Office that there were around 600 female sex workers in Timika when their study was conducted. Screenings were conducted among 3,086 female sex workers from January 1997 to June 2002 and socio-demographic and sexual behaviour data were obtained and laboratory tests were performed to diagnose STIs. Around 70 percent of participants in the study were from Java, 25 percent were from Sulawesi, and only 1.2 percent were women who originated from Papua. It is not clear whether they were West Papuans or not. This study reported that around 17.3 percent of sex workers had regular partners, dominated by miners (34 percent), followed by entrepreneurs (13 percent) and military and policemen (10.5 percent) (Silitonga, et al., 2011). Regular partners in this account were identified as a man with whom the female sex worker had an ongoing sexual relationship. This study found that the brothel sex workers had a significantly higher prevalence of gonorrhoea but independent sex workers, including those who worked in the bars and street-based workers, were mostly infected with *Chlamydia Trachomatis* or *Trichomonas Vaginalis*. Moreover, the researchers argue that the independent sex workers had a higher prevalence of all STIs, including gonorrhoea, chlamydia, syphilis, trichomonas and HIV compared with the brothel sex workers (Silitonga et al., 2011, p. 63). The HIV infection rate increased significantly from 0.2 percent in 1997 to peak at 1.4 percent in 2001. The researchers found that 19 sex workers were detected with HIV infection. The study additionally described that the proportion of female sex workers who work in bars decreased and correspondingly those operating as freelance sex workers increased. Condom use, as identified in this study, is low. Silitonga et al. (2011) stated that “condom use among Indonesian female sex workers is related to how knowledgeable people are about HIV/AIDS, rather than availability or expense”. The authors argue that many female sex workers believe that STIs can be avoided by selection of clients, taking traditional medicines, using antibiotics and vaginal douching. Apart from little discussion on sex workers who originate from West Papua, the important result of this study informed us that the target of HIV prevention should be the independent sex workers rather than those in brothels. This is because it is relatively difficult to engage the independent sex workers in the HIV prevention program. This study makes clear that increasing knowledge about condoms has to parallel the distribution of condoms. As Freeport mining activities have had a significant effect on the demand for sex workers in Timika, it has to consider knowledge regarding safe sex among miners.

In 2011 a study was conducted by a team of collaborative Indonesian and Australian

researchers focused on West Papuan students across different cultural background from private, government and vocational senior high schools in Papua and West Papua provinces. According to the authors (Diarsvitri et al., 2011) the researchers consisted of nine medical doctors and 12 NGO staff who work on HIV prevention. The authors came from the Department of Community Health, Australian Demographic and Social Research Institute, Statistical Consulting Unit and Health Research and Development for Biomedicine. This study conducted a quantitative survey among 1,082 students (546 female students and 536 male) and followed this by interviewing 40 purposively selected participants to explore the students' perspectives and experiences relating to sexuality, contraceptive use, unintended pregnancy, and unsafe abortion, across gender and sex. It was found that senior high school students from allethnicities often started a sexual relationship before they reached their 15th birthday. The study found a strong association which showed that mixed-ethnicity students were most likely (49 percent) to be having sexual experiences compared with West Papuan students (45 percent) and non-West Papuan students (25 percent). Across different ethnicities, around 81 percent of the students had experienced their first sexual intercourse with their friends and about 10 percent with others including relatives and 11 percent with sex workers. Of the 38 percent of students who had sexual intercourse, around 96 percent of them experienced vaginal intercourse. Male students (47.6 percent) were most likely to have had sexual intercourse, compared to only 29.1 percent of female students. Interestingly there were different opinions of male and female students regarding reasons to have had sex. Most of the female students, across all ethnicities (22 percent) viewed sex as a way to express love while only 10 percent of male students gave this reason. Sexual desire was reported as the main reason by around 30 percent of male students compared to 19 percent of female students. Curiosity is another reason for conducting sexual contact reported by around 16 percent of male students. These result show that norms about virginity were not being respected. This study also found that of 36 percent of sexually active students, 26 percent of them have had sexual contact with multiple partners and only 1 percent used a condom in the last 12 months. Diarsvitri et al. (2011) found that among the younger age population in West Papua around 18 percent of female students had experienced coercive sex and 9.6 percent of them gave as the reason for their first sexual encounter fear that their relationship would break up if they refused. Conversely only 0.6 percent of males had experienced coercive sex (Diarsvitri et al., 2011). These behaviours were defined as risky sexual behaviour. This study revealed that condoms in West Papua are provided free but not targeted to the students. Data was segregated by men and women but referred only to sex, not gender. This limited deeper explanation might emerge from consideration of gendered power dynamics. The data presented indicated power imbalance in gender and sexuality which potentially increased the vulnerability of female students. The authors recommended risk-behaviour change strategies as a priority in the HIV prevention program, including school based comprehensive sex and HIV education programs that cover abstinence. Details about risk-behaviour strategies are, however, lacking. The researchers ignore the fact that school is also the institution that maintains

stereotyped gender norms about men and women as well as racial stereotypes as implied in the interviews with teachers who participated in the study.

Even though condom promotion is one main HIV prevention method in West Papua the use of condoms is still a problem. Academics in international relations at the Universitas Cenderawasih (Franeubun, Buiney & Amenes, 2016) estimated that there were around 200 commercial sex locations in Jayapura city, the capital city of Papua province. This article does not provide information as to whether these locations include the Indigenous sex workers or migrant sex workers only; I assume this is because the street workers, who are mostly Indigenous West Papuans, are not registered. This study focused on how local government policy about sex workers and condom use protects West Papuan clients. The Papua Health office reported that in the latest survey in 2014, only 16.5 percent of men consistently use condoms during paid sexual contact. The researchers found that Indigenous men from West Papua were most likely to visit the *Tangga Seribu* brothel, but had the least interest in using condoms. Around 15 of 31 migrant sex workers in *Tangga Seribu* brothel were interviewed in this study and two of them were HIV positive; most feared disclosing their status to potential clients. Clients refused to use condoms according to the sex workers mostly due to lack of awareness of the importance of condoms for protecting themselves, while others claimed that condoms reduce sexual satisfaction. Sex workers attempted to persuade their clients to use condoms in several ways, including explaining the risk of not using condoms, threatening not to offer sexual services and a few providing rewards to the clients by offering additional service time or free sex services.

Munro (2015) in a brief paper entitled 'The 2013 survey on HIV in Tanah Papua' described a survey, Integrated Bio-Behavioural Survey (IBBS), which used the most recent Tanah Papua-wide survey of HIV indicators. Participants of the IBBS were 2,894 men and 3,012 women aged 15-49 who were interviewed about their sexual behaviour and knowledge of HIV. This survey was conducted in 12 districts in both provinces using five sites in the highlands, four in easily accessible coastal areas, and three in hard-to-access coastal areas. The 2013 IBBS found HIV prevalence of 2.9 percent among Indigenous Papuans and 0.4 percent among non-Indigenous Indonesians. Around 12.7 percent of men stated that they had extra-marital sex in the 12 months before the survey, 4.7 percent said that they had paid sex while around 10.5 percent had sex with casual partners (*pasangan tidak tetap*) or non sex workers (Munro, 2015). Among those who reported extra-marital sex in the previous 12 months, 16.5 percent of the men consistently used condoms during paid. The national target for consistent condom use by males during paid vaginal sex is 65 percent (Munro, 2015). Just 5.6 percent of men and 1.3 percent of women reported that they had consistently used condoms during sex with a casual partner. This report stated that since 2006 consistent use of condoms among men reportedly decreased. Munro further claims that the IBBS 2013 findings indicated that the disproportionate HIV prevalence among Indigenous Papuans required a specific set of strategies to address this serious health inequality. Munro suggested

themes that need to be followed-up: contemporary Papuan relationships, views on fertility and condoms, masculinities and male sexuality, and cultural and political aspects of HIV services.

2.4 Politics and HIV/AIDS

This section discusses HIV/AIDS issues related to politics within the political context of West Papua and policies regarding HIV/AIDS in Indonesia and international agencies and donors. Some valuable studies have been undertaken indicating that the HIV/AIDS issue for West Papuans has been linked to the political aspirations of West Papuans. In an article about AIDS and conspiracy thinking in West Papua, Leslie Butt (2005a) argues that West Papuans understand sex work and AIDS in relation to their political condition. She wrote that in “a host of societies, prostitutes and sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) have provided potent symbols in rumours of otherness, contagion, assault and invasion” (Butt, 2005a, p.431). Rumours are described as a form of talk that threaten, usually in a highly evocative symbolic manner, seemingly unrelated events. Butt linked claims made by West Papuan participants in her study to lack of infrastructure due to the political situation in West Papua. By focussing on sex workers and HIV/AIDS in West Papua Butt investigated rumours in conspiracy thinking. She developed her research question not in relation to whether the claims were true or not but rather, “how are the political conditions constitutive of the truth claims so formulated?” (Butt, 2005a, p.414). She argues that conspiracy theories are neither true nor false but are reflections and responses to certain political conditions moreover, “if the claims are seen as potentially true, they are amenable to rational analytical scrutiny; if the claims are not seen to be true they can be categorized as rumour” (p. 413). Conspiracy thinking reveals two things to its Papuan adherents: first, the inconsistencies of Indonesian rule and second, the conspiratorial practices used by outsiders to maintain the hegemony. Butt shows that inconsistency is embedded in the ways HIV prevention is communicated and translated into practice in West Papua. She described three critical issues related to inconsistency: first, scientific explanation about disease transmission is missing while the effects of AIDS are rendered as horrible and spectacular; second, although AIDS is said to be a danger, the main prevention message about the importance of condoms is absent and third, the legitimacy of government rhetoric about AIDS and STI prevention, including the promotion of abstinence, is undermined by obvious state support for illegal brothels that employ Indonesian sex workers and interventions that favour the very sex workers who are reviled in public discourse.

The attitudes and practices of some donors weaken self-empowerment in local organisations. Munro (2014a) for example, describes the ways that some international donors and their Indonesian branches and partners are funding and setting priorities for HIV services by bringing in experts from Jakarta to run research or other studies, and continually replace and relocate staff just as they start to function well in the highlands. Munro (2014a) points out the importance of a locally-defined effort to overcome the epidemic. She tells a story of an International

NGO, the Global Fund, who reportedly proposed using GPS (Global Positioning System) technology to map out condom availability in Wamena in response to criticism of the lack of availability. She makes clear that this is useless when no condoms are available to be mapped, implying lack of contextual understanding. Another story is based on experiences of Yukemdi and Klinik Kalvari with USAID. Yukemdi or *Yayasan Usaha Kesejahteraan Ekonomi Desa Indonesia* is a local NGO in Wamena that focuses on HIV/AIDS. Yukemdi conduct training for the field facilitators named *relawan adat*, literally meaning traditional volunteers who work on promoting awareness and HIV testing. Klinik Kalvari is a health care organisation that deliver AIDS treatment. This donor body, with money to spend on HIV in West Papua, proved uninterested or unable to work productively with these NGO-led activities. Munro (2014a) discusses the dysfunction of the AIDS Commission and other government agencies in Wamena. The AIDS Commission often acts in violation of their mandate as they tend to directly implement activities (where the money is) rather than provide leadership. Overall, government intervention brings massive disorganisation, bureaucratic red tape and wasted resources (Munro, 2014a). The political context of West Papua is also considered in Munro's report which relates to the establishment of more new regions and districts as partition policies in West Papua since 2001. She argues that "the priorities for new administration zones are infrastructure and human resources, not HIV services" and "local government agencies charged with providing leadership and guidance for the HIV response are embroiled in corruption, and lack both the ideas and the authority to provide genuine leadership" (p. 12). Munro also raised a reflective question: Are HIV programs and services that seem expensive, non-standardised, and hard to monitor, necessarily problematic if they are effective? Munro then discusses future responses to HIV/AIDS in West Papua in the context of community leadership and empowerment. A shift in power away from the government agencies and international donors should be implemented instead of pressuring West Papuan NGOs to fit into limiting models of pre-established programs and policy wisdom (Munro, 2014a).

Munro's (2014a) report challenges the hegemony of external power and recognises the subaltern status of West Papuans in the context of HIV response. She highlights strategies not only in relation to knowledge production but also to practical action. She affirms Indigenous ways or socio cultural ways that Yukemdi applied as protocols in addressing HIV in the highlands of West Papua. This includes acknowledging local ownership of this model. Further study is needed to develop the Indigenous protocol of HIV response based on strong critical thought and engaging Indigenous knowledge.

In her account about teaching and implementation of confidentiality Butt (2011) draws from participant observation and in-depth interviews with clinic staff in 2009 and 2010 in highland West Papua. This study illustrates how donors who conduct training for counsellors implicitly enable violation of confidentiality in West Papuan health care. This has discouraged West Papuans from being involved in HIV testing, postponing or rejecting treatment, care and support. Good

counselling must be put into practice via the three 'Cs'; convenience, confidentiality and credibility (Angotti et al. in Butt, 2011). Butt argues that "breaches in confidentiality arise because the training programs organized by international agencies like Family Health International, or explicitly humanitarian ones like Médecines du Monde, do not provide adequate training for counsellors to implement best practices" (p. 333). Confidentiality is defined as "the practice of keeping secret all facets of the relationship between client and health care worker" (Corey, Corey & Callahan in Butt, 2011, p. 320). However "the materials of the training manuals rely strongly on the publications from international NGOs such as Family Health International, multilateral agencies such as the WHO and UNAIDS and national governments such as India and Zimbabwe" (p.327). There are no references from Indonesian scholars or even references from Papua New Guinea, despite striking cultural parallels. Some materials in the training manuals are presented in English only and do not match with the cultural context in West Papua. Lack of understanding and empathy of the migrant HIV or health workers around the complexity of secrecy, shame and stigma in West Papuan culture also contributed to lack of confidentiality. Local race relations and lack of trust in the immigrant health workers due to this issue discouraged West Papuan clients from being tested or treated. Home visits as part of self-care in a global strategy of HIV prevention do not work in West Papua's cultural context; the clients may well give a false address (Butt, 2011, p. 330). Butt also described the attitudes of the health workers and their gossiping about clients' status or sharing client information with others; further "there is no doubt that programs could be improved by giving greater power to Indigenous Papuans to provide health care to their own people" (p. 333). All these practices by international agencies and donors remind us of Spivak's account of hegemonic power in the humanitarian intervention conducted by International NGOs (Morton, 2003). Humanitarian interventions are "mobile sovereignties that seek to link transnational forms of domination to local political practices with little regard for local values and realities: intolerant, aggressive, and oblivious to the diversity and complexity of the world" (Butt, 2011, p. 322).

There has been limited study conducted on local leadership and policies related to HIV prevention in West Papua. Urbanisation and a growing cash economy in West Papua enhance opportunities for sexual transactions and the sex industries. Franeubun, Buiney and Amenes (2016) described regulations regarding the use of condoms at the national level and provincial level issued by the Ministry of Health and Local Government. This study concluded that the practice of condom promotion in the HIV prevention program in West Papua is less likely to be considering these regulations.

2.5 Community Empowerment and Transformative Learning through Indigenous Approaches in AIDS Responses

Hegemonic power as previously described in research culture and knowledge production is

filtered throughout the practice of HIV program implementation in West Papua. Akena (2012,p. 616) reminds us that knowledge produced by the dominant group in a society has often been a tool of domination, oppression and exploitation due to unequal power relations. “Knowledge production for any society by hegemonic groups easily leads to domination, oppression and control, which is not in the best interest of the beneficiary society”(Akena, 2012, p. 630). Such practices are barriers to the implementation of better solutions to address HIV/AIDS issues in West Papua. There are some discussions about community empowerment, and transformative learning which consider the socio cultural context in the West Papua context. Akena (2012) suggests that colonised people “should engage with Indigenous knowledge discursive frameworks and anticolonial and transformative learning theories to pave the way for a clear understanding of the process of knowledge production” (p.605). Akena (2012) cites a scholar, Dei who argues that “a critical understanding of transformative learning is that education should be able to resist oppression and domination by strengthening the individual holistically” (p. 605)using Indigenous languages which are repositories of customs, values, and cultures of the Indigenous communities.

These issues are discussed in the report written by Munro (2014a) as a working paper for State, Society and Government in Melanesia (SSGM) at ANU. By discussing the work of an Indigenous-led NGO in Wamena, Munro amplified the important message of engaging culture in HIV prevention programs and showed that the achievement benefited Indigenous people, notwithstanding discussion of some obstacles including political issues. This report was based on the author’s interaction with Yukemdi’s staff and her observation during a visit in Wamena. The author also engaged in discussion with staff of the Indigenous-run clinic known as Klinik Kalvari. Munro (2014a) described that the Klinik Kalvari’s staff estimated that only one of five clients who tested HIV positive returned to the clinic for treatment on an ongoing basis. It was relatively common to hear that a person had started on her or his journey of treatment along with several relatives or families, but was now receiving clinical services alone (Munro, 2014a). Yukemdi is an Indigenous-led NGO that considers the socio cultural approach in its AIDS program in the highlands. The leader, and most staff of this NGO are Indigenous people. In 2011 Yukemdi joined forces with the Australian-funded HIV Cooperation Program for Indonesia to shape traditional volunteers (*relawan adat*). Unlike most NGOs in West Papua, Yukemdi does not provide Voluntary Counselling and Testing (VCT) or outreach targets. Instead, it connects people to the treatment and “forms part of their upfront conversation with the clients and internally” (Munro, 2014a, p. 8). These volunteers are active in reaching the clients in social spaces where most Indigenous people interact and use these informal opportunities to share information in Indigenous ways; for example at a funeral, on the street, on a bus ride, at church while offering coffee, or betel nut chewing. The language that is used is the native language or a mix of languages to improve clarity. Using Indigenous language in health institutions like Klinik Kalvariwidely reinforced the visitor’s

conceptions about HIV/AIDS and applications of the concepts.

The volunteers make themselves available to connect those who want to be tested with the clinic and treatment. They also accompany the clients when receiving their results, in particular to explain what an HIV positive result means, and also to respond to questions about social and political aspects of HIV. These volunteers also assist the clients to manage panic or fear related to their results. Therefore, the volunteers sometimes stay near the Voluntary Counselling and Testing site keeping an eye out for confused or lost people (Munro, 2014a, p. 3). Klinik Kalvari is transforming information about HIV into culturally accessible knowledge using analogies that represent daily life practices in order to make it easier for the Indigenous people to understand HIV and how the virus spreads in the body. The staff recently produced a 'fence model' that they use to explain HIV to new positive clients, or other clients who missed follow-up visits and treatment. The model is designed as a miniature traditional *silimo* (extended family residence) with a number of huts (*hona*) surrounded by a protective fence. Clients were told, the fence represents a person's CD4 immune system cells.

HIV creates perforations in the fence, by which pigs, (opportunistic infections, and well-known to Indigenous locals as destroyers of cultivated gardens) can enter the *silimo*/body. Taking antibiotics first is meant to shoo the pigs out of the yard, then antiretroviral medication (ARV) helps rebuild the fence. Staying on medication helps keep the fence (immune system cells) solid and intact (Munro, 2013, p. 6).

This approach is sensitive to the cultural and social life of highlanders in a respectful way as well as using appropriate language. Munro (2013) also explains that the welcoming cultural way the clients are greeted by the front desk staff of Klinik indicates their acceptance in the clinic. The achievement of these local institutions is that over 3,000 people in the Jayawijaya regency have had HIV tests. Some of these people are being treated at Klinik Kalvari or being managed at the public health clinic by the volunteers. Nevertheless, Munro (2013) discusses the obstacles that are faced by these Indigenous-led institutions – technical issues and donor attitudes. The technical matters relate to facilities to support volunteers' mobility to reach the clients or potential clients due to the difficult geographical landscape of the highlands, such as motor bikes and mobile phones. These facilities would be helpful in the support of dedicated volunteers. The salary that volunteers receive is another issue. Munro (2013) explained that in towns like Wamena, where living costs are high, the honorarium of around \$50 AUD monthly for the volunteers is not appropriate and will discourage them from continuing their important role and look for other better paid employment.

Christianity has influenced most of West Papua and Melanesia more broadly as the dominant religion. Some studies have identified that Christian values can act as barriers in HIV prevention programs and also trigger stigma for some people. However, they can also be used to empower people as being healing to the society. In an article 'Church has AIDS', Gibbs, a Catholic

priest, writes about what he describes as a practical and prophetic theological response to the challenge of HIV/AIDS in Papua New Guinea. This article (Gibbs, 2008) shared experiences of practical theology that described some interesting points indicating that the church has taken positive action in response to HIV/AIDS in Papua New Guinea. Keenan (in Gibbs, 2008) noted that HIV/AIDS tends to spread where there is social instability. Referring to PNG, Gibbs (2008) further argues that people are particularly vulnerable because their lives and their social settings lack the stability needed to live safely in a time of HIV/AIDS. I consider this account of Papua New Guinea as important as Christianity has impacted on most of the people in West Papua. Gibbs acknowledges that people experience internal stigma when they isolate themselves and feel they are being punished for something they have done. In a meeting of Church leaders, the Catholic Bishop of the Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea agreed to promoting condoms as implied in a Statement of Concern; “as there is still no cure, prevention of AIDS is the only way to fight it. Everyone has the right to honest and complete information of what HIV and AIDS are, how the virus is transmitted, and what all possible means of protection are” (Gibbs, 2008, p. 6). Gibbs also claims that Church agencies are trying to find ways to bring about a vision of women and girls as ‘valuable’ rather than ‘vulnerable’. In his account he described some practical ways to deal with the issue of HIV/AIDS in Papua New Guinea which integrate theological approaches, such as seminars, that he stated act as an eye opener for the participants; for example a week-long workshop for men called ‘Men Matters’ where they discuss marital rape to address the issue of control over women’s sexuality as well as various other forms of violence. Gibbs (2008) commented that “the Church has a responsibility to honour that vision of life which is true despite human suffering” (p. 11). He further explained that this is the reason why every effort must be made to incorporate People Living With HIV and/or AIDS (PLHA) into the life and practices of the church, establishing solidarity with them, making them welcome as integral and valuable members of the community, and making it possible for them to practice in real and meaningful ways in Church and community life. He also stated that healing is “the belief that people and communities can change and that change comes through strengthening relationships between people” (p. 9). However, Gibbs then identified specific issues that constrain the Church’s AIDS responses. Globalisation and secularism are reducing Church influence in the wider society. Gibbs (2008) also noted that the international based agencies mostly come with personnel who do not see working with the Church as a priority.

2.6 Summary

This literature review chapter has reviewed pertinent studies about West Papua as well as other places seen through the eyes of Indigenous people, and concludes that for a true understanding of the HIV/AIDS situation in West Papua the voices of local Papuans must be heard and their perceptions about sexuality must be incorporated in any HIV prevention program in the province. Such an approach may be based on a framework that was developed by Spivak. This

review of literature provides some critical points that I consider in this thesis as well as the gap of knowledge and practice in response to AIDS in West Papua. There are some gaps found in the literature that have not been discussed so far including epistemology, methodology and premises that were used. Impact of colonialism and neo-colonialism on hegemonic epistemology that applied in some studies about culture, sexuality and HIV/AIDS is one gap. Limited discussion on contemporary sexuality and global culture is another gap identified in the literature. Discussion about gender is less likely to focus on gender values, femininity, masculinity and how these aspects influence sexual behaviour. Since the cases of HIV/AIDS in West Papua have increased among the Indigenous people, critical consciousness is needed to examine not only practical aspects but also epistemology. Spivak (Morton, 2003) demonstrated the political value of deconstruction by focusing on the rhetorical blind spots or grounding mistakes which stabilise conventional notions of truth and reality. The main themes emerging from the literature are sexuality, culture, colonialism, and effect on knowledge production, as well as the implications for wise and culturally appropriate responses to AIDS. These themes have been assessed within a critical consciousness in order to identify the knowledge gap that will be addressed in this thesis and also to highlight key important findings that need to be considered in HIV prevention. Critical consciousness in epistemology begins with considering an Indigenous research methodology in knowledge production. This will be described in the methodology chapter which follows.

3 METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

During the first six months of my PhD studies, I began to read some painful texts with racist and judgmental overtones that described West Papuan sexuality as that of primitive people. Other authors noted that colonialism has shaped images of the sexuality of West Papuans. Yet, as I have been situated as an Indonesian, western-trained researcher, the study that I planned to conduct applied typical social science research methods. I was not initially considering Indigenous, postcolonial research methods. I was not formally prepared to undertake research as an Indigenous researcher. At the beginning of the research, I was unaware of the postcolonial and Indigenous research paradigms. In 2014 I attended the international Indigenous Pre-conference on HIV and AIDS (www.indigenoushivaid2014.com) held in Sydney before the International Conference on HIV/AIDS in Melbourne (www.aids2014.org) which encouraged me to look for a new paradigm for my present study. My meetings with other Indigenous scholars from Canada, New Zealand, the USA, and Australia encouraged me to reflect on myself as an Indigenous West Papuan feminist. I realised that this study should critically consider an Indigenous perspective. This means understanding the traumatic colonial experiences of West Papuans (and the Kamoro people in particular) because of the Dutch and Indonesian occupations. Political issues in West

Papua that contributed to the sufferings of the colonised people including women, are given little attention in the Indonesian feminist literature which informed my background. I came across postcolonial Indigenous literature and encountered several Aboriginal Australian scholars in Yunggoendi, First Nation Centre for Higher Education and Research in Flinders University (www.flinders.edu.au/yunggoendi). Yet, even though I am an Indigenous West Papuan specifically from Muyu, I was not invited by the Kamoro people in the same way as other Indigenous researchers have been or might be. Mine has been an academic journey and I have experienced the dynamic of being both an insider and outsider during the research. From this background I subsequently developed a methodology that adopts both conventional social science and postcolonial Indigenous approaches.

The postcolonial Indigenous paradigm allows researchers to examine how colonialism influences Indigenous people (Chilisa, 2012). The reason for applying a postcolonial Indigenous approach in this research is because it allows the researcher to understand a historically oppressed group's life experience and history and it has the potential to be a healing and transformative approach. With a colonised nation that has been forced to change their culture to mainstream culture, this approach will help the colonised people to find their identity through self-determination. Moreover, the postcolonial Indigenous paradigm allows the researched people to describe themselves based in a way they recognise, know themselves and would like others to know them (Chilisa, 2012). By applying the postcolonial Indigenous approach, this research not only documented the Kamoro people's experiences as a colonised people based on their own cultural understanding and values but also represents them in the literature in order to balance or confront misconceptions about the Kamoro people. By doing this, the voice of self-determination and social justice through knowledge production can be facilitated. However, as a conventional social sciences researcher I was aware that the need for a decolonising mind had been taken into account.

In the present study I maintain a conscious awareness of ethical issues and take into account Indigenous research protocols that have been discussed by Indigenous scholars in other places or in relation to particular topics. I note the comments of Smith (2012) that there are issues that Indigenous researchers have struggled with individually, namely the demands of research which include the paradigm or research model of a project or an institution where they are employed on the one hand, and the realities they encounter within their own communities or among other Indigenous people on the other. When referring to these issues she argues:

There are a number of ethical, cultural, political and personal issues that can present special difficulties for Indigenous researchers who in their communities, work partially as insiders, and are often employed for this purpose and partially as outsiders, because of their Western education or because they may work across clan, tribe, linguistic, age and gender boundaries (Smith, 2012, p. 5).

Some issues challenged the Indigenous research protocols that I was aware of due to the ethical research protocols required by the University and the standards in reporting the results of the study. The tensions that I needed to negotiate in this research include the requirement of anonymity and the ownership of knowledge that is presented in the thesis: the context of West Papua in terms of who should or should not be involved in this study relating to the age of participants. Language that is used in the thesis, is another tension that needed to be negotiated. I also needed to deal with the set time of finishing the PhD as well as my scholarship which is also an issue that needed to be negotiated. Moreover, the University has protocols for conducting research about Australian Aboriginal people but not for conducting research with Indigenous people in other places. Nonetheless, I was encouraged to be aware of the principles developed to apply to research with Australian Aboriginal people when conducting research about the Kamoro people. The Kamoro people, as well as other Indigenous groups of West Papua, have not yet developed ethics protocols for conducting research in, by or about Indigenous West Papuans unlike Aboriginal people in Australia (Jamieson, et al., 2012), Canada or New Zealand (Maori and Psychology Research Unit, 1999) who own their research protocols. Therefore, although I have applied an Indigenous perspective in this study I acknowledge that there are some limitations due to negotiations I made in applying this approach as described above and on which I elaborate below.

Any investigation of the rights of Indigenous people raised by an Indigenous West Papuan, or even an Indonesian scholar will create political implications not only in the research process but also for the researcher. The previous experiences of some researchers, Indigenous and non-Indigenous, of being intimidated as a result of conducting research that potentially raises the consciousness of West Papuan identities, culture or politics is a consequence that I considered. For example, I considered the fate of Arnold Ap, a West Papuan folklorist (Winduo, 2000) whose suspicious death near the Freeport Port mine in 1984 was correlated to “the Indonesian authorities sanction on any development of Melanesian cultural consciousness” (p. 610). Leslie Butt, a foreign scholar, is another example. In her study in Wamena, in the highlands of West Papua she was working with a research permit but her study was interfered with by Indonesian authorities (Butt, 1998).

Access to the villages and control over the villagers in West Papua is significantly connected to political policy in Indonesia. In Butt’s work mentioned above Indonesian authorities discouraged any study that might empower or give voices to the Indigenous population (p. 39). This practice continues, and I experienced it in this current study. There is a regulation where government required that all researchers, Indonesian and foreign, must get permission to enter the villages. If I did not get permission from the district, my presence in the villages would be questioned and I would not be allowed to stay in the villages. This permission authority is known as the *KESBANGPOL (Kesatuan Bangsa dan Politik)*, which literally means national unity and politics,

and is a directorate under the Indonesian Ministry of Internal Affairs that undertakes the role of ensuring vigilance of ideology and Indonesian nationalism. This implies that this institution required the research that I conducted had no political implications for the national unity of Indonesia. This is a national 'standard requirement' but it can mean different things and be implemented in different ways across the country. Referring to Butt's research experience and the political conflict in West Papua relating to the Free West Papua Movement demand for this standard of permission to be restrictively implemented in West Papua, I wrote to *KESBANGPOL* in Timika on July 4, 2015 to request permission, as well as to the Indonesian government authorities in three districts where the data collection was to be conducted. These authorities are staffed by West Papuans. The district authorities provided permission to conduct research; the village is the lowest level in Indonesia's governmental structure. The *KESBANGPOL* responded to my initial letter requiring that I submit the research proposal written in Bahasa (Indonesia language). They did not give an explanation for asking for the research proposal. As an institution that is dealing with national unity, I assumed that this ideological framework influenced the response of *KESBANGPOL* in Timika to my letter, especially as this study was funded by a foreign institution. It would have taken time to translate the research proposal thus I did not send the research proposal to them as the information on the study was fully described in the letter I sent them. This study was conducted without any difficulty as I followed normative administrative processes of conducting research and I was well accepted in the community. Even though the letter which was sent to the village chief prior to my arrival in the village explained this study, encountering the village chief and government officials in the village was the first priority. Moreover, in conducting this research I made sure that all the participants were informed about this study.

The present study focuses on the current situation of HIV/AIDS in West Papua with a focus on three Kamoro villages. It investigates changes in sexual culture that have been formed by colonisation and globalisation. In an attempt to understand the complexity of the Kamoro people as a colonised people in West Papua, this research applies the postcolonial Indigenous paradigm, which has been introduced by Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars who deal with Indigenous people's issues. Chilisa (2012), is an instance of an Indigenous scholar that this study draws from. The thesis also draws from another Indigenous scholar, Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) from Maori, Aotearoa, who works on decolonising methodologies. Aboriginal Australian Bronwyn Fredericks (2008), who in her work on Indigenous Australian women's health found a way to understand herself as an Indigenous woman researcher and so to view herself from a new perspective, has also been influential.

This chapter consists of several sections. The first section above has discussed the background and my academic journey and some methodological motives for applying postcolonial

Indigenous approaches. The second section of this chapter is a description of the theoretical framework in this study. This section explains the core of the postcolonial Indigenous approach with decolonising and Indigenising research methodology. It then describes the insider-outsider dynamics that I experienced. It also introduces some traditional frameworks based on the Kamoro's epistemology. The third section is the research design, which depicts the method of conducting this study and recognises some cultural ways and understanding based on Kamoro's ethno philosophy that needed to be considered in this research. The final section is summary which highlights the important points of this chapter.

3.2 Theoretical Framework

Indigenous scholar, Smith (2012), claims that the Western paradigm (and, I add, its Indonesian version, in which I was trained) tends to define the 'other' in a dehumanising way. She suggests that "we perceive a need to decolonize our mind to recover ourselves, to claim space in order to develop a sense of authentic humanity" (p. 24). In any case, with respect to the conduct of research about Indigenous people, decolonising and Indigenising research methodologies should be taken into account. This should apply to all researchers including me, an Indigenous West Papuan, but also an Indonesian western-trained researcher. It became clear to me, as an Indo-Western trained researcher on a journey of becoming an Indigenous researcher, that there are issues that need to be considered in regard to decolonising and Indigenising research methodology as indicated by Chilisa (2012) Smith (2012) and Fredericks (2008).

3.2.1 Decolonising and Indigenising the Research Method

As Chilisa (2012) advises, in postcolonial Indigenous research, decolonising methodology is important. It is "a process of centering the concern and worldviews of the colonized other so that they understand themselves through their own assumptions and perspectives" (Chilisa, 2012, p.13). In other words, it is a process of conducting research in such a way that the worldview of those who have suffered a long process of oppression and marginalisation are given space to communicate from their frames of reference. Furthermore, it is a process of deconstructing the mainstream methodologies critically and involving the worldview of Indigenous colonised and oppressed people. Chilisa (2012) affirms that indigenisation is:

a process that involves a critique and resistance to Euro-Western methodological imperialism and hegemony as well as a call for the adapting of conventional methodologies by including perspectives and methods that draw from Indigenous knowledges, languages, metaphors, worldviews, experiences, and philosophies of former colonized, historically oppressed and marginalized social groups (p. 101).

Smith (2012) comments that decolonisation does not mean and has not meant a total rejection of all theory of research or Western knowledge. Decolonisation is about centralising

Indigenous people's concerns and world views and then coming to know and understand theory and research from an Indigenous perspective and for Indigenous purposes. In addition, it is important to critically understand some of the research tools, technical tools and conceptual tools (Smith, 2012).

Decolonising methodology as stated, "is not a method for revolution in a political sense, but provokes some revolutionary thinking about the roles that knowledge, knowledge production, knowledge hierarchies and knowledge institutions play in decolonization and social transformation" (Smith, 2012, p. xii). It is a process to provide voice for researched people in knowledge production. An Australian Indigenous researcher, Rigney, states that the principles for an Indigenist methodology [are]"a step to determine what might be an appropriate response to de-legitimise racist oppression in research and a shift to a more empowering and self-determining outcome" (as cited in Fredericks, 2008, p. 120). According to Rigney (1997), Indigenist research consists of three fundamental and interrelated principles;

(1) Resistance as the emancipatory imperative in Indigenist research. It is a part of the struggle of Indigenous for recognition of self-determination; (2) Political integrity in Indigenous research. In the political agenda for liberation, research which contributes to this agenda must be undertaken by Indigenous [Australian] researchers; and (3) Privileging Indigenous voices in Indigenist research (pp. 118-120).

This means, research that focuses on the Indigenous [Australian] people must voice their lives, historical experiences, ideas, traditions, dreams, interests, aspirations and struggles. Fredericks (2008) recommends that "there is a need for Aboriginal research processes that reflect who we are, what we do, how we think, and our protocols and processes in order to represent us best" (p. 120). Chilisa (2012) further states that

decolonizing and indigenizing of dominant research approaches entail attempts to resist universalized knowledge, critique Euro-Western research approaches and invoke the Indigenous knowledge system of the colonized Other to inform research methodologies that are inclusive of all knowledge systems and respectful of the researched (p. 24).

As a colonised land, West Papua, its people and nature have been defined by colonisers through their lenses in knowledge production. These practices have occurred since the Dutch era and continued into the Indonesian era. Thus, the production of knowledge and a wide range of systems which were built to support the interests of colonisers in generating knowledge about West Papua need to be deconstructed.

3.2.2 Insider-Outsider Dynamics

Some matters arise from the dynamic interactions between me as the researcher and the Kamoro people. The insider and outsider situation positions me favourably to convey information

from the view point of the Kamoro people even though mine is a complex position.

My position as an insider impacted on how I was received when I encountered the Kamoro people. It allowed me to experience, to listen to, to be understood by the Kamoro people. There were, however, various responses to me across the three villages of Kamoro where this study was conducted. The responses from women and men are also different as were those of young and older participants. As research progressed I grew to understand that I had a moral responsibility as a colonised Indigenous researcher: yet I am not part of the Kamoro tribe as I come from Muyu in Merauke, a neighbouring tribe east of Timika. The Kamoro people did not invite me to conduct this research. The Muyu tribe is culturally distinct from the Kamoro tribe, and I did not use Kamoro native language in daily communications and I lived outside the Kamoro community while conducting this research. In addition to these differences, my educational background and social life experiences made me an outsider as far as conducting research among the Kamoro people was concerned.

My physical appearance as West Papuan and the experiences that we have shared as colonised people, positioned me as an insider among the Kamoro, both politically and culturally to some degree. Even though we suffered the situation where no formal acknowledgement of our own native language existed, and we were dominated by the coloniser language in education, both the Kamoro people and I agreed on and used certain coded language in our communication in Papua-Malay during this study. For example we used certain terms to identify immigrants. In relation to coded language, Hayano (as cited in Kanuha, 2000), stated that “coded language and communication between the Indigenous researcher and native participants represents feelings of empathy and emotions which insiders share from knowing their subjects on a deeply subtle level” (p. 443). Kanuha (2002) argues that in order to maintain the scientific objectivity of her study she identified strategies for researching at the junction of insider-outsider. She “consciously and actively began to delve deeply into any coded responses from participants” (p. 443). This experience, where we used certain terms and coded language in commenting on specific issues, illustrated that I am an insider.

Smith (2012) indicated insider researchers “have to be skilled at defining clear research goals and lines of relating which are specific to the project and somewhat different from their own family network” (Smith, 2012, p. 139). An insider researcher “has to be as ethical and respectful, as reflexive and critical as [an] outsider researcher” (Smith, 2012, p. 140). Bronwyn Fredericks (2008) describes how she consciously enhanced her sensitivity and became aware of what it was to be an insider researcher and the dynamics associated with this. She also outlines her position in the Western education institution. She was never formally prepared to be an Indigenous researcher (Fredericks, 2008). This is in line with Smith’s comments that “Indigenous researchers work within a set of insider dynamics and it takes considerable sensitivity, skills, maturity, experience and

knowledge to work these issues through” (as cited in Fredericks, 2008, p. 120). This encouraged me as a researcher to be a sensitive and critical learner. Reflection on my previous experience conducting my master’s thesis research among the Kamoro women in 2008 was also a benefit in my endeavours to be sensitive and at the same time, be critical. This is mostly related to the methodology where I had paid little attention to the dynamic relationship between myself as a researcher and the researched Kamoro women at that time.

I was culturally well accepted by the Kamoro people as an insider not only because of my presence as a West Papuan but also based on their beliefs. The acceptance of me from elders, women, men and the younger group was indicated in their conversations, gestures and how they addressed me during our meetings. A story that I was told illustrates this. In the past, as the Kamoro elders described, there was a group of people comprising men, women and children who lived together. One member of this group found an egg and thought it was the egg of a bird, but it was not. It was the egg of a lizard or *soa-soaor eko*. When the baby lizard hatched from the egg, it immediately became an adult lizard and killed everyone except a pregnant woman who had fled and hid. The pregnant woman then delivered a baby boy named *Mirikaoteyao*, who quickly grew up and turned into an adult man. *Mirikaoteyao* later killed the lizard. He cut up its body and then scattered the parts of the body in various directions East, West, North and South. The Kamoro people believe that the pieces of the body which contained flesh and fat are the origins of humans from diverse regions around the world. These means all visitors can be seen as part of the lizard’s body: I believe that this story is strongly related to the relational ontology concepts of Kamoro people. The Kamoro people culturally have maintained the relation and connection with the living and the non-living which I consciously consider with this story and reflect on what it means to this research and locate myself within it. In my meeting with two elders in Atuka and Kaugapu it was implied that I was seen as part of the lizard’s body which was dispersed to the place from where I originated. Based on the Kamoro’s story of creation I was seen as an insider. Moreover, a Kamoro elder in Atuka explained that my visit to that village was not a coincidence. Their view of me as family, which means as an insider, allowed me to enter and interact with the Kamoro people easily, in particular with some elders in Atuka and Kaugapu.

A ritual of welcome was performed in Atuka by a Kamoro woman aged about forty-five years. She stood on the edge of the river, called out the names of her ancestors while chanting: “ancestors, she is your granddaughter, who has come along to us; accept her, do not disturb her, but protect her”. Once again, I was seen as a part of their offspring or being related to them. Moreover, most of the young participants in Atuka, Kaugapu and Koperapokasaw me as a big sister. This was shown in their gestures, and the way they addressed me which indicated respect.

Considering this ontological position in my research was my important turning point; I was becoming an Indigenous researcher and coming to understand the need to re-examine the power

relationship between the researcher and the researched people in which I had been trained and experienced previously. Smith (2012) contends that for Indigenous peoples there are distinctly different ways of thinking about and naming research. For Indigenous people, naming the world is about bringing to the centre and privileging Indigenous values, attitudes and practices. As a piece of the lizard's body that was spread by the *Mirikaoteyao*, the Kamoro people believe that I had been invited and guided by the spirit of the ancestors to return, to 'visit' my family who are other pieces of the lizard's body which remain in Timika. Therefore, my research as named by the Kamoro people is a 'visit'. Even though the Kamoro people did not invite me in a formal way their response and this understanding was welcoming to me.

The current situation, as well as the long traumatic experiences of the past generation, impacted on how the younger generation in Kamoro respond to outsiders and this also affected my presence. Braun et al. (2013) in their research on Indigenous elders from several English speaking countries state that "historical trauma theory links the experiences of colonization to an array of problems for generations of Indigenous people" (p. 118). They claim that "subsequent generations are affected by the original trauma through exposure to parents and grandparents" (Braun et al., 2013, p. 118). An older Kamoro woman, who was my gatekeeper, assured young people that I was their West Papuan sister, an insider, and I could be trusted to discuss the traumatic experiences that they were facing, as well as discussing my research topic. As I explained the aims of my presence and the study that I was conducting, I was accepted and was able to conduct a group discussion with the youth group in Koperapoka. I was also allowed to visit them when they practiced Kamoro's traditional dance which was part of their activity as a group.

In the context of Kamoro, there is however no doubt that I was also an outsider. According to a North American Indigenous researcher, Champagne (2015) most researchers are outsiders, and they should conduct themselves accordingly. Champagne (2015, p. 67) contends that "the only possible insider researchers are those researchers who are recognized as members of a specific Indigenous nation that the Indigenous researcher has lived in for a significant time". Moreover, "a person can have a biological tie to a particular Indigenous nation, but if they have never lived in the community and they have not been trained in the culture or present-day language use, then they are a cultural outsider, if not a political outsider" (Champagne, 2015, p. 67). As an outsider, Nakamura, (2009), a Japanese scholar in a study about an Indigenous Japanese tribe, the Ainu, notes that it is important to approach any Indigenous community as a learner. This enables the researcher to be sensitive, open-minded and ready to deal with unexpected issues while striving to avoid misrepresentation, misinterpretation and exploitation of Indigenous knowledge.

As an outsider, an educated woman living a city life style, I encountered some obstacles. The Papua-Malay slang that I used to communicate located me as an insider but also an outsider. I

had not used any Papua-Malay slang in everyday communication for some period of time since coming to study in Australia. Thus, I needed some time to recall my familiarity with the slang. As a consequence, some participants in earlier interviews did not answer and needed to clarify their responses later. Some of the participants did not speak out as they felt ashamed of their own simple Papua-Malay slang. This was evident when they had to ask me for clarification of some formal Indonesian (Bahasa Indonesia) vocabulary albeit laughing at themselves. My presence as an outsider was seen as an opportunity for some women in Kaugapu, for example, to ask me about some equipment for an agriculture program that was initiated by the Catholic brother. These potential participants assumed that I was associated with the agricultural project that is being led by the Catholic brother. My response was that I am not part of the project. I assumed that this request came about because the focus group was held in a church meeting hall. I had expected it would be a neutral venue yet in fact it implicated me in a set of relationships of which I was unaware. In some contexts, I was a trusted outsider by some but not trusted by others. I was also treated rather formally by a group of young people, especially some young men in Atuka, who were mostly university students in Timika even though at some level I was seen as a big sister which allowed some of the younger people in Atuka to openly share their private experiences related to sexuality.

3.2.3 The Kamoro Epistemology

Louis, a Hawaiian Indigenous woman scholar (as cited in Nakamura, 2009, p. 98), reminds us that the main aim of applying Indigenous methodology in research is to ensure that research on Indigenous issues is accomplished in a sympathetic, respectful and ethical fashion from an Indigenous perspective. This study is therefore considering the epistemology of Indigenous people: this refers to the Kamoro epistemology. It is drawn from the philosophy of maintaining the balance of life. In as much as the current research sought to respect and applies the traditional framework, it is derived from the philosophy of the Kamoro. This included considering the responses of the participants to the presence of the researcher based on their cultural understanding, and its influence in the research design. Colonisation has partly destroyed any knowledge system of the Kamoro including values and spirituality. It is hard to find documentation about the Kamoro people based on their own perspective as most documentation is written in Dutch. Several concepts have been found in previous research carried out by anthropologists or Catholic missionaries during the Dutch period as well as by Indonesians. However, documentation of the Kamoro culture in the past by anthropologists or Catholic missionaries has been used as a data base in the civilisation project or in the development of the region. Therefore, the Kamoro elders were involved in the present study in order to find points of view that are different from those formed by previous researchers.

As found in the present study, traditional principles and values of life are still being lived out in the lives of the Kamoro people, in particular among the older generation, thus I was aware of these in the study about the Kamoro people and their lives that I conducted. The Kamoro people

believe that everything in the universe should be balanced in order to ensure the sustainability of life, living and non-living. A philosophy of balance is interpreted in some concepts of life which ensures the harmony of life by regulating the interaction between human beings and interaction with nature. During the data collection process, this philosophy encouraged me to re-design or make adjustments to the methodologies used in this study, especially in data collection techniques that were designed before the commencement of data collection. These concepts, discussed in the next section, guided me to understand some phenomena and behaviour as well as the responses that I received during the research process. Yet, the most important aspect in my data collection has been to bring into the centre these concepts which are part of the Indigenous knowledge of the Kamoro. Some of the concepts that are important to understand in the traditional framework which drew from the life balance philosophy are the *taparu* system, *nawarapoka*, *kaokapaiti*, *imi-imi* and the local wisdom to maintain the confidentiality of Indigenous and customary responsibilities of men and women. All of these concepts also provide specific directives to understand the phenomenon on the Kamoro people.

3.2.3.1 *Taparu*

Taparu is a group of the Kamoro people who live in a particular location in accordance with their blood relationship or kinship through maternal lineage. However, there are different definitions of *taparu* according to Zegwaard and Pouwer (cited in Coenen, 2010). Catholic Father Zegwaard of the Catholic Sacred Heart Mission was a Dutch missionary who arrived in Kamoro in 1948 and Pouwer was an anthropologist who studied the ethnologies of the Kamoro in 1954. According to Zegwaard, *taparu* is group of people who share the same *totem* where they originated while according to Pouwer, it is referring to people who shared particular land and live together on that land. Some anthropologists collaborating with several Australian scholars in their study entitled *Kamoro Baseline Study*, stated that *taparu* derived from the word *tapare*, which means land (Dumatubun et al., 1998). They also explained that *taparu* was overlaid by the kin relationship. Traditionally, the Kamoro people lived in separate groups based on *taparu*. However, since the Dutch colonisation, *taparu* was combined within a larger community unit known as a *kampong*. Dumatubun et al. (1998) stated that “the conscious or unconscious preference of the Dutch administration and the Catholic mission for a more western-style patrilineal documentation for administration purposes has confounded the once predominantly matrilineal *taparu* system” (p. 29). In the Indonesia period, *kampongs* were strengthened by introducing villages, following the Javanese culture being introduced, which later was codified into various rural governance rules. At present (when this study was conducted) the Kamoro people no longer live in *taparu* as they now live together in a village which consists of several different *taparu*. This means there is no information about how many *taparu* there are in these villages, but some participants are able to recognise and connect with the members of their *taparu* through their family name. The spirit of *taparu* is maintained and affects their lives, for example, as implied in my discussion with a

participant in Atuka (Ori). In his explanation about the village it was indicated that the arrangement of the houses of the villagers still reflects *taparu*.

Although there are not many differences among them, each *taparu* values their history and the stories passed from generation to generation, which cannot be generalised. I became aware of these differences when a respondent in Atuka and a respondent in Kaugapu told me stories of their own Indigenous or customary practices, and repeatedly reminded me that the story applied to their *taparu* only. They also encouraged me to delve into similar stories from other *taparu* and suggested to me that I would find a similar story in a different version. I also experienced the spirit of *taparu* during a focus group interview in Kaugapu. All these differences and the unique identity of each *taparu* make it important to consider the similarities and differences in the Kamoro people's lives in my research, particularly in drawing conclusions and making generalisations of the values at the community level.

3.2.3.2 Nawarapoka

In the language of the Kamoro, *nawarapoka* means giving back. The Kamoro people believe that everything that they receive should be paid back. This principle is important as it has three aims as explained by Saklil (1987). First, it is a sign of gratitude; second, it is a way to strengthen the relationship between those who give and those who receive, and lastly for insuring life. The gratitude of the Kamoro people is expressed in a real form that they can see, touch and feel, such as goods or services. Socially, *nawarapoka* aims to strengthen relationships in order to reduce tension or conflict between *taparu*. Dumatubun et al. (1998) described *nawarapoka* (or *naware*) as the economic manifestation of *aopao* which was translated by Pouwer (1955) as reciprocity. This principle also affects the exchange marriage in the Kamoro society. According to Saklil (1987), then Bishop of Timika, in *nawarapoka* goods or services rendered or received do not refer to a value but need. In fact, up to now, as found in Atuka and Kaugapu, this principle is still implemented. In my meetings with several participants in this study they asked to be given material compensation for their participation. In this sense they were involving *nawarapoka* indicating that this concept is still alive in this society.

The reflection on the responses of the Kamoro people guided me to understand them in depth and encouraged me to be aware of context as I went through the data collection and also the interpretation. These principles guided me as the researcher to extend the reflection questions in the Indigenous research methodology, about who gets the benefit of a study about Indigenous people. The concept of *nawarapoka* in this research is understood by some of the Kamoroelders as the benefit that they will receive as a result of their participation in this study. This phenomenon was captured in a focus group interview when a request to disseminate and send back to them the result of this study came from one of the participants, an old Kamoro woman in Poumako (Tata). Consistent with the postcolonial Indigenous research paradigm this request expressed the desire

to not only contribute to the data collection process but to be able to benefit from the result. Moreover, I have interpreted the *nawarapoka* concept in this study as my responsibility to ensure that the Kamoro people receive the benefit of this study by bringing back the results to them and also guarantee that they are represented in this thesis based on their perspectives. This will be done by sharing a summary of the result with the Kamoro people. I noted, however, as shown in my field notes, some non-Indigenous participants in the current study considered the *nawarapoka* as a negative attitude of the Kamoro people.

3.2.3.3 Kaokapaiti

The word *kaokapaiti* is derived from two words, *kaoka*, which means women and *paiti* meaning modesty or respect (Saklil, 1987). It literally means to honour women and is understood as a sense of responsibility and respect from a man to the family and in-laws or relatives of his wife. Dumatubun et al. (1998) explained that *kaokapaiti* translated as 'woman-shame' which is interpreted as respecting or honouring women. "Literally it is put in place when a man does not have a sibling marriage-exchange partner to offer his prospective wife's family (in the traditional cross-cousin, sister marriage-exchange system)" (Dumatubun et al., 1998, p.27). I experienced a phenomenon in a focus group where the concept of *kaokapaiti* is still alive to some degree among the Kamoro people. In a meeting with married men in Kaugapu and Atuka, I noticed that some participants did not talk too much in a group discussion. This was because these participants were showing respect to their in-laws who also participated in the same meeting. They tended to allow their in-laws to discuss or answer the questions raised during the discussion and did not share their own opinions. I was not aware of this until the discussion finished and one participant, a young man in Kaugapu, confirmed his opinion to me and stated that he felt a bit 'shy' about discussing this in front of his in-laws. Therefore, the concept of *kaokapaiti* should be kept in mind when conducting data collection at the community level. Moreover, any researcher conducting a study about Kamoro should be aware of it in order to encourage the participation of all participants, especially when applying focus group discussion techniques. Thus, the *kaokapaiti* concept has to be considered as part of traditional research protocols in designing focus group discussion in particular, however this concept should also be considered in recruitment of the participants to this research.

3.2.3.4 Imi-imi

Imi-imi refers to the grouping of people based on age and cultural initiation. This grouping consists of groups of older people, groups of young women, groups of young men or groups of school children. *Imi-imi* as identified by Dumatubun et al. (1998) is "a generational grouping of people; often used within the context of a certain *taparu*, though it can cross *taparu* lines" (p. 27). It is often used to describe 'age sets'. In the *imi-imi* group people feel freer to do something together or express their opinion than when they are with other groups. A group of older people holds a special place and respect from the younger group. Mostly, the groups of young people listen to the

older generation. This principle affects the division of labour or community involvement in various activities in the kampong. In a focus group interview conducted in Kaugapu, young male participants tended to be quiet and not talk much in response to some of the questions raised during the discussion because of their respect for older relatives who also attended the same meeting. The *imi-imi* concept becomes important when considering the design of a study, especially in determining a sampling technique to define potential participants. It is also important to keep the *imi-imi* concept in mind when deciding how to interview people in a group and also in recruitment of the participants for a focus group or other data collection techniques at community level. Even though I was not aware of the *imi-imi* concept in the research design when it was planned, in the data collection at community level I differentiated across the age groups as designed. Unfortunately, due to the cancellation of the focus group discussion among the younger group in Kaugapu, focus group discussions were conducted among only the older men with only one younger man participating.

3.2.3.5 Customary Responsibility and Taparamako

There are some obligations in Kamoro culture that I interpreted as customary responsibility which need to be considered in this study. These obligations are mainly about maintaining the confidentiality of rituals in Kamoro culture and customary responsibilities of Kamoro men and women. Not all traditional rituals and customs or stories should be told openly and frankly to people who are not part of a community or *taparu*. If the customary confidentiality is breached by others, the Kamoro people believe that it will lead to anger of the ancestors. This anger can cause pain or problems for people who are not keeping the custom. The goal is to maintain the sanctity of the various traditional rituals. My experiences and field notes indicate that although there is a tendency to maintain the confidentiality of a custom, at a certain level and to a particular person who is trusted, the Kamoro people openly explain it. This means that trust comes through the quality of a particular relationship with the Kamoro people.

The customary responsibilities of the Kamoro males are to protect all female-owned property in a *taparu* which includes dealing with potential conflicts due to theft or unauthorised use of resources by other groups, as I witnessed in Kaugapu. I had to cancel a focus group with some of the young men because of land conflicts. Most of them were away and settled outside the village in order to keep the land from the Mee and the Dani tribes who intended cultivating communal land belonging to the Kamoro. The *taparamako* literally means landlord. In the Kamoro culture, women have ownership of natural resources which includes sago forests, rivers, forest and land while the men are culturally responsible for protecting women's rights (Coenen, 2012) including the right of natural resources ownership.

Therefore, in this study it was clear that some of the traditional gender roles in the Kamoro people's lives, based on their cultural understanding and knowledge, were being acted

upon and these needed to be taken into consideration.

3.3 Research Design

A research method guides the process of research. It is a set of procedures outlining how the research should proceed. The process of reflection as part of decolonisation and of Indigenising a research method are described in this section. The research design as planned in the research proposal and as presented in the ethics application had to be adjusted in order to satisfy the needs for reflection, decolonisation and Indigenisation mentioned above. The researcher considered the ethno philosophy of the Kamoro in the data collection process and also in understanding the context of the study. The adjustment of the research design aimed to fit in with the context in the field, including adapting to the political and socio-cultural context of the Kamoro and their knowledge systems that affected the process of data collection and also the attitudes of the research participants. Adjusting my research methodology by considering the context of the Kamoro people encouraged a critical and sensible way of thinking. Chilisa, (2012) points out that “people should be understood within their social context, which is inevitably influenced by their cultural, political and historical contexts” (p. 160). Moreover, Fredericks (2008), based on her experiences as an Indigenous researcher, explains that “the research process was able to be responsive to the flow of the community rather than trying to make the community fit into the structure of the research”(p. 120). This was a useful model to follow.

3.3.1 Research Approach

This research has implemented a qualitative method and applied the postcolonial Indigenous paradigm. Denzin and Lincoln note that the “qualitative researcher utilizes a variety of strategies and methods to collect and analyse a range of empirical materials and evidence” (as cited in Fredericks, 2008, p. 123). In research among Indigenous people, as indicated by Braun et al. (2013, p. 117), qualitative approaches are popular as they provide space for Indigenous people, including especially Indigenous elders, to tell their stories and challenge non-Indigenous investigators to acknowledge values and worldviews different from their own. Moreover, Munro and Butt (2012) in their work on research methods, HIV/AIDS and politics in Indonesia, noted that “qualitative research that provides extensive inquiry into culture and sexuality can be seen as an attempt to correct stereotypical views that minimize the epidemic or blame Indigenous cultural practice” (p. 345).

As suggested by Chilisa (2012, p. 13), Indigenous research has four dimensions that have to be considered;

- (1) it targets a local phenomenon instead of using extant theory from the West to identify and define a research issue;
- (2) it is context-sensitive and creates locally relevant constructs, methods, and theories derived from local experiences and Indigenous knowledge;
- (3) it can be integrative, that is, combining Western and Indigenous theories;
- and (4) in its most

advanced form, its assumptions of reality, knowledge and values in research are informed by an Indigenous research paradigm.

Kovach, who is a scholar of Plains Cree and Sauteaux ancestry, First Nation of Saskatchewan (as cited in Braun et al., 2013), explains some characteristics of Indigenous methodologies used by Indigenous scholars, including (1) holistic epistemology; (2) story; (3) purpose; (4) experiential; (5) tribal ethics; (6) tribal ways of gaining knowledge; and (7) an overall consideration of the colonial relationship (p. 124). Kovach continued to outline that this is because tribes differ; a specific tribe's methodology is localised to a tribe's place, language, protocol and worldview. Therefore, the current study has applied a qualitative approach in order to provide space for understanding the Kamoro people from their perspective.

3.3.2 Research Participants

In the early research design and ethics application, I intended that the primary participants in this research would be married Kamoro people. This was for two reasons. First, the trend in new HIV/AIDS cases in West Papua and also in Indonesia for the last five years, has seen an increase in cases among the 'general population', such as married women, and those who are not the usual core groups that were categorised as risky groups used in surveys to estimate HIV/AIDS prevalence, for example female sex workers or truck drivers. Second, commonly Indonesian people, including West Papuans, believe that marriage is an institution which safeguards people from HIV/AIDS, while in fact HIV/AIDS or other communicable diseases are transmitted through unsafe behaviour within or outside marriage. It was my intention to conduct both focus group discussions and in-depth interviews.

However, in the modified research design the participants who were involved in an in-depth interview and several focus group discussions, included married and unmarried Kamoro people as primary participants. The unmarried participants were included due to the issues that developed during the discussion with the participants and gatekeepers. The discussion found that most of the young Kamoro people have contracted STDs: some had even acquired HIV infection before marriage and mostly it was diagnosed in a pregnancy test. Therefore, it became apparent that it is important to examine the sexual culture and sexual behaviour among the younger generation and also their knowledge about AIDS and their response to HIV prevention.

The participants in the research were classified into young and old men, young and old women, and elder women and men. This classification is crucial in order to examine the history and changing values across generations. The participants who were interviewed and classified as the younger generation were aged from 18 to 35 years when this research was conducted. The starting age was taken as 18 years as it was found that some of the Kamoro people get married at that age. The older generation consisted of those who were aged 36 to 52, while those who were aged 53 and over and also were knowledgeable about the culture and history of the Kamoro, were

classified as elders. I understood that elders in Kamoro are mostly the senior aged. They are not only knowledgeable in regards to culture but also preserve culture, experienced different stages of history and have the responsibility to teach the younger generation. The details about the primary participants are given in the in-depth interview section.

The secondary participants in this study were those who are Indigenous and non-Indigenous and who have been working on the issue of Kamoro culture or HIV/AIDS. These secondary participants were mostly more than 35 years old. Twelve such secondary participants represented various organisations and were individuals capable of discussing the issue. The secondary participants included teachers or retired teachers, health workers from the Community Health Centre in Atuka, staff of Timika AIDS Commission, the Catholic church, related NGOs (Non-Government Organisations) staff, and the Amungme-Kamoro Community Development Organization (LPMK or *Lembaga Pengembangan Masyarakat Amungme-Kamoro*).

All participants are identified by pseudonyms. Further, I have chosen not to include descriptors that would tend to identify the secondary participants. This includes whether they are Papuan or not, which organisation they work for, their work experience and background, and so on. This flattens out interpretation of their comments and this is regrettable. In some cases it was clear that Papuan participants had different perspectives to those of non-Papuans, and NGO workers had different perspectives to those who work for the AIDS Commission, to give two examples. But the organisations where most of the secondary participants work are small and any descriptor could tend to identify them so, at some cost to my analysis, I have chosen to respect the commitment to anonymity and confidentiality that was the condition of the interview process. I have included some descriptors of the Kamoro participants, for example their age and gender, because these are less likely to identify these people because of their greater number.

A purposive sampling system was used to select the primary participants from each primary sampling unit which was the village. In situations where it was difficult to find a potential candidate, the snow ball technique was used to identify and interview further respondents. I had not initially taken *taparu* into account as a sampling unit, instead the village was chosen as the sampling unit. Even though the Kamoro people still live the spirit of *taparu* I did not consider it as the unit of sampling because the *taparu* did not appear in the formal structure of society in the village. However, *taparu* affected the involvement of participants. When I invited some candidates to a focus group in a village for example, they classified themselves in accordance to their *taparu*. This impacted on the information produced as it belongs to certain *taparu* and this needed to be taken into account to reduce bias in interpretation and in drawing conclusions.

The number of participants in a study like this usually depends on the adequacy of the information or data needed. This is true when there is homogeneity in the population (Guest et al.

as cited in Manson, 2010); in this case the Kamoro people. The data collection is stopped when the data is saturated which means there are no new codes after several interviews. However, this procedure did not apply to the present study due to some issues, in particular a conflict. My research plans were interrupted by realities in the village. For instance, when data collection was conducted in Kaugapu, a group of potential candidates of young men could not be found as they had moved to another village due to a land conflict with another tribe of West Papuans. Consequently, the focus group interview with young men in Kaugapu was cancelled. Conflict with the Indonesian military in Koperapoka resulted in reluctance of potential candidates to be interviewed individually or even have contact with an outsider. Therefore, I conducted focus group discussion in Koperapoka but was not able to conduct the in-depth interviews. According to some informants in the bishopric of Timika, the relevant incident occurred on 28th of August 2015 around 1 am when I came back from Atuka and was just about to begin the data collection in Koperapoka. It was a feast to farewell a Kamoro scholar who had finished his doctorate. Some young Kamoro men played traditional drums called *tifa* while sitting and singing a traditional song when a drunken Indonesian army man who was riding a motorbike hit the fence that made the road around the feast area to be closed. After arguing with the organiser of the event, this man rushed to the military post nearby, grabbed a weapon and shot into the crowd. Two Kamoro men died and some others were injured. This tragedy led to the cancellation of the in-depth interviews.

The number of primary participants who participated in the in-depth interviews in the three villages was 14 people. The eventual number of participants in this study does not match with the number proposed in the approved ethics proposal. It was my plan that a given number of people would participate in this study, but it was also mentioned in the ethics application that the number of participants would depend on a number of factors; the availability of participants and when saturation occurs, i.e., when adding more participants does not result in getting additional perspectives or information (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). The political and socio-cultural context of the study site impacted on the total number of participants involved.

A number of focus groups did not occur as planned in the research proposal. The plan was to conduct four focus group discussions in each village; thus the overall number of focus groups should have been 12. The number of participants in the focus groups in each village was expected to vary, however there were some issues in the field that constrained the process of conducting the focus groups. For instance, in Atuka, I planned to have four different focus group discussions, one each for young married women, young married men, old married women and old married men. Yet participants of different ages were mixed up between young and old. Thus, the focus group discussions were conducted with only two groups of married people; married men and married women, that is, not many young people. This happened because at the time of my fieldwork, most of the young men and women were involved in other activities in the village, including preparations for the Indonesian Independence Day celebrations organised by the Freeport Company. Daily

activities such as gathering of food for the family's needs also prevented people participating in focus group discussions, particularly younger women. After consulting with the secretary of the village, a Kamoro man who was also the gatekeeper, we agreed to have just two focus groups comprising men. This means that I could not collect separate information from groups of different ages or different marital status. The village secretary also encouraged me to conduct interviews with the unmarried younger generation in Atuka. Some younger unmarried men and women in Atuka initiated their involvement in this study. As this study originally planned to focus only on married people I should have excluded them, yet as some topics developed during the data collection process which I regarded as belonging to the youth culture, I included them as participants. In accordance with University ethical standards concerning age, those who were involved in the research aged less than 18 have to provide informed consent from a parent, thus the unmarried younger men involved in this study were purposively selected to be 18 years of age or more. Most of them were university students and independent enough to be able to make decisions for themselves. I excluded a number of younger unmarried women who were around 15 years old and younger even though they were willing to be involved. This was an area where tension between notions of age and ideals of consent as understood by the University's ethical standards and the context of the Kamoro people was apparent. Generally, among the Kamoro people or in other parts of West Papua it is now common to get married early, at ages less than 18 years, and once they are married, they are deemed to be capable of making decisions for themselves as independent people.

Additionally, I conducted a focus group discussion with a group of Kamoro people in Poumako in Mimika Bara District similar to Kaugapu. This was mostly attended by older Kamoro women and an older Kamoro man who is a staff member of the Kamoro tribal council, LEMASKO. This additional focus group discussion was held as a response to a request by a Kamoro woman, who works in the Women's Empowerment Board (*Badan Pemberdayaan Perempuan*) of Timika and who is also a leader of the Catholic Charismatic Group among the Kamoro. She encouraged me to conduct discussions with them about some issues which she considered were related to the topic of my research. I included them in my research due to the importance of the information they shared. Poumako is the place where the port area of Timika is located. It is also a place where the Kamoro people around Timika have built temporary houses where they spend most of their weekends. Poumako is an entry port for most boat travel to and from other Kamoro villages around the coastal area. When I was heading to Atuka, which is around three hours travel in a long boat I started from Poumako. Some the Kamoro people in the villages around Poumako, such as Atuka, visit this place to get alcohol or install porn movies onto their phones and this was relevant to my research.

3.3.3 Data Collection Techniques

Data for this study were collected at both individual and community levels. The data

collection consisted of in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and taking field notes. To begin my data collection, I had the help of gatekeepers to connect me to the potential candidates that I had chosen purposively.

The gatekeepers also assisted me in preparing the research including administration of research permits prior to the data collection and also during the data collection in the field. The gatekeepers were those who I knew understood the context of Timika, were able to connect me with potential participants, facilitated me with accommodation and transportation, ensured my safety and security during data gathering in Timika and each village, and even supported me on a day-to-day basis such as showing me the market, pharmacy or internet access. Gatekeepers were those who are trusted and have good relationships with the Kamoro people or have experienced work with the Kamoro people. They included government officers, district officials, and staff of Non-Government Organisations, tribal leaders, Kamoro women leaders and workers with the Catholic Church. Most of the gatekeepers had sympathetic views towards my research although several had other views. For example a non-Papuan gatekeeper flooded me with judgment and racial information before I conducted the data collection, to show me how immoral or shameless the Kamoro people are and advised me to consider this immoral attitude in this research without any explanation of their actions. She even advised me on whom I should or should not meet. Kamoro gatekeepers mostly discussed the day-to-day issues they are facing and even asked me to encourage younger people to study more to be able to compete with migrants, which impacted on the rigid timeline of my study.

3.3.3.1 In-depth Interviews

In-depth interviews allow a researcher to explore information which is sensitive and personal, such as the daily life experiences or personal life story of individuals. The in-depth interviews were based on an open-ended and unstructured questionnaire to allow the participants to respond in a way that suited their degree of comfort with the questions but were guided by a list of issues prepared prior to the data collection. The in-depth interviews were conducted in places that were more comfortable for the participants which was mostly in their own house however some were conducted in the Kamoro ways of story sharing; for instance, talking circles around the fire or when they were doing their activities, such as carving or gathering food.

In-depth interviews were conducted with 14 individual primary participants. The participants mostly came from Atuka and Kaugapu. None were from Koperapoka, the village where there had been conflict with the Indonesian military and where two young Kamoro men had been murdered. Five of the participants were women, consisting of two older, two younger and an elder, while the male participants included three older, two younger and four elders.

The questions in the in-depth interview were developed from some prepared issues that aimed to answer the research questions including examining the norms of masculinity and

femininity and sexual culture of West Papuans, how gender and sexuality shaped the roles of women and men and their sexuality, and explore the concept and values about sexuality, femininity and masculinity inherent in them to redefine the possible thinking about HIV prevention. An in-depth interview was also conducted with the twelve secondary participants.

3.3.3.2 Focus Groups

Focus group discussions were aimed at exploring gender values and sexual culture at the community level across generations. This was done because different generations may provide different information based on their own knowledge and experience. There were several focus groups based on gender and age that were planned by the researcher in the design, however this did not materialise at the research site. Instead, the participants organised themselves according to their traditional group arrangement which was more specific than I asked them to do. This is because even though the structure of *taparu* as well as *imi-imi* is not explicitly found in the village, the spirit of it still lives and the Kamoro people internalise it in their daily life customs. In the research proposal, I planned focus groups among Kamoro people across age groups and sexes. I invited the participants in each focus group according to the categorisation that I had planned. When a focus group for Kamoro men in Atuka was about to begin a participant, in introducing himself, stated that he had a familial relationship to the secretary, the gatekeeper. Additionally, most of the participants who participated were in the same age group as the gatekeeper. This is because the participants had classified themselves with regard to their *imi-imi* or *taparu* relationship to the secretary, as he was the one who announced the focus group. I realised this impacted on the information that I gained when we discussed cultural history. Therefore, in order to avoid bias, the focus group discussion could only focus on examining the issues at the community level not personal experiences. This phenomenon was also found in Atuka and Kaugapu. I then asked the gatekeeper to invite others who were participants to join us in the second part of the focus group discussion after a lunch break.

The number of focus groups conducted in the three villages was five and an additional focus group discussion was conducted in Poumako. Three focus groups in Atuka were conducted with a group of married older men, a group of unmarried younger men and a group of unmarried younger women. This is because some women (younger and older) in Atuka could not be involved as they were busy with their everyday activities – food gathering during the day and other village events. I was unable to extend my time and it is hard to conduct focus groups at night because there was no electricity and the people were tired after spending a day in a swampy area gathering food.

In Kaugapu and Koperapoka only one focus group was conducted in each village; a group of older married men in Kaugapu and a group of younger unmarried men in Koperapoka. Most of the group of unmarried younger men were aged 18 years or over and some of them were

university students or had graduated from high school.

The in-depth interviews and focus group discussions were carried out in Bahasa Indonesia. The use of a translator to assist me in the interviews with the elders was cancelled. I had originally incorrectly assumed that the elders might not be able to communicate in Bahasa. However, an elder in Kaugapu who was 68 years old and was able to communicate in proper Bahasa Indonesia during the interview session, was also able to communicate in some simple English as he had work experience with Freeport Company during the early exploration period in Timika around the 1960s. An interpreter however was used for confirming some Papua Malay slang after the discussion, but the results of this study are presented in English. All the data were recorded using a digital audio recorder and later transferred to my computer. Some information given by the participants is also documented in my field notes written in Bahasa Indonesia.

3.3.3.3 Field Note Taking

Field note taking is aimed at documenting the context that was observed during the data collection. It contains interpretation by the researcher and also a narrative of the phenomenon that was revealed in the field. This is intended to assist in gaining a holistic understanding of the issues related to this research. It is focused not only on participants' activities and their responses to any activities or phenomenon around them, but also on topics which were discussed among the participants or raised in the discussions with the researcher. The researcher also noted the gestures of the participants to be able to understand their feelings or how participants internalised the issues. Field notes recorded the reflections of thought and responses to the phenomenon that were captured in the study. Reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it, is what Freire defines as 'praxis', theory-action-reflection cycle (as cited in Braun et al., 2013). This phenomenon was seen to be important in, for example, interpreting the body language of the participants.

3.3.4 Data Analysis Techniques

The qualitative analysis technique used in this research is thematic analysis. Thematic analysis, according to Braun and Clarke (2008), is a "method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data" (p. 79). This data analysis method was chosen for methodological reasons as described by Braun and Clarke (2008) which are appropriate to address the objectives of this study.

It can be an essentialist or realist method, which reports experiences, meanings and reality of participants, or it can be a constructionist method, which examines the ways in which events, realities, meanings experiences and so on are the effects of a range of discourses operating within society (Braun & Clarke, 2008, p. 81).

The epistemology of data analysis in my study applied essentialist and constructionist thematic analysis which allowed the researcher to engage with the sociocultural context and structural condition of the Kamoro people affected and which were evident in the individual

accounts of the participants (Braun & Clarke, 2008, p. 85). This included engagement with the ethno philosophy of the Kamoro.

My data analysis began with transcription, a written version of the entire recorded data from in-depth interviews and focus group discussions (Braun & Clarke, 2008, p. 87). The transcription was done in Bahasa Indonesia by the researcher herself. Then this process continued with coding which meant generating initial codes from the set of data. Coding is the process of organising data into meaningful groups (Tuckett, in Braun & Clarke, 2008, p. 88). Chilisa (2012) explained that “open coding refers to the process of breaking down the data into themes, patterns, and concepts to create a meaningful story from the volume of data” (p. 214). Coding in this study was done manually with the researcher repeatedly reading the exact words and identifying codes by writing notes and using coloured highlighters. The next process of data analysis identified the codes and sorted them into themes. In this process the researcher was aware of the loss of context as argued by Braun and Clarke (2008). To avoid any loss of context, field notes are needed in documenting the context which will be used in reporting. In this process I also looked at the relationship between codes and themes. Mostly the categorising of the themes was guided by the objectives of the research which were classified as the main themes. The three initial research objectives are;

- (1) to identify norms of masculinity and femininity, and sexual culture among Kamoro, also examine how history and cultural aspects formed practice and sexuality;
- (2) to examine the ways in which these understandings of gender and sexuality shape the roles of women and men and their sexual behaviour; and
- (3) to discuss ways to redefine the currently hegemonic concepts and values about sexuality, femininity and masculinity and the values inherent in them and to apply these possible changes in thinking about HIV prevention.

There are some themes that I had not anticipated that were found in the field, as raised by the participants, that link to the main themes. These themes are alcohol, partying, migration, marriage and family, and conflict.

Examining the themes or reviewing the themes was the next stage which aimed to ensure that themes did not overlap or miss out or even could be broken down into several themes or sub-themes. Themes that were generated from all the in-depth interviews and the focus group discussions were similar but the way the participants expressed them were diverse across generations. Finally, the themes were defined and named and then these developed into chapters and sub-sections as discussed in the findings of this study. The patterns generated from a set of data within the themes, the reflections of the researcher and the results of the field notes are elaborated in the findings chapters. Statements from the participants that are quoted in the thesis were translated into English by the researcher herself. The co-supervisor who understands Bahasa assisted in clarifying the English version of the citations.

The first chapter which analyses the research findings concerns changes in Kamoro culture. This chapter focuses on the issues of Kamoro's sexual culture, its changes and some aspects triggering the changes including migration, changes in family and marriage concepts. The themes of contemporary sexual culture of the Kamoro are discussed in the chapter on the narrative about young people and changes. This chapter includes themes that contributed to the temporary sexual culture and values of masculinity and femininity. The third chapter that discusses findings related to HIV/AIDS identifies the issues of health service delivery and the attitudes of the health provider workers and how they impact on the Kamoro people. This chapter also includes the responses of Kamoro people to the HIV prevention program from their own perspectives. Moreover, the theme of redefining HIV prevention among the Kamoro people is also discussed. There are some similarities within the themes that were found in the in-depth interviews with the primary and secondary participants and also from the focus group discussions, however, there were different stresses placed on certain issues among the primary and secondary participants. Moreover, there were certain themes discussed by the primary participants but not discussed by the secondary participants. The themes revealed in the in-depth interviews among the secondary participants were similar to those of the primary participants to some degree, but there were some new themes which were indicated in the interviews with the secondary participants. The issues that were similar to themes raised by the primary participants were sometimes expressed in a different tone.

3.4 Summary

As an Indigenous researcher conducting research about Indigenous people, using an Indigenous research methodology is important. There are, of course some challenges in the whole research process where tension between University ethics standards and Indigenous research protocols needed to be negotiated to some degree. Engaging a postcolonial Indigenous research method has allowed the researcher to consider the historical and cultural context of the Kamoro people. The postcolonial Indigenous research approach assisted me as an Indigenous researcher to locate myself in the process of knowledge production within the insider-outsider dynamic in order to understand the current situation. This approach is also contributing to the healing and social political transformation of the colonised people. Self-determination that was given through this approach, which is engaging epistemology and ontology of Kamoro people in this research, provided a space for them to confront the misinterpretation about themselves and to interpret themselves based on their own perspectives, values and ways of knowing. In doing this, the researcher was consciously aware of the importance of decolonising her mind.

4 CHANGES IN KAMORO CULTURE

4.1 Introduction

Kamoro people and their culture have changed since their contact with outsiders and due to changing social dynamics within this society. Massive changes occurred with encounters with the Dutch Catholic missionaries, followed by contact with the Indonesians and also the presence of Freeport Indonesia, the gold and copper mining company that brought large numbers of non-Kamoro workers into their land. As the Dutch and Indonesian governments aimed to turn the Kamoro people into a modern society, they altered the Kamoro's cultural practices including the structure of the family, and introduced new roles for men and women within the family and marriage. Freeport's presence drove increasing numbers of immigrants into Timika and the immigrants brought their own values and practices with them which then influenced the Kamoro people. These changes have all contributed to the gender and sexual culture of the contemporary Kamoro people which is strongly related to the social issues that they are currently facing.

This phenomenon is explained further in this chapter beginning with self-reflection on the Kamoro in section two. This section discusses their reflections on the current situation based on their assessment and self-comparison to prior conditions. Migration is a factor that has shaped the contemporary sexual culture of the Kamoro people and this is discussed next in section three. How the Kamoro people discuss their sexual culture is outlined in section four which mainly identifies the collective memories of sexual culture in the past and how these memories are interpreted in contemporary life. Section five discusses the way marriage and family are perceived and an assessment of the changes describing different views of courtship and concepts of marriage across generations. Then section six is about domestic violence which is most commonly experienced by the younger generation and is strongly related to the presence of colonisers in the Kamoro culture. Section seven is a summary.

4.2 Self-Reflection of the Kamoro People

Self-reflection is one of the ways of healing and transforming the lives of colonised people. Weenie, a First Nation woman scholar from Canada, states that "intellectual awareness, critical self-reflection, and self-analysis are ways of transforming colonised people's lives" (Weenie, 2000, p. 67). In this study I observed self-reflection by the Kamoro people in how they assess themselves in response to changes in their lifecycles from the past and how these are connected to their contemporary existence and how changes potentially impact on their future. Most of their contemplation involves self-comparison not only to others who are mostly non-Papuans, but also evaluation of situations in accordance to the landscape; urban and rural locations and period of time; pre-colonial, early Indonesian and current situations which are strongly related to the

presence of any colonial settlers including immigrants, military and Freeport. Self-reflection, according to Thorpe and Barsky (2001), is a fundamental part of any healing process. They further define reflection as the “process of internally examining and exploring an issue of concern, triggered by an experience, which creates and clarifies meaning in terms of self, and which results in a changed conceptual perspective” (p. 761). Most of the self-reflection occurs among the older generation of the Kamoro as they have learned from their life experiences. I observed self-reflection among the older generation based on examining the situations that they have faced including discrimination, racial judgment, economic disadvantages, violence, psychological trauma, increasing numbers of deaths among the Kamoro youth and poor health conditions. The participants’ interpretations of certain phenomena, such as HIV/AIDS, pornography, domestic violence, murders and alcohol consumption are also important. By reflecting on the stories shared by their parents, and based on their assessments, some people have composed new perspectives about the upcoming generation. Moreover, the older Kamoro contributors, men and women, are also concerned about particular issues; health, economic disadvantages related to the presence of immigrants, environmental deterioration and the absence of cultural values as their life’s principles.

Amira, an old Kamoro woman in Atuka who is a former nurse, explained that her parents did not suffer certain kinds of disease that now mostly occur among the younger generation including HIV/AIDS. Even though she did not clearly identify the names of the diseases, she illustrated the symptoms of certain illnesses she noticed occurring frequently since more people have arrived in Timika. In a focus group in Kaugapu with a group of older men, a Kamoro participant who was about 50 remembered that earlier when he was a child, he and other villagers had drunk water from the river without worrying about any sickness, but now they have to be aware of its quality as most immigrants dump their domestic waste into the river. This shows that apart from the spread of diseases, the increased number of immigrants has worsened the environmental conditions which also triggers some diseases. Different views were given by Sobri, a Kamoro man from Atuka, in an interview (14/8/2015). He claimed that an individual’s health was strongly related to their personal attitudes including their physical and spiritual condition. In reflecting on his life experiences, he concluded that to be healthy people should be aware of personal activities that can damage their body and spirit. He was referring to his commitment to obey traditional wisdoms and values that have assisted him to control himself including his sexual desire. Moreover, Doni, an old Kamoro man in an interview in Kaugapu (25/9/2015), added that the absence of undertaking a particular ritual, such as *tauri* in the Kamoro culture, contributed to the health disorders of the Kamoro people. He explained that *tauri* is designed to celebrate the moment when a boy became a teenager: in this ritual, the boys will be taught to be responsible men as they grow up. The issue of economic opportunities to which immigrants have had greater access compared with the Kamoro people was discussed by an older Kamoro man in Atuka. Sobri perceived that as the town of Timika has developed, more immigrants who are skilled have arrived with their resources and have established businesses in Timika. He noticed that most of the immigrants began their businesses

with a small kiosk built on a piece of land that they rent. Another old Kamoro man, Doni, in an interview in Kaugapu, also discussed that most of the immigrant sellers built their kiosk in a certain place along the road that has been developed on traditional land of the Kamoro but has been claimed as empty land. Scholars argue that “awareness is the cornerstone of reflection. Without awareness, reflection cannot occur” (Thorpe & Barsky, 2001, p. 762). Even though the older generation reflected based on their self-examining and awareness, I argue that they are not in the critical process of constructing a new pattern or perspective to deal with this situation, which means this self-awareness, needs to be developed in order to assist them to transform and be healed.

Conversely, in comparison with the older generation of Kamoro, I noticed that the self-assessment among some of the young generation, particularly in Koperapoka, was not based on their self-reflection. Their awareness replicates outsiders’ perceptions about them, particularly those of non-Papuan priests, nuns, police, government officers, and other immigrants. The outsiders have evaluated the attitudes of the younger generation of Kamoro and identified their attitudes as bad or good according to their perspective. Therefore, the self-awareness of the younger generations is not as critical as the older generation’s and the younger generation tend to disregard the effects of globalisation and colonisation that have influenced their life, which I consider have caused trauma and disadvantages. I observed that most of the young Kamoro people, in their self-assessment, expressed regret about attitudes that have been seen as inappropriate according to the non-Papuan perceptions or Christian values. They tend to situate themselves into two binary opposition criteria according to Christianity; ‘before close to God’, which is referring to ‘bad’, and ‘after close to God’ meaning ‘good’. To me this signified colonist approaches in identifying the other, or colonised people, by positioning them into two opposite situations and evaluating them along these standards. In a focus group in Koperapoka (5/10/2015), three young men, David, Sale and Rado illustrated their attitudes which they had seen as negative and how their life changed when they became involved in the Youth Catholic Group named *Orang Muda Katolik (OMK)* in Timika Cathedral parish². They described how as they have changed, they have come to feel responsible for encouraging other younger people to change their life as well.

I think that the OMK has facilitated our young people to change their mind and have new ways of thinking and gradually leave our bad attitudes. We begin to get close to God and God opened our hearts and minds to be better in the future. Alcohol has destroyed us, when we got drunk we used to fight with the immigrants around here or have pre-marital sexual relations which are prohibited by God. We, the young people in Koperapoka, previously were not aware of that, but now we have changed and I am grateful for that. I hope by the time we are closer to God and thus more changes occurs among us (David, 5/10/2015).

² The OMK in Koperapoka is supervised by a Kei Catholic priest from Cathedral parish in Timika who visited them and provided moral support. These young people are allowed to use the Old Catholic church to gather and do traditional dance or sing which they sometimes perform in the Church ceremonies.

Previously, I was a drunk and when I got drunk I used to commit weird things, fought with others until one of my friends invited me to join the OMK. I did not join the OMK directly when he asked me to go, but have been thinking of it till one morning when I woke after an alcohol party last night and felt unwell. I then asked the Lord to show me the way and yes, I joined this group and regularly come to Sunday mass (Sale, 5/10/2015).

We [the young people of Kamoro] in OMK have been chosen by God as God's agent to help our friends who are not aware of their negative attitudes and encourage them to forget all issues or things that destroy their life (Rado, 15/10/2015).

I argue that these kinds of self-reflections among the younger generation are not contributing to healing and transformation but instead are enhancing feelings of guilt and the deterioration of self-confidence. Even though the younger generation have not yet lived as long as the older generation, and they have not directly experienced the impact of change of forced cultural practices, they have heard stories about these traumatic experiences from the older generation. When the younger generation challenge the old ideas, this is often based on dichotomous ways of thinking that old or traditional values and practices need to be changed. This is a colonial way of thinking.

4.3 Migration

Traditionally the Kamoro people were a nomadic society, as was implied in many stories and folklore of the Kamoro elders during this study. For example, in an interview (18/08/2015), Ori, an older man in Atuka shared a story about an ancestor who was engaged in marriage with some creatures or people from outside the village who were assumed to be from the highlands. This indicated that they were migrants. Another story from Doni, an older man from Kaugapu, recorded during an interview (25/09/2015) revealed that mobility was driven by economic reasons. The Kamoro people brought foods that they gathered, then walked some distance and encountered other tribes from the highlands of Timika in a particular location. The purpose was to exchange food stocks such as sago, dried fish, and dried shells with other materials from the highlanders, however, in this contact, they obeyed cultural norms that regulated their interactions with each other including sexuality. The Kamoro people had early contact with traders from Malaya, and Dutch or Indonesian immigrants who travelled to their land. Rapid social changes since the Dutch time through 'civilisation' and missionary projects have weakened these traditional norms. The alterations continued in contemporary life where values were replaced by the legal systems during the Dutch as well as the Indonesian era.

The Dutch regulated sexuality in other parts of Indonesia as well as among the Kamoro people. The Dutch institutionalised prostitution in some regions of Indonesia. As the Dutch infiltrated Kamoro culture, facilitated by missionaries, they banned some cultural materials and rituals that symbolised sexuality and changed the sexual culture of the Kamoro as part of the civilisation process. Anthropologists and missionaries in the Dutch period documented some of the rituals of the Kamoro. These rituals were seen as the deviant behaviours of unbelievers and sinners

therefore missionaries attempted to prevent them in order to modernise the Kamoro people.

Migration in West Papua including Timika is one of the critical issues. The Australian scholar Jim Elmslie (2017), who focuses on the West Papuan independence movement, confirmed that “the trend of an increasing proportion of non-Papuans in the overall population of Papua and Papua Barat province is continuing” (p. 5). Moreover, he claims that Timika is one of the five regencies with a majority of non-Papuans, around 60 percent. Migration, as found in this study, has shaped the contemporary sexual culture of the Kamoro people in two ways. First, the immigrants who have migrated to Timika have brought their own values about sexual culture. This also includes the Kamoro people who have migrated to urban areas, leaving their own norms about sexuality and adopting certain values that affect their sexual behaviour. Second, urban development in Timika has been followed by a male surplus, created by the presence of the Freeport Company which has increased demands for a sex industry. Migration has also impacted on the spread of some diseases including HIV/AIDS which is correlated to sexual behaviour.

Modernisation has encouraged people to travel to new lands for the purpose of discovery including encounters with exotic customs and sexual practices foreign to their own cultural standards (Herdt, 1997). Herdt further explained that “the traveller from one culture to another is destined to encounter potential variation in sexual norms and roles. Cultures vary enormously in how they approve or disapprove of sexual behaviour” (p. 7). Moreover, Herdt, a scholar from the USA, explained that there are three interconnected processes that are relevant to current perspectives on human movement and sexual transition:

First, the worldwide increase in human movement and mobility, leading people across the boundaries of their own group – from rural to urban, urban to agrarian, or across the national borders –into unknown sexual culture; second, the historical emergence of sexual cultures and sub cultures which create new context of behaviour, codes for sexual conduct, and networks for encounters between strangers, as in the dense urban society which gives rise to commercial sex; and third, the emergence of new sexually transmitted diseases, especially HIV/AIDS, which have created sexual risks for immigrants (p. 3).

How the Kamoro people interact with immigrants and respond to the values that these immigrants bring in with them has influenced the contemporary sexual culture of the Kamoro. In a study about Sub-Saharan Africa, Caldwell et al. (1997 p. 45) note that “the cities are seen by the villagers as, above all, places of bright lights, bars, hotels, fancy clothes, dancing and sexual temptation”. Moreover, they claim that “cities are also seen as places of anonymity where it is possible to behave differently from in the village”. This phenomenon applies to Timika. Development of Timika as a mining town and Indonesia’s typical centralised development where more facilities have been established in the towns, increased the numbers of migrants from other parts of Indonesia and encouraged more people from rural areas to migrate to the urban areas.

Recently, the Indonesian central government initiated the development of two provinces in West Papua by creating new regencies by splitting up the previous major regencies or districts (Chauvel & Bhakti, 2004). This political response by the central government of Indonesia to the Free West Papua demands resulted in escalation of migration not only of people seeking jobs in mining but also as government officers to fill positions in the local government, or informal jobs due to urban growth. The migrants include miners, fresh graduates from universities, soldiers and police, and sex workers. The Dutch might not have brought the diseases but as they changed the values and norms that guided Indigenous people regarding traditional sexual punishment to the modern legal system, they have contributed to recent sexual behaviour. Subsequently in the Indonesian era, the Dutch legal system was reformed to the Indonesian legal system, although it is not generally well implemented in Timika.

But, Kamoro people are migrants too. This phenomenon was noted in an account by Amira, an elder woman in Atuka (interview, 13/08/2015). She identified that more young people migrate to the town for study. When they go back to their villages they take inappropriate sexual behaviours or practices with them. As they move to the town, they move away from the boundaries of values and norms related to their villages. In the town, sex is more visible through pornography, the sex industry is available, and easily accessed without any guilt feelings of traditional sanctions, norms or values which have contributed to their sexual behaviour changes. This not only applies to the long-term migrants but also seasonal migration from rural to urban areas or even from one rural area to another:

Actually if we just stay in the village, only stay in the village, never go to the town, we will not learn those ways. But, some of the young people who move to the town, when they come back to the village they bring all these influences. Yes, all these influences [bad] from the town brought here which tends to have more than one sexual partner. They study in Timika and when they drop out from school, they bring all the influences [values and behaviour] here to this village. When they are back here and have any girlfriends, they have sex with them. Some students who come to the village for their holiday, they have sex with their old friends in the primary school here then back to town and have sex with other girlfriends there who are their friends at school. This occurs among male and female students. Some females will even drop out of school as they get pregnant. Some were not pregnant but also still drop out of school (Amira, August 13, 2015).

This statement shows that when someone moves out of their cultural norms boundaries, for instance to migrate to the town where more diverse groups of people live, they tend to also move away from their traditional norms. It appears that this experience has occurred among migrants who have lived out of their culture. This is in line with Herdt's conclusions, "crossing cultural boundaries may potentially change the sexual behaviour of the agent either for the lone individual, the married couple, the small refugee group, or tourist or traveller" (Herdt, 1997, p. 7). Moreover, Caldwell et al. (1997 p. 45) in their writing about migrants in Africa, state that "the rural migrant most likely will seek the unorganised sex workers who are more likely to have uncured STDs and to be HIV positive".

"Migration has always facilitated the spread of any infective disease" (Caldwell et al., 1997,

p. 41). Further, they argue that migration of labour and monetisation of the economy is also another reason for Sexual Transmitted Diseases. The story of two Kamoro women in Atuka who migrated to Timika, worked as house maids and then their bodies were sent back to Atuka when they died, is an example. Amira who is a former nurse, observed in an interview that in the past when fewer people migrated, there were no diseases spread as happens recently, including HIV/AIDS. She is referring to the story of the two women in Atuka. Similarly, in an interview, Sobri, an older man in Kaugapu, shared his opinion about migration and the spread of disease:

It is weird, and totally different, in the past where people never go [travel] anywhere death usually occurred after ten years, or five years. But, now, even in a week, the death will be around three or four. All these diseases never occurred in the past (Sobri, August 14, 2015).

Even though he did not specifically explain certain phenomenon fully, he was referring to the death of young people who travelled to the town of Timika and contracted illnesses then died. He was comparing the death of Kamoro youth ten or five years ago which occurred rarely but currently is more frequent.

According to Caldwell et al. (1997 p. 41), migration does this in two ways, “first, it brings more people into contact with each other. Second, it has been a major factor in the growth of urban areas where dense populations in close contact provide a context for epidemics”. Furthermore, they explain that “AIDS probably has a closer relationship to migration which is a primary cause of behaviour which facilitates the transmission from one person to another” (p. 50). Additionally, Caldwell et al. (1997) discuss that “migrant men are more likely to seek new sexual partners and are more likely to find them in commercial sex than when at home”. There was lots of gossip during the fieldwork in Atuka about some old men who visited the town of Timika and entertained themselves and had sex with street based sex workers. Clearly, sexual culture is linked to migration. Yet, it is important to voice the Kamoro people’s opinions about sexual culture.

4.4 The Kamoro People’s Discussion of the History of their Own Sexual Culture

Most of the histories and experiences of the Kamoro people appear in the coloniser’s literature. How the Kamoro people were represented in some studies, reports or letters written by Dutch missionaries and anthropologists which were quite biased, needs to be clarified. Harple’s study on the ethno history of the Kamoro re-examined some findings related to Kamoro culture from previous literature. He suggested that descriptions about the Kamoro which were mostly written by the Dutch shaped the contemporary misinterpretations of Kamoro society (Harple, 2000, p. 24). Moreover, in the context of the Kamoro, these misinterpretations have been replicated by Indonesians in contemporary society. Harple observed the tendency to oversimplify and generalise a tribe’s practices just because several tribes shared some similarities with one another, such as the Kamoro and the Asmat, a

neighbouring tribe in the East.

Aileen Moreton-Robinson (2009), an Australian Aboriginal scholar, argues that Indigenous women's self-representation in their life writings contests anthropological representation of them. Additionally, Brewster (in Moreton-Robinson, 2009, p. 3) claims that "through self-representation they are subject to their own gaze rather than the object of white anthropological scrutiny and knowledge". The current study considered the importance of exploring the collective memories of the Kamoro people about their sexual culture in order to re-examine some interpretations about them.

When I was about to start this section, I had such miserable feelings as I found how colonisation has formed the Kamoro's collective memories and the way they talked about their sexual culture. As I studied the transcribed information and field notes, I could not find any positive descriptions of sexuality of the Kamoro people, although all this information was shared straightforwardly by the Kamoro people as the participants in this study. The Kamoro people are not simply missing their culture as Harple (2000) claimed, but I believe that the oppressive traumatic experiences in the Dutch period have forced them to not reproduce their cultural values or wisdom or practices, and not to pass their culture from generation to generation. The remaining collective memories as revealed by the older generation, are mostly about punishment. It appears that their parents or other elders suffered punishment under Dutch colonial governance due to the perceived 'deviant sexual behaviours'. In the pre-colonial period, there were some rules, norms, and punishments regarding sexuality. In the past the Kamoro people expressed their sexuality in rituals, ceremonies, songs, and carvings: cultural celebration was part of the Kamoro's life. Now the sexual culture is described differently between the younger and the older generation, also among men and women. This also includes some of the terms that are used to articulate their sexuality as well as the gestures used when we discussed it.

Most of these cultural expressions of sexuality were banned in the Dutch period as these contradicted Christian values and also in order to create a modern society. The rule of sexuality is part of the colonisation project. This is indicated in a story shared by Ori, an old Kamoro man in Atuka. In an interview (11/8/2015), he recounted how cruelly or *membabi buta* the Dutch treated the Kamoro people due to sexual violations in the past:

With the Dutch, it was never, because they [Dutch] will take firm action, they were brutal [membabi buta]. Thus, our parents mostly conducted sexual intercourse secretly. At that time, there was no HIV or syphilis. The only disease was malaria. When they came (Dutch), they were so strict, forced [our parents] to work. If they [our parents] committed any cases like this [sexual relation], akh... [An expression of seriousness] they were tortured even most severely tortured, they were imprisoned, even women were sent to the jail. These stories were told by my parents when I was a child. There were some elders including my grandparents, when they were young, they saw some people sent to the jail in Kokonao due to these kinds of cases. Some elders including [bapa] Legius [an elder involved in this study] were usually advised by their parents to not engage with this kind of cases [extra-marital

sexual relationship] due to the Dutch punishment. They reminded their offspring, therefore most of them are afraid to do that. In the Dutch colonisation, if they did that they did it secretly (Ori, August 11, 2015).

In a discussion with elders, Yusri and Egi (8/8/2015) during this research in Atuka, they explained that violation of the traditional regulations related to sexuality resulted in conflict between clans that mostly occurred for several days which affected the colonial governance. They described that if a couple who had extra-marital sexual relations were caught, they would be punished by their family. The man would be beaten using a wooden stick by the husband of the woman and his family in a public space, as well as the woman by her family. This often resulted in conflict between clans as each family sometimes felt that this punishment was not fair or when they found their family member who was punished had suffered.

In a focus group discussion with the older Kamoro women in Poumako, I interpreted the way the participants shared their stories of the culture and past memories as they struggled to convince me to confront the mainstream views about the Kamoro culture as presented in mainstream literature. Misinterpretation of the Kamoro rituals and practices in the Dutch period has affected the common views of Indonesian people about the sexual behaviour of the Kamoro people, even West Papuans.

One older woman, Tata in a focus group in Poumako declared that this misinterpretation has been used to blame and judge the cultural practices of 'uncivilised' Kamoro which occurred in the past and triggered the increasing number of HIV/AIDS cases currently. Thus, she challenges the mainstream opinions as illustrated:

If people say that alcohol is part of cultural practices, it is nonsense; that is not true. Even the increasing number of HIV/AIDS triggered by 'free sex' attitudes in the past [as blamed by outsiders], that is nothing, it occurred because of this development which resulted in the ruin [of the culture]. As we can see, we are destroyed because of the modernity therefore, we cannot blame culture, no, culture [values and norms] is right. But we failed to maintain it, we never use it, we never go back to our culture, we are far and plucked out of our culture. Also, there is no effort to document our culture properly, and we never teach our younger generation the genuine culture of us. To be honest, some people have created our story in their own version which is not true (Tata, September 27, 2015).

Some of the participants in this research, mainly the older generation, in our discussion about sexuality, instead of clearly using certain vocabularies or terms or expressions related to sexual practices, had a tendency to disguise these words. Even more, their gestures during our encounters signalled traumatic experiences due to sexuality. An elder, Yusri, who is a carver in Atuka for instance, did not express clearly the symbol of 'vagina' that he carved when I was asking about it. He decided to explain it to me in another day while whispering. A couple of days later, after our encounter (10/8/2015), he came to the place where I stayed with the carving he made and illustrated that his carving was the genital organ of a woman. In an effort to contest the biased narrative regarding sexuality of the Kamoro an older Kamoro man, Tony, in a focus group in Poumako, explained to me that the

symbol represented the source of life. I found also more openness from the Bishop of Timika in an interview in a chapel in Timika (29/9/2015) when he clarified that this symbol showed that women are the source of life. The reactions and gestures of the Bishop and Tony in Poumako were unlike the elder man in Atuka. The Atuka elder's response implied that he had suffered or was directly instructed by his parents who experienced Dutch sexuality rules to be more cautious or even to keep this matter secret. The carver, Yusri might have been reticent to carve that kind of symbol but carving is his source of income thus he had continued to carve and keep the meaning of this symbol secret. Tony, who I assumed is aged around middle 40s, described the misinterpretation of the Western literature regarding sexuality currently. He did not clearly describe the meaning of the symbol but did firmly state his anger at the dominant misinterpretation regarding this symbol. Interestingly, the Bishop who is not Kamoro, seemed knowledgeable, respectful and more confident without any fear of explaining this symbol to me.

4.5 Marriage and Family

Relationships with the opposite sex, which begin with courtship and then culminate in marriage, have changed over time. Butt and Munro (2007) in their study in Wamena, West Papua, suggest that in the contemporary culture micro level practices of colonialism implement a settler gaze which influences the sexual culture of colonised people. They noticed that values of courtship, pre-marital sex, pregnancy and childbirth have been challenged. This phenomenon also occurs among young Kamoro. Traditionally, in the past, marriage in the Kamoro culture was arranged by family. An older woman, Tata, in a focus group in Poumako (27/9/2015) underlined how the Kamoro women in the past guided their sons and daughters when they became teenagers. She explained that the parents oversaw their children in each biological change and celebrated each stage of their reproductive and sexual development through particular rituals. The parents continued to guide their children with values and norms and directed them with responsibilities that they should consider as they grew up. She stated:

Thus, as a mother, she knew already and noticed that her daughter who stays in her house has grown, so she will observe her growth carefully. She will observe whether her breasts have already grown or not. She will guide and consult with the daughter about how to deal with any changes of her sexuality and reproductive organs including menstruation. They will celebrate her first periodical bleeding in ritual till it's finished after three days. The mother cried, and covered her body with mud for her daughter. As well as boys, in the past they will be guided by their father until they became an adult man at around seventeen years old. Then, the father will celebrate it in a ritual. In this ritual the son will be socialised as to how to be an adult who will have to learn how to catch the fish. He also will be reminded of a man's responsibility before marriage which means he has to build a house, make a canoe, and provide some blocks of sago (Tata, September 27, 2015).

Marriage and family in the Kamoro culture have changed across generations. Rado, a young Kamoro man in Koperapoka in a focus group discussion shared his cultural knowledge that he received from his parents about marriage in the past.

As I heard from my parents, if a man is interested in a woman, he has to build a house, prepare everything including a boat to catch fish. Then after arranging everything with parents and family, he brings the woman to live in the house that he builds. Now, it is not anymore, the time is different (Rado, October 5, 2015).

In his statement Rado underlined his knowledge of the cultural obligations that were required in marriage in the past, and that no longer exist in contemporary marriage in Kamoro society and he emphasised that it is because the time is different or has changed. Another young man, Adolf, in an interview in Atuka (13/8/2015) explained how at an early age young people today can meet in a social space where they are able to initiate their own relationships if they are interested in each other. In Atuka, they usually meet up when watching soap operas in the only house that has television, owned by a non-Indigenous man who has a business in Atuka. Adolf pointed out that in the past parents were involved in initiating marriage for their children by choosing and showing to their children their potential wife or husband.

When a child has turned to be a young adult, their parents will choose their potential wife or husband. But now, the time has changed to the modern era, the young people initiate their relationship at an early age even when, their breasts are just about to develop. Ibu [he refers to the researcher], if you have a chance, look around the village in the evening, you will see teenagers meet up when they watch television and end with sexual contact at the beach (Adolf, August 13, 2015).

He demonstrated an understanding of how times have changed and how the Kamoro society is part of modern life now.

The changes are driven by dynamics within this group as a response to certain aspects prior to or since the Dutch and Indonesian presence or media and globalisation. These changes include the roles of women and men in marriage. Violations of the concepts and values of marriage and family include, for instance, domestic violence and divorce. These values which regulate the relationships between men and women are rooted in local wisdom which passed through generations, as well as Christianity socialised by Roman Catholic missionaries, and other imported values that have been introduced by Indonesian immigrants. Media, in particular television and movies, also have contributed to shaping the concepts of courtship, marriage, and family among the Kamoro, particularly the younger generation.

4.5.1 Courtship

Courtship has been represented differently across generations. According to some elders and older participants in this study, when they were young, which was around the late 1960s, they were not involved in courtship as it is known today. In an interview in Kaugapu (25/9/2015), Imus, a Kamoro elder man explained that prior to marriage they did not engage in a romantic relationship or dating which is recognised as courtship in contemporary culture. They knew each other as they

had grown up and lived together as a community. He added that there were rules and punishments which directed the relationships among youth in his generation. The parents and other relatives guarded them and were also involved in initiating a relationship between young marriageable males and females who were mostly around their late 20s. After marriage the young Kamoro couple lived in the wife's clan.

Some Kamoro older men in a focus group in Kaugapu indicated that the parents of a woman used to observe and examine eligible men in order to find a particular man who was able to fulfil the marriage standard to be a husband of their daughter. The marriage requirements mostly had been approved by the society as criteria for marriageable men. If a man met these obligations, it is implied that he was ready to wed. The parents of a woman would approach his parents with their meeting commencing with delivering a signal symbolised by offering some simple things such as a piece of sago block or several bunches of firewood in the house of the man who had been involved with their daughter in activities together. The parents who received these things, usually reciprocated by providing certain goods or offering services to the woman's family as well. After that the man and woman were allowed to get closer, because until then they spent most of their time together under the supervision of their parents. This relationship might be similar to an engagement in contemporary culture. Most of the older generations involved in this study experienced this kind of relationship. For example, Sobri, a Kamoro man in Atuka shared the story of his marriage:

Finally, this parent [his in-law] sent a marriage proposal to my parents which stated we asked for your son to marry our daughter. Oh wait, I ask him first my dad and mum then asked me, what do you think about their marriage proposal, yeah dad I received it but I need to listen directly from the woman first. [Then, the woman's parent called her and met this young man]. A..., I just wanted to listen to you [regarding to your parent's marriage proposal], as a man I can just agree but I want to know her opinion. So what do you think, I asked her. Yes, I want to marry you, be united with you and spend the rest of my life with you, in bad and good situation, because our parents are getting older now we are responsible to look after them [the woman's response to the man] (Sobri, August 14, 2015).

He further added that the involvement of parents to determine the potential husband of their daughter is basically to ensure that their daughter marries the right man according to the criteria. This is mainly because their daughter and her husband, as a new family, were responsible for overseeing the parents in their old age, therefore the involvement of parents in initiating a marriage is needed. Most of these traditional marriages succeed even though there were a few of the older generation, as revealed in this study, who refused to follow their parents. Obviously, even though the parents initiated the marriage, the parents negotiated with their son before delivering their response to the woman's marriage proposal. Commonly sexual intercourse is banned in this relationship before commencing the marriage ritual. Some traditional punishments would be imposed for any violation against these rules. The criteria that a man should fulfil included capability to hunt, to build a house, to make a canoe and garden which aimed to fulfil the couple's needs as a new family. Imus, a Kamoro elder from Kaugapu, who was around 70 years old when

this interview was conducted, recounted his memory of marriage in the past:

If we want to propose a marriage, we had to follow the ritual. The parent will determine which man their daughter will marry with. This is because they need to ensure that the man has responsible means, able to work and make a canoe, he has ability to hunt, and in short he is capable to look after the family. When they are ready to marry, the family will set a fire in a public space and prepare some cigarettes. The woman will light a cigarette and give it to the man, this is for you. Then the man will light another cigarette and give it to the parent of the woman [his in-law]. But, they are not allowed to stay together or even sleep together [have sex] after that. The man will stay with his parents as well as the woman until he has built a house for them [he will work together with his family to prepare a house for them to stay after marriage] (Imus, September 25, 2015).

The new concept that promotes individual rights, as introduced by outsiders, including Catholic missionaries, priests and teachers from the Dutch and/or Kei Island, resulted in alterations in this relationship. Imus described how since Catholic missionaries entered the Kamoro culture, there have been modifications in marriage in particular to legitimise a marriage in the Church. Even more, under Indonesia's marriage law the marriage has to be officially registered by the government. The new regime confronts the women-centred culture and challenges the women's authority in the Kamoro culture by introducing the concept of male privilege that has occurred since the Dutch Catholic missions. For instance, Christian ideology dictates that a man should be a decision maker for the reason that a man is the head of the family, a householder, therefore it is his responsibility to fulfil the needs of the family. Another argument raised during this research made by Sophia, a Kei older woman in an interview in Atuka (15/8/2015) was that traditional marriage is assumed to not be based on love since the marriage was initiated by parents.

The courtship for the younger Kamoro today has different meanings according to some of the older generation who view these as deviant attitudes. Some traditional values and punishments have been dramatically eroded, followed by modern courtship socialised through Indonesian media, in particular television, which has affected the younger generation of Kamoro. Television, radio, and the internet, (Greenfield and Yan, 2006) are able to reach a large audience, and are increasingly being conceptualised as an important influence with unique social and cultural characteristics. Some older Kamoro men and women in the current study discussed how the younger generation have mimicked courtship as they have learnt it from Indonesian immigrants. For instance, a Kamoro older man in Atuka explained that the changes in punishment for sexual violence, including pre-marital sex, indicate how colonisation has weakened or even destroyed traditional norms, values and practices in society:

Church [Roman Catholic], and Indonesian government as well [early Indonesian governance in West Papua around late 1960s to 1970s], destroyed these customary practices, all finished, now it is not like that anymore. In the past if they found any youths with this sexual violation, teenagers, or married people, even have sex with other's wife, they will fight each other, and report to the local authority in the kampong (Ori, August 11, 2015).

The Kamoro youth in contemporary culture might be more flexible in adopting and adapting to new values as a result of modernisation. Traditional social control has not been used in their

modern courtship. Sexual intercourse is common in a modern courtship among the younger generation of Kamoro. Obviously, the meaning of sex in the younger generation has changed as for some young people it is primarily for pleasure. Moreover, it appears that the younger generation mostly conducts unsafe intercourse. Whilst, for the older generation as socialised by the colonisers, reproduction is mostly the main purpose of sex which means one should not have sex if it is not for reproduction, so although some of them surely enjoyed sex, it was mostly conducted secretly. Several young Kamoro men and women during this study implied that sex is a way to express love, on the other hand a few young women claimed that they have been coerced by their boyfriends to have sex. Most of their boyfriends persuade them that sex is a way of expressing love and if the girl refuses to have sex with them, the relationship will end. This is discussed further in chapter five. An older man in Atuka implied that with the development of towns such as Timika, the younger Kamoro have learned socially from the immigrants:

In the past, the courtship occurred, there was a courtship, but it was done secretly as they were afraid of their parents, afraid of other people and kampong authorities including the chief of the village. They did it secretly, but after the town of Timika developed, this kind of naughtiness from elsewhere has influenced our younger generation. They have learned all these practices that were brought in, thus they become knowledgeable, and even able to impregnate a girl. When I was teenager, we never engaged in courtship, even if we were interested in a girl, it was not easy to meet her. We had to have a 'bridge' who is my sister who helped me to connect with her [his girlfriend]. In the past we were unknowledgeable [about sex] (Ori, August 11, 2015).

Sex as a pleasure causing early pregnancy among youth has become common and for some elders it is a serious issue. They claimed that pre-marital sex which ends up with pregnancy disadvantages girls or 'gadis' in Bahasa Indonesia. The pregnant girls are not usually allowed to continue school as their situation is related to 'shame'. Additionally, in an interview (18/8/2015) an Indonesian teacher in Atuka, implied that the pregnant girls must be taken out of school as they might negatively influence other students. The values about pregnancy among youth not only burden the girls but the boys as well. Hasan, a young Kamoro man in Kaugapu, revealed that since his girlfriend got pregnant when they were in high school, he had to ensure that when he went to school, his girlfriend's family did not see him. They disagreed and prohibited him from going to school. They argued that it was not fair if their daughter dropped out of school due to her pregnancy and her boyfriend was allowed to continue his study. Hasan tells his story.

I stopped going to school. It was my fault, we were in a courtship relationship when she got pregnant. She told me she got pregnant and I said, that is okay, I will be responsible, but you must tell your parents. We will marry instead of being sinful which our child or yourself or our parents or our brothers and sisters got cursed by my sin, as I impregnated you. At that time, I continued my study while she did not. Her parents were not happy and got mad about that. Her parents were angry with me, they reported me to the police as I impregnated her and I was imprisoned. My parents were not happy because of that. They wrote a letter to the police stating that they will pay her family so that I can be released. All the family collected some amount of money, it was around ten million [IDR = \$100 AUD]. Then I was released and moved from Hiripauw to live with her in her parent's house in Kaugapu (Hasan, September 9, 2015).

He finally stopped attending school as the family of his girlfriend requested. Although, they eventually married, neither of them finished secondary school and are unable to fulfil their basic needs. The issue of pregnant girls who must be taken out of school and the distribution of condoms among youths is mostly affected by the values that Butt and Munro (2007) describe as a 'shame culture' that originated during Indonesian National Development. Additionally, contraception in Indonesia is not provided for youth due to morality issues. Although condoms are promoted as protection against the spread of Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STDs), they are inaccessible to younger people. According to nurses and teachers in Atuka, most of the young Kamoro people in Atuka are infected by STDs as a result of unsafe sexual behaviour and commonly they have engaged in unprotected sexual intercourse as described by youth male participants in the focus group discussion in Atuka (9/8/2015).

4.5.2 Concept of marriage

The roles of women and men in marriage in the Kamoro culture previously complemented each other. As a woman-centred culture, the Kamoro woman is the owner of economic resources inherited from her parents: they also have control over the allocation and usage of these resources. Julius Coenen, who was a Franciscan priest from the Netherlands who worked in Timika from 1953 to 1963, affirmed that a woman in the Kamoro culture is *taparamako* or the owner of land, sago, forest or river, while a man is responsible for protecting the woman's ownership as a member of a matriarchal clan. These cultural roles influenced marriage particularly for the older generation of Kamoro people who spoke with me. An elder in Kaugapu, Imus, who had met Coenen when he was around eleven years old, described how marriage in the Kamoro culture has been transformed. Even though Imus did not describe a particular period of time, it appeared that marriage as he explained it refers to three different periods of time, pre-colonial, colonial and post/ongoing colonial. In the pre-colonial period marriage, as he outlined, the man started to build a house, made a canoe and prepared a garden since he had accepted a marriage proposal offered by the woman's parents. The marriage ceremony began after the house was completed as well as the canoe and the garden. The man's parents and family then arranged some materials to give to the woman's family. They usually prepared a number of sago blocks and pigs they had hunted, and new canoes to take all these materials to the woman's family. Even though they were engaged already, sexual intercourse before the marriage ceremony was prohibited, as well as extra-marital sex. It created conflict between families and even between clans:

In the past, it was prohibited to sleep together [sexual intercourse], no, parents were too strict, and it should not occur. It will result in conflict, battle, between this family and that family. They will fight, not for a day, even two or three days. It is a woman who will reconcile them. If a woman stands in the middle, they cannot do anything, they stop fighting as they feel shame [respect] to woman that is because the woman is the decision maker, but not now. Now woman is not (Imus, September 25, 2015).

According to Imus, for some period of time before the Dutch Catholic missions, Kamoro elders found the phenomenon of extra-marital sexual relations among married people which they assumed was triggered by parent-arranged marriages. This caused conflict among individuals, families, even clans or *taparu*. The Kamoro elders reviewed the situation and agreed to modify marriage and allow a woman to be involved in the process of determining her husband. She could decide which man she preferred to marry. She then advised her parents to approach the man's parents. Apart from the involvement of the daughter in determining her husband, marriage in Kamoro was also modified into 'exchange marriage' which occurred when the Dutch Catholic missionaries arrived. There is no literature that supports this story. Imus stated that in the 'exchange marriage', when the man's parents approved the wedding proposal offered by a woman's parents, the marriageable sister of the man was able to offer marriage to one of the woman's brothers. The 'exchange marriage' as he claimed aimed to balance the relationship through the principle of reciprocity. Moreover, he added that it is also a sign of admiration from the woman's family to all efforts that the man had made to meet his marriage obligations:

Therein such hard work that a man should offer before marriage as I told before is finished. From there, the exchange marriage began (Imus, September 25, 2015).

The concept of exchange marriage or '*kawin tukar*' in Bahasa however is contested. An exchange marriage or '*kawin tukar*' is the marriage practice among the family of a couple where the brother or sister of the man is allowed to marry the brother or sister of the woman. A non-Indigenous participant, Sophia, in Atuka claimed in an interview (15/8/2015) that 'exchange marriage' is bad. She explained that the practice of '*kawin tukar*' was seen as coercion that had to be banned. In an interview (14/8/2015) Sobri, an elder in Atuka stated that '*kawin tukar*' aimed to maintain the relationship between clans. The Dutch also confronted the women-centred culture of the Kamoro through the introduction of Christianity, followed by the introduction of a patriarchal society. I conclude that in the ambitious efforts to dominate the natural resources, the coloniser changed the social institution of the Kamoro commencing in the primary social unit such as marriage and the family structure which includes the roles of men and women in a family. The women's role became confined to the private sphere, while men were forced to become the head of the family, a breadwinner, and therefore encouraged to gain an education to be able to enter the labour market in the modern economy.

The Dutch interpreted conflict among clans or *taparu* over violation of sexual norms, which usually occurred over several days, as a practice of uncivilised people as described in an interview (Atuka, 11/8/2015) with Ori, an older man. Ori explained that this was the reason why the Dutch introduced a legal system to resolve issues regarding violations of sexual norms. He implied that the colonial government introduced imprisonment as a legal punishment and burned all the traditional weapons that were used in battle between clans due to such violations. The missionaries forbade 'exchange marriage' and announced that the church was the institution to

legitimate marriage. The central position of women in the Kamoro culture is a reflection of the tribute to women as the source of life. Using the *mirikaoteyao* metaphor, Imus, an elder man in Kaugapu, described that it referred to a woman who through her offspring created the Kamoro people; this is the basis of the women-centred culture of Kamoro. The concept of marriage for the Kamoro has been modified alongside the alteration of women-centred culture of the contemporary Kamoro. Some modern views have been introduced to the Kamoro in regards to marriage, for instance the concept of individualism in marriage which ignores parental involvement in arranging marriage. In the modern view, marriage should be based on love, which means people are supposed to decide for themselves who they will marry as reflected in a statement by Sophia in an interview in Atuka (15/8/2015). It is implied that in modern marriage it is the man who should offer marriage in the first place. As the 'exchange marriage' was modified, marriage in the contemporary Kamoro especially among youth is initiated without parental involvement. This means the young women and men are able to decide who they will marry. In contemporary marriage there are no pre-marriage obligations as required in previous traditional marriages. Most of the relationships started with courtship where they have encountered each other in particular social activities or public spheres such as at school or at a party. Moreover, marriage among the younger generation commonly follows a young woman's pregnancy. This marriage is known by society as 'marriage by accident' which mostly occurred when the man and his family cannot afford to pay the fine that the pregnant girl's family require. If the man who impregnates a girl is unable to pay some amount of money, marriage is an alternative. It appears that some of these marriages have contributed to domestic violence. Additionally, Christ, an older participant in focus group discussion in Kaugapu (19/9/2015) observed, as the younger family has no house to stay in after marriage, contrary to the past custom where a house and garden preceded marriage, they mostly shared a house with the women's parents. He added that in some cases where parents interfere in their children's family life, this initiates conflict or increases the likelihood of domestic violence.

4.6 Domestic Violence

Indonesia has policies to promote the elimination of gender based violence. Since 2004 a number of laws have been enacted: the Law on Domestic Violence (2004), the Victim Protection Law in 2006 and the Law of Anti-Trafficking in 2007. However, the number of domestic violence incidents in Indonesia is still increasing. The National Commission on Violence against women identified that Papua province recorded 1,360 cases of gender based violence per 10,000 women in 2012 (IRIN, 2013). Without specifying which province, the Asian Human Rights Commission in 2011 reported that Indigenous women in Papua experienced violence perpetrated by their husbands and partners and with little protection from police or state agencies (IRIN, 2013). Even though Papua reported high rates of violence against women, this may not reflect the reality because many cases remain unreported. Study about domestic violence in West Papua is limited. There is some information provided about domestic violence, but the accuracy of data presented

and arguments provided are biased and racially judgmental, for example domestic violence is part of the everyday life of many Papuans just because Papuan men consume more alcohol.

Some observations and several unrecorded discussions during the data collection indicated that domestic violence in Kamoro, particularly among the younger generation, is common. For instance in a meeting with a group of widows in Atuka facilitated by a non-Indigenous woman, it was stated by Sophia (19/8/2015) that some women in this group, who are mostly aged late 40s to 50s years old, refused to marry again after their husbands passed away. The primary reason is they do not want to deal with violence such as they experienced in their previous marriage even though living life as a widow means they confront stereotypes. They have been treated poorly by some villagers particularly women who are jealous of them. Similarly in Kaugapu, I observed a young family where the husband is a perpetrator of domestic violence to his wife. An old Kamoro man in Kaugapu who has a familial relationship with this family, in an unrecorded discussion, explained that the husband has had no job recently and his wife is responsible for feeding the family. Most of the older men who participated in a focus group in Kaugapu were concerned about the issue of domestic violence. Many argue that this comes about when men who are householders of younger families neglected to fulfil their responsibility as a breadwinner. For example Rizki, an old Kamoro man in Kaugapu, in focus group discussion (19/9/2015) discussed the story of his nephew who is a perpetrator of domestic violence. He recounted what he told his nephew about men's responsibility to the family:

Now you fight about food at home? [The participant asked his nephew], it is you who are responsible for that [as breadwinner]. If you are a good husband, why don't you follow your wife to gather food? Or make a canoe [to be used to catch fish] as I was taught by my parent. Now, even only to carry a bucket of water from the tap that is only seven steps from your home, you are unable to do that and leave it to your wife to carry it (Rizki, September 19, 2015).

According to Rizki, the inability of a man to fulfil the basic needs of the nuclear family fuelled domestic violence. Moreover, the participants in this focus group claimed that the domestic violence commonly arose in the contemporary marriage where parents are not involved. By comparing contemporary marriage to marriage in the past, they argued that the principle of *kaokapaiti* or honour to women has not been considered in contemporary marriage, giving an excuse to young men to commit domestic violence. This is in line with a statement from an old Kamoro man in Atuka who claimed that domestic violence was rare in the older generation's marriage due to the *kaokapaiti* principle:

It is taboo to hit women, where we should hide this face [while pointing his face], we shame to the kaokapaiti, to the woman's family, but it is different to the younger generation (Ori, August 11, 2015).

An older Kamoro woman, as well as other older participants in this study, indicated that they had never experienced domestic violence whether as perpetrators or as victims. Based on

this fact I conclude that domestic violence, particularly in the younger generation, is strongly related to the effect of colonisation (Dutch and Indonesian) and globalisation directly or indirectly. The direct impact is related to the coloniser's presence and resultant cultural changes. The colonisers have encouraged the Kamoro men to be the breadwinners of the family and so altered the structure of the family and roles of the man and woman. In terms of globalisation as described by Ritzer (2011), this impacted on solidity and fluidity. He explained how capitalism as an economic system meant many solid things melted, for instance feudalism. In the context of the Kamoro, values and traditional practices about marriage, for example, have dissolved due to a new concept or idea about marriage and family. Information technology and media as tools of globalisation assist the melting process of these traditional values and practices. Education is a requirement to be a successful breadwinner in modern society. As the young Kamoro people turn to modern society, they have not been trained with traditional skills as their parents had in the past, instead they were sent to school. Ori, an older man in Atuka in an interview (11/8/2015) explained this phenomenon by stating '*jaring sudah putus*' which can be translated as 'the net has been broken'. *Jaring* is a net that Kamoro people use to catch fish. He is referring here to the intergenerational transfer of knowledge regarding traditional skills and abilities that every Kamoro man has to have for their life. The process of knowledge transfer from parents to their offspring is disturbed when the young men have to leave the village for their formal education in town. After finishing school they have to compete with immigrants who are mostly more skilled and qualified to meet the job requirements in Timika. The younger generation of Kamoro are mostly too unskilled to enter the labour market. This has caused an inability on the part of men to feed their family; instead families depend on the subsistence work of wives or even on their in-laws or parents. This failure as breadwinner has encouraged Kamoro men to gain their power within the marriage relationship through violence. The pressure of being a breadwinner on the older generation might have been less than it is on the younger generation in contemporary life where the demands of modern life are higher. The older generation are well prepared with traditional skills and most of them work together with their wives to fulfil their family's needs. Moreover, they did not need to compete with the immigrants in regard to gathering food in their own traditional ways. Therefore, the demands of being a breadwinner among the older generation do not put pressure on them compared with the younger generation. This argument is in line with Western feminist (Anderson, 1997) explanations where violence is a culturally appropriate means to exert dominance and control when a man's masculinity is challenged. This phenomenon is also implied in the interview with an old Kamoro man in Atuka,

Sometimes, a wife is beaten by her husband [usually occurs after they argue] because the husband never helps his wife. For example, when the wife goes to gather food, the husband does not go with her. Instead, he leaves his wife to go to the forest by herself, catch the fish or crabs and so on. [The wife will get angry] I go to gather food myself like I am a widow, even though I have a husband, I do not know where my husband is. This kind of statement will shame the husband, [the husband replies to his wife] but, you do not need to say like that, it hurts me and he will hit his wife (Ori, August 11, 2015).

This statement indicated that the domestic violence among the younger family occurs when the masculinity of a husband as breadwinner is questioned.

As stated previously even though there are regulations about domestic violence in Indonesia, they are not implemented fully. Some participants in this study explained that the police most likely do not take domestic violence seriously. One reason for this is the marriage status of the victim has not been officially legitimated by the Indonesian government. They told me that the police commonly will request the marriage certificate to identify whether the victims are married or not. If the wife is unable to provide the marriage certificate, her case will be refused. The issues of domestic violence raised by the Kamoro women who have engaged in unofficial marriage cannot be resolved using the police. I argue that this is because the term 'domestic' in Indonesian has been translated as a household therefore domestic violence in the Indonesia Domestic Violence Law has been understood as only occurring within marriage. Moreover, marriage in Indonesia has to be legalised by the government indicated by a marriage certificate. Most of the ordinary Kamorons, and most Papuans in particular have engaged in customary marriage legitimated by the Church only. Commonly in contemporary Kamoro when a couple commit to live together, they will meet some cultural obligations then continue to be legitimated in the Church which means the couple do not have a marriage certificate and are only filed in the Church's database. It appears that the law on domestic violence in Indonesia is unable to protect the unmarried Kamoro women or even unmarried West Papuan women or indeed any unmarried women in Indonesia. The victims of domestic violence who are engaging in this kind of marriage are thus unable to obtain legal services.

The influence of the Indonesian taboo around exposing domestic violence publicly also impacts on some cases that are reported to the police. Police officers who are mostly non-Papuans seem affected by this taboo which influences their response to domestic violence. They will discourage the victim by raising the issue of economic dependency of the victim on the perpetrators in an attempt to disempower the victim. This then leads to some victims deciding to withdraw their case and continuing to live in the cycle of violence. Practically, the implementation of the Domestic Violence Law in West Papua is not effective in raising awareness of the perpetrators or healing the traumatic experiences of the victims. The traumatic experiences of some women in Atuka are an example of the negative impacts of domestic violence on the victims. This not only impacted on them as victims but also on their children or other younger generation members, regarding the understanding of violence and how to protect themselves from potential violence, including coercive sex or aggressiveness. The lack of legal intervention contributes to the cycle of domestic violence among the Kamoro people which increases its intensity and frequency. Tata, an older woman in a discussion in Poumako (27/9/2015) stated that instead of solving the domestic violence issue in Timika even in West Papua, the Indonesians mostly simplified the issue by blaming domestic violence on being part of West Papuan culture.

4.7 Summary

Kamoro culture has changed over time and traditional practices, described inaccurately in colonial literature, are no longer prevalent in Kamoro society. The greatest changes occurred in the Dutch colonial period through missionary projects which erased many practices, values and norms that governed traditional life. Expressions of sexuality, fertility and reproduction that manifested in the rituals and ceremonies were banned and seen as sinful. Change also ensued in social institutions, the structure of society, gender roles and family structure. These changes continued as the Indonesian presence strengthened and introduced more new values and practices. Sexuality is not celebrated and discussed openly as it is seen as sin and taboo. The traditional roles of parents and extended family to assist their offspring in each stage of their reproductive life no longer function. In contemporary life where new ideas about sexuality have filtered into the society, and impacted on unsafe sexual practices, the spread of HIV has been triggered. The sexual culture of the younger generation of Kamoro represents the sharper effects of colonial and global culture. To be able to understand how these changes impacted on contemporary culture the next chapter discusses the narratives about and among young people.

5 CONTEMPORARY INFLUENCES AND YOUNG PEOPLE: HOST CULTURE, NEW TECHNOLOGIES, NEW SEXUAL CULTURE

5.1 Introduction

I begin this chapter with an instance of a narrative about young people as stated by a Kamoro elder in Kaugapu:

I was born in 1963, my grandfather in Hiripauw [a neighbouring village of Kaugapu] told me, in the future, if we the elders who have passed, how will you, the younger generation survive, they [outsiders] will come from anywhere else, and you all will suffer. It is clear now, people come here from other parts and create everything that is making us all exhausted (Doni, September 20, 2015).

This statement is an example of a narrative of Kamoro youth. The younger generation in the contemporary culture are survivors of changes in social structure, culture, economy and politics. Narratives about the younger generation of the Kamoro were told not only by older people of Kamoro, but also some non-Papuan participants in this study and the Kamoro youth themselves. The narratives from the older generation derive from a main argument: values which contradict with traditional values are mostly viewed as negative. Most of the narratives from the non-Papuan participants are based on their moral values. The narratives about the young Kamoro people from the non-Papuan participants tend to ignore the impact of colonisation and globalisation. These narratives also have influenced how youth identify themselves and how they respond to the social changes. The way Kamoro youth respond to the changes in their culture and social life has created a subculture which is different from the older generation.

This chapter consists of five sections beginning with the introduction. The second section tells the story about the young Kamoro according to the older and the younger generations. It contains descriptions of the Kamoro youth who have been influenced by colonisation. The third section considers youth culture and subculture. This section outlines some beliefs, practices, ideas, behaviours and attitudes of young people which are different from the older generation and which contribute to the sexual culture of the contemporary Kamoro. The youth culture and subculture are strongly influenced by colonisation and globalisation. Such influences include mobile phones and pornography, the idea of beauty and handsomeness, dress codes and fashion, alcohol and sexual violence. This section also describes how this subculture of the Kamoro youth developed. The sex industry in Timika is outlined in section four. The impact of the sex industry in Timika on the young people and their sexual behaviour is explored.

5.2 Dominant Narrative about Youth

Some narratives from the older generation of Kamoro implied that they are worried about the future of the younger generation. Most of the older generation identified modernity as a driving factor of the changes in their younger generation. The older generation described how the youth expresses their sense of helplessness and powerlessness. Some of them argue that they have always reminded their children about certain issues but their children have never obeyed them.

In the past, Kamoro parents guided and educated their offspring through rituals, cultural ceremonies and practices. The local wisdom that regulated the Kamoro people's life in the past was socialised through generations in whole of life activities. For example, when the children were growing up, the parents celebrated each stage of their life in initiations. Since the Dutch and then Indonesia banned all the traditional rituals, promoted formal education as a main approach to change people's behaviour, and forcibly separated children from their parents to send them to school, the traditional parental role has become disconnected from the children. School was promoted as the main approach used to civilise people. This is indicated in some advice given by parents to their children as found in this study. Discussions from some interviews, and also based on my observation in Atuka as well as in Kaugapu, showed that none of the parents discussed particular traditional values or shared special life skills based on their local wisdom that can be used to guide their children. For instance, discussing sexuality with their children in order to prepare their children to engage with the impact of globalisation, is an uncommon aspect of parenting in the contemporary family of the Kamoro. From my point of view, the Kamoro parents were confused by all the social changes that they are facing, for instance, pornography. Social control from the extended family in a *taparu* is also currently reduced. Parents were disappointed that pornography had resulted in early marriage or early pregnancy among youths and increasing alcohol consumption in the younger generation was a continuing concern.

A few of the Kamoro parents in this study also claim that their parenting style or the way the Kamoro parents educate their children at home, is a main factor that contributes to youth behaviour. It appears that this claim was made mostly by those who I assumed have been affected by the judgmental statements of immigrants about the Kamoro parental style. Most of the younger generation in the three villages described themselves in accordance to the coloniser's moral values and practices. For example in a discussion among young men in Atuka, I observed some indications of guilt feelings when they shared information about their sexual experiences. As well, two young women, Ditha and Nia from Atuka and Kaugapu who became pregnant early which caused them to drop out of school, tended to blame themselves according to morality values. Another example was revealed in a focus group among the young Kamoro men in Koperapoka. This focus group indicated how the younger generation conceptualise or see themselves in the coloniser's frame.

Some of the young men in Koperapoka are involved in a Youth Catholic Group named *Orang Muda Katolik (OMK)*, initiated and facilitated by the Catholic Church in Timika. There is a priest from Kei who accompanies, guides and facilitates their activities. The activities are mostly about promoting the Kamoro traditional dances and songs which are usually performed at church ceremonies or other events. They tend to see themselves as trouble makers, identified by their attitudes as bad, inappropriate or misbehaving according to mainstream views, which are based mostly in Indonesian or Christian values. Most of them believe that Christian values can assist them to be 'normal'. I argue that this idea was introduced by the Catholic Church and also some charismatic Christian groups. It is indicated in statements by two young Kamoro men, Doni and Sane in the focus group in Koperapoka:

Yes, like alcohol as well as some other issues which destroyed us. For instance, when we get drunk, we will go and commit crimes, conflict with others, make a problem, yes such things that are prohibited by God, sexual intercourse. These are negative things that we, youth in Koperapoka unconsciously did previously. But now, I observed there are positive changes gradually, I am really grateful for us and hopefully in the future we will be more close [to God], and make more changes (Dodi, October 5, 2015).

Yeah, I was a drinker and usually beat other people, liked to make any trouble till I join the OMK. A friend of mine told me to join the OMK, 'what do you want to do outside, it is important to change your life' [his friend told him]. One night, I got drunk, when I woke up, I felt unwell. I asked myself, whether I should continue to drink like this? It is not good. I asked God, I asked God to guide me and yes I join this group and just like this, I follow mass at the church (Sane, October 5, 2015).

These participants obviously blamed themselves as 'trouble makers' in terms of established Christian values and they believe that through the OMK they will come back to 'normal'. I argue that without comprehensive understanding of some of the reasons behind their attitudes that are judged as 'abnormal' this OMK program which promotes Christianity would not be sustainable.

Christianity and the military have been seen as the best approaches to deal with the Kamoro youth. This is indicated by the number of schools provided for local people now employing police to discipline youth attitudes in some school programs. When this study was conducted, there was a weekend camp for secondary students in Kaugapu where some of the main programs are run by police and evangelists who preach Christianity. Some of the female students who chatted (unrecorded) with me one morning expressed how frustrated they were with all the security in their dormitory and school. They are required to report each time they come and go from other activities outside. They are instructed to do everything at a particular time that has been set by their supervisors who are police: if they fail to do so, they will be punished. The military discipline used on young Kamoro again indicated how the coloniser (Indonesia) controls the colonised. I would argue, that this is not only about disciplining the young Kamoro but also developing the Indonesian nationalism of the young people of Papua. Military oppression, even shooting the young people of Kamoro and West Papua more broadly, is common.

The young group of Kamoro men in Koperapoka showed a sense of loss of cultural pride and also shame as well as the traumatic experience of military oppression. Dodi, a young Kamoro man told me:

Sister [as they called me], we are still young, we sometimes feel shy [to express ourselves] and yes we are definitely thirsty to listen to our story from the elders. As Kamoro people, we are bound to our culture the same as other people to their culture. We really want to sit together with the elders and learn from them. Yesterday, we were playing our traditional drum [toki tifa] with some elders. We are so sad due to the shooting [six Kamoro men shot in Koperapoka] in the last couple of days. Therefore, we should not be staying away [from God], but also learn from our elders and we will have a better future. As I see it, our youth are mostly ashamed in particular to discuss it [culture]. But I am grateful for this OMK as we do some activities together, share some new thoughts, gain better changes and gradually leave the negative activities behind. We are getting closer to God and it is a good thing, we see how God works on us, opens our hearts and minds to be better and better in the future (Dodi, October 5, 2015).

Even more, a participant believed that culture as identity is an important part of their life leading to a better future, however, most of the young people are not currently living their traditional values. Losing some values shows an absence of links to the past culture as part of the cultural identity which has influenced youth life. This is implied in a young Kamoro man, David's statement that he, as well as other young Kamoro, sometimes feel shy about expressing their culture. Obviously, this situation caused by colonisers has destroyed the self-confidence of the colonised people, in particular the youth. Young people are the future of a clan or nation therefore I would argue that an approach developing cultural identity in youth is needed, even though they are mostly referring to the culture meaning, dance, song or language only. Junior, a young Kamoro man in Koperapoka described his desire for culture:

Yeah, I want our elders and parents to train us about our culture. Since we were kids, we never learnt our traditional dance and other culture [values and practices] so we have never known and experienced it. I want our parents to teach us therefore, as Kamoro we are not left behind. I want us, Kamoro, moving forward in advance in the future within our culture (Junior, October 5, 2015).

However, it is not an easy process to encourage people to go back to their roots or culture. From my viewpoint a major issue for the Kamoro is lack of cultural documentation. Rado, a young Kamoro man who is the leader of this group (the OMK) stated that it is important for the Kamoro cultural institution, *LEMASKO (Lembaga Masyarakat Kamoro)* established by Freeport Company, to document all the local wisdoms of Kamoro in order to guide the Kamoro people. Sharing of stories by the elders is needed and *LEMASKO* is given the role of facilitating this process:

*I think, in regard to some statements made by my friends previously, this is the responsibility of the cultural institution [lembaga adat] to socialise these values which are based on local wisdoms for us, Kamoro and also other Papuans. Here we have two cultural institutions *LEMASA* [for the Amungme tribe] and *LEMASKO* [for the Kamoro tribe]. Therefore, these two institutions are supposed to be responsible for reproducing these local wisdoms, to socialise them, to develop other new things related to culture which will indoctrinate youth to*

be more sensible and be aware of any bad influences from outside (Rado, October 5, 2015).

It is implied from Rado's comments that, the *LEMASKO* is not facilitating the process: *LEMASKO* must have cultural responsibility to preserve culture including knowledge.

The racialised narrative of the younger Kamoro people was made explicit by some, mostly non-Papuan participants in this study: for example, a Javanese man from an institution that works with Kamoro and Amungme society, a Kei woman and man from an NGO in Timika, and a Catholic priest and nun who are also community development activists. Generally they are cynical and tend to blame the Kamoro parental style and simplify it as part of cultural practice. They argued that the Kamoro parents lack the ability to guide their children when the children are growing. I conclude that these statements are based on the power relationship between themselves as part of the coloniser who identify the colonised people from their own perspective while ignoring the effect of colonisation and globalisation. The Bishop of Timika, in an unrecorded interview, agreed that traditional values are unable to guide the younger generation to face the rapid social changes, and compete with the immigrants, which results in social problems blamed on the younger generation. But traditional values no longer regulate the younger generation because some of these values are already destroyed so attributing the problems to young people's behaviour is a skewed perspective.

5.3 Youth Culture and Sub-culture

I argue that the contemporary sexual culture of the Kamoro people, or even most West Papuans, is not related to cultural sex practices experienced in rituals from the past as is mostly the view of non-Indigenous Papuans. Munro, Butt, and Wong, (2004) in their article comparing patterns of AIDS awareness across the island of New Guinea, claim that "sexual attitudes and practices in both Papua and PNG have been transformed by similar changes in cultural, economic and political condition" (p. 67). They further argue that

The introduction of a cash economy, vastly increased levels of internal migration, and the influx of new values—particularly those of Christianity and, on the western half of the island of Indonesia—have created new norms, identities and expectations that intersect or compete with pre-existing cultural patterns (Munro, Butt & Wong, 2004, p. 67).

Contemporary sexual culture among the Kamoro people appears in sexual behaviour across generations. Some non-Papuan participants in this study believe that the sexual behaviour of the Kamoro is a representation of cultural practices of sex in the past. Others claim that the younger generation model the behaviour of their parents who had sex in open air places, for example, when they were away from their house, hunting or gathering food. Sophia, a former teacher in Atuka outlined how the design of Kamoro housing in the past, with no privacy for parent's sexual relations, impacted on the social learning of their children. However, as I observed,

recently the modern design of houses has a separate room for parents that assured privacy which means this opinion is not valid. Consequently this opinion indicates how colonisers describe the colonised people and use their own perspectives to interpret the way colonised people live. All cultural aspects, especially those related to sexual rituals, have changed, including the design of houses, due to the Dutch, Catholic missionaries, and new development projects of Indonesia. An oppressive culture with regards to sexuality was introduced by the Dutch to regulate the sexuality of the colonised people and thus has influenced the older generation. Coenen (2010) outlined that since the government [Dutch] entered Kamoro life, Kamoro rituals decreased due to strict control by government officers. He further acknowledged that there were misunderstandings of certain values of Kamoro rituals by previous missionaries due to difficulties in proper understanding of the Kamoro culture. My study finds a sense of regret about socio-cultural changes among Kamoro due to the presence of Roman Catholic missionaries.

The older generations who were involved in this study did not actually directly experience the sexual culture before the Dutch, however, their parents who had experienced it, passed on stories of their previous life to them. Some of them still remember stories about sexual culture in the past as well as the history and some changes, including traditional punishment and Dutch rules that disciplined the sexuality of the Kamoro people. For the younger generation, the global distribution of pornography as well as the sex industry have made sex accessible and visible: mobility and modernity have shaped the contemporary sexual culture. Therefore, I would argue that there is little significant relationship between the cultural practices in the past, as has been claimed, and current sexual behaviour in the contemporary society of the Kamoro or even West Papua. The contemporary sexual culture varies along generational lines and is different between urban and rural areas.

It is important to consider the issues of young people as part of the contemporary sexual culture of the Kamoro. Clarke et al. (in Huq, 2006, p. 1) specify that the term 'youth culture' directs us to the cultural aspect of youth. According to Frith, youth culture is described as "the particular pattern of beliefs, value symbols and activities that a group of young people are seen to share" (in Huq, 2006, p. 1). Even though there are some commonalities between youth culture in Kamoro society and other parts of the world, there are some differences which are shaped by cultural, economic, social and political contexts. This is in line with Huq (2006) who claims that "youth culture is not simply a textual matter, context is equally important. The differences of contextual background have formed the subculture" (p. 3). Huq argues that a subculture group is one that distinguishes itself from the dominant culture through its distinct attitude and lifestyle but it is associated to it through wider processes.

Youth culture in this study mainly focuses on the sexual culture among the Kamoro people, which includes their sexual behaviour. This discussion includes reference to mobile phones and

pornography, the idea of beauty and handsomeness, dress code and fashion, alcohol and sexual violation, as described below.

5.3.1 Mobile Phones and Pornography

Recently mobile phone ownership has become very common among young people in Timika even for those who live in the remote areas such as Atuka where there is almost no network coverage. Most of the villagers use their mobile phones for entertainment usually storing songs or videos they download in town. Some use mobile phones to communicate with their family or friends elsewhere. In an unrecorded discussion in Atuka, Marion, a young Kamoro man, shared his story. As a university student, who is living a city life, a mobile phone is almost compulsory for him. Apart from using their phone as a means of communication, some young people, mostly men like Marion, also install pornographic videos and images onto their mobiles. According to Marion, whenever he visits his village, he will watch these movies together with his girlfriend which encourages their desire to have sex. He also exchanges his porn videos and images collection with his friends.

The concept of 'mobile youth culture' according to Abeele (2016) is "frequently used in the field of adolescent mobile phone research to refer to the distinctive ways in which youths around the world embed the mobile phone in their everyday lives" (p. 85). Castells et al. (in Abeele, 2016) note that contemporary youth culture finds an adequate form of expression and reinforcement in mobile communication. Abeele (2016) stressed that mobile youth culture has two functions; as a response to the social position of young people in contemporary society and as a reaction to the development challenges that they are facing during their transition to adulthood. Moreover, Abeele argues that the separate social position of youth is generally attributed to three historical processes: one of them is capitalism that brought into being a 'consumer culture' with youngsters as a new market segment with its own culture and existence (Abeele, 2016). Furthermore, Abeele explains that in many countries in Europe, North America, and the Asia-Pacific region, mobile phone ownership now approaches 100 percent infiltration rate among teenagers. According to Ling (in Abeele, 2016, p. 85), teens are at the forefront of the adoption process of mobile communication technologies, both in developed and developing countries.

This phenomenon occurs in West Papua, even in the remote villages such as Atuka where most of the young adults use mobile phones, in particular those who frequently visit town or stay there for some period of time. From my observation, I found most young men owned a mobile phone although this applied to fewer of the young women.

In an interview with Richardus, who works on AIDS issues in Timika, I was told that the youth of the Kamoro have used mobile phones for the last ten years. The staff member further describes his discussion with some Kamoro parents in the villages:

Nowadays, children in some villages, including Atuka, use mobile phones and it has become a serious issue all over the regions from West to East [in Timika]. I told them [some parents], why do you complain now? I have told you since 2006, but you are the father and mother, also as you have more money you spoiled your children who are now smarter than you. Information technology is developing faster than the society [norms] (Richardus, October 5, 2015).

He linked the increasing number of Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STDs) to access to porn movies and images with mobile phones as a driving factor. Pornography might drive the sexual desire of those who access it but it does not directly contribute to STDs. The STDs are strongly connected to access to safe sex behaviour which includes access to condoms. The issue of STDs raises the failure of the AIDS Commission to enhance public awareness about safe sex among youth. But, instead of reflecting on the work of organisations that work in the area of STDs and AIDS, Richardus tended to blame the parenting style of the Kamoro parents who are spoiling their children with mobile phones. In fact, the issue of pornography or images is becoming a global issue among younger generations across nations. A study conducted in America describes that pornography is more often consumed by the younger generation who are male, more culturally and sexually permissive and open to risky behaviours (Perry and Hayward, 2017). In the context of Indonesia where an anti-pornography law was passed in 2008, some studies about pornography in Indonesia documented by Hald and Mulya (2013) found that increased exposure to pornography had major implications for increasing sexual behaviour among young people.

The use of the mobile phones among the young Kamoro people is relatively recent. A young Kamoro man in Kaugapu explained that currently mobile phones are commonly used among secondary students and even primary students compared with when he was a secondary student, which is five years ago:

When I was a secondary student in 2011, I did not have a mobile phone, I had never used a mobile phone. Nowadays, it is true that most of the students here use mobile phones to exchange porn images. Even, the primary students. They take porn images from mobile phone stalls in Timika. A kind of mobile phone such as Mito android [mobile phone produced in Korea] with camera is the most frequent mobile phone that they have. Its price is around 600-700 rupiah [around AUS \$60-\$70]. They ask their parents for money to buy a mobile phone. Most of the porn movies and images that they install are Chinese porn movies, several are Western and a few Indonesian porn movies, in particular from Java. Some of them who get paid for casual work such as picking up logs, will use that money to buy a mobile phone (Hasan, September 19, 2015).

The availability of pornography and mobile phone commerce, mostly owned by immigrants, has rapidly grown and this business is targeting the young people including the young Kamoro.

Most people, including young people from rural areas move to the towns such as Timika to continue their study or get access to health facilities and markets. In the group interview among young men in Atuka, they indicated that the demand to use mobile phones to be connected in urban areas as a standard of life encourages them to own a phone. The young Kamoro people are also being targeted by some mobile phone sellers who are mostly from Makassar and are offering porn movies or images without any consideration of the ages of the buyers. Another story about

mobile phones came from an older Kamoro woman in the focus group in Poumako who described how the young Kamoro watch porn videos whenever they can through such technologies:

Because of these high technologies, children who are not mature enough to know such pornography, will access it easily. They also share and exchange some porn images or movies among them. Then after watching together, they will practice it. I have found lots of them doing it. One day when we had a youth recreation activity from our church [Catholic], we went to the beach. These young men and women, they were in pairs, went to the forest. They told me that they went to gather sea shells and crabs. One of them brought their mobile phone and they did it [watched the video and had sex] (Vina, September 27, 2015).

As stated, she observed that access to information technology and communication encourages young people to engage with pornography. I would argue, this is supported by a lack of guidance among youth to use phones in a positive way and also lack of rules that regulate access to pornography particularly among youth. As I observed the distribution of pornography without any consideration of who was supposed to access it, indicates a lack of moral responsibility by those who deal in this business. Pornography for young people, as most of the Kamoro men and women claim in this study, results in pre-marital sex among youth which results in early age pregnancy, early marriage and dropping out of school. Vina also implied that religion or Christian values no longer guide the younger generation. Most of the participants in this study claimed that the mobile phone is a trigger for sexual behaviour among youth in Timika. Abeele (2016) describes that in the transition from youth to adulthood, various socialisation agents such as family, the school, the legal system, the cultural belief system and the peer group impact on former processes by providing models and influence. This clearly applies to the young Kamoro people regarding mobile phone use.

Despite this, instead of examining the various socialisation agents regarding the impact of growing information technologies and globalisation of pornography among youth and social change in Timika, several non-Papuan participants in this study tended to blame the Kamoro parenting style and cultural practices. For example, Melkior, who works at a high level in an organisation that deals with sexual health, argues that Christian values, which are supposed to maintain safe sex, apparently are no longer effective among the younger generation:

We have to encourage safe sex from a Christianity point of view which prohibits sex before marriage. This kind of norm is no longer effective even though Catholicism is the main religion [among the Kamoro people]. In my opinion this norm is not a guideline for them yet (Melkior, October 13, 2015).

He challenges the parental culture of the Kamoro and argued that the lack of guidance values in parenting of the Kamoro parents contributed to the sexual behaviour among youth:

It begins with the habits in childhood where they paddle the canoe, play together in the river, the parents do not worry. Then when they freely go to catch the crabs, fish, and play mud, the parents never control them, it is their nature. In the situation where parents lose control among their kids on one hand and on the other hand the kids are growing, they become

sexually interested in the opposite sex. They are sexually mature and without any supervision from parents they will have sex with their friends. This has not only occurred among young men in the village, but also those who move out from the village and have money. When they are back in their village, they will have sex with their friends in the village. This has impacted on the spread of the STDs as well as early pregnancy (Melkior, October 13, 2015).

It is implied in this statement that Christian values as moral values are still needed as guidance for the Kamoro people. However, Christian values are also used to constrain access to safe sex, such as the distribution of condoms among youth. In this interview, Melkior also described some Christian leaders in Timika who do not support the use of the condom as part of the AIDS prevention program, preventing abstinence and being faithful. Lack of sex education and reproductive health information in the curriculum in Indonesian schools in Timika is another factor that also contributes. Cliff, another activist in HIV/AIDS issues in Timika, also blames cultural practices in the past:

I sometimes feel miserable as those who are supposed to guide the young people are not active, instead not being involved in this problem. And it is hard because in the Kamoro culture, there is a free sex [promiscuity] practice (Cliff, October 6, 2015).

His racialised judgment without any critical thought, ignores the influences of colonisation and refers to reports written by missionaries and anthropologists. In Cliff's view, these parents who are the older generation are not ready to face the rapid social changes, including the use of mobile phones among youth. It does not mean they are not aware of the issues regarding sexual behaviour among young people. Cultural norms which regulate the Kamoro society have changed since the Dutch and then the Indonesians claimed West Papua as a nation where they thought traditional life should be changed to become modern. This then impacted on how the young Kamoro people internalised traditional norms and faced social changes. The Bishop of Timika in an interview (29/9/2015) explains that church as well as cultural norms are unable to protect the damage to social order that follows the impact of values from outside. He further argues that since society has been given easy access to cash, the existence of the Kamoro has been threatened. Moreover, money has destroyed the gender relationship in Kamoro society according to the Bishop. However, the Bishop, as a representative of the Catholic mission, failed to acknowledge that historically the mission projects were also part of changing Indigenous people's way of life, their culture, and knowledge system and that these changes contributed to the current situation.

From interviews with two teachers in Atuka as well as a young Kamoro man Kaugapu (Hasan), it became clear there are no programs or approaches to guide the students regarding the negative impact of the internet or mobile phones. When some secondary school students in Atuka were discovered watching porn videos at school, the school decided to establish a regulation which does not allow students to bring or use mobile phones during school time. The school sometimes conducts a random check to ensure students do not bring their phones to the school. If they find phones the school will keep them or punish the students without providing any guidance to them.

Instead of involving parents in monitoring the use of the mobile phones among students neither the school nor the Education Department have policies to assist parents in this matter.

As a communication means, mobile phones also have been used by some youths to make contact with sex workers. This is indicated in an interview with an older Kamoro man in Atuka. He described that this happened among young adult men in his village, but some younger women who I met during this study explained the story is actually based on their personal experience. They stated that most of the older Kamoro men who learn from their families or friends in their visits that sex is available in Timika, also used mobiles to connect with the sex workers. It is clear that the mobile phone is not only making sex visible but also much more available.

5.3.2 Ideas of Beauty and Handsomeness

The idea of beauty and handsomeness in the Kamoro varies across generations. Modernity, capitalism, mass media and urbanisation have shaped the idea of beauty and handsomeness in contemporary culture in Kamoro. However, as marriage has altered since the time of the missionaries, as well as the impact of interaction between the Kamoro and outsiders, the mass media have challenged the traditional concept of beauty and handsomeness. The idea of beauty also influences the criteria for a future wife. Even though some young Kamoro women who participated in this study did not explicitly reveal their idea of beauty or handsomeness compared with the young Kamoro men, the idea of beauty and handsomeness was indicated in the young men's statements. The younger generation, especially men in this study, can definitely describe their beauty standards. Most of them depict beauty as appearance, dressing up, adornment and body shape, though none of the young women in this study volunteered their standard of handsomeness. A young man in Kaugapu described his concept of beauty, which related mostly to appearance, how to dress up and body shape: he even had a favourite movie star as an icon of beauty. This man also outlined how his wife described the idea of handsomeness:

Beauty is appearance, how to put on makeup, dress up the hair, just like when people go to a party. Body shape is important. Yeah just look like Agnes Monica. I asked her [wife] how she think of me,... when I was drunk, I asked her why she likes me and she said, even though am a drunk man, I am such a kind guy, the way I dress up and the way I talk to women attracted her (Hasan, September 19, 2015).

Agnes Monica is a famous young singer and actress of Indonesian Chinese heritage who has starred in several advertisements in Indonesia. As a commercial star in advertisements that are frequently played on Indonesian television, she has shaped the image of beauty among youth including this participant. It is clear from his statement that body shape and adornment are also part of beauty norms. I cannot absolutely rely on his account of his wife's thoughts of handsomeness because I did not conduct an interview with her and also as he stated, he was drunk when he asked his wife's opinion. Thus, his wife might have been intimidated when giving this opinion, however, it is implied that dressing up is also considered as a beauty norm for men.

This study also found alternative views from a few young men who consider behaviour and attitude instead of physical appearance as their criteria for choosing a wife. This was indicated in an interview with Adolf, a young man in Atuka. He considered that the physical appearance of women has certain implications which potentially attract other men and will affect marriage relationships. He has chosen his wife for her behaviour and attitude:

Honestly, when I was single, I had a firm body. Some people say, it is handsome. Many young women, from here and Kokonao as well as from Kei Island became my girlfriends. Here in Atuka there were around three women. This is the eighth [his wife]. All of them [his girlfriends] have bright [white] skin which is beautiful. But deep in my heart, I am not interested to be in a serious relation with them. I don't want them. Pretty women sometimes can do something bad to me. When I am not at home, she will have affairs with other men. I am interested mostly in this one [his wife]. If I am sick or busy, she will go out and gather crabs or any other food, sell, and buy coffee or sugar for us. She always goes to gather her mother's food, she is not an overbearing person, also not socialised with men that encouraged me to choose her as my wife. Instead of those who are pretty but lazy. Diligent women can go to the forest for food gathering and know how to do it, they are even willing to carry noken [traditional bag], while a pretty woman might be ashamed to do so (Adolf, August 13, 2015).

Implicitly his statement indicates that women's beauty was something that 'frightened' him. Even though he 'praised' the beauty of women, consisting of some ideal standards including 'white skin', he was 'worried' to have a wife who fitted this beauty standard criteria. He believed that the beautiful women with 'white skin' may make something 'bad' for him or cheat on him after marriage. Obviously this indicates how women's beauty is constructed through the media, in particular in movies and soap operas in Indonesia, as well as horror. I would argue that colour of skin, as expressed in his statement, is a contemporary standard of beauty not only among the Kamoro youth but also among Papuans. Most of the Kamoro people have 'black' or 'dark' skin and 'white' in this context refers to the 'light' skin which mostly relates to Indonesian immigrants. In the context of Indonesia, I identify the skin colour of some immigrants in Timika as 'white' and Kamoro's skin colour as 'black'. The racial spectrum of skin colour is distributed from the Manado in Indonesia who are understood to be 'white', followed by Makasar and Javanese, while some people from Kei are classified as 'brown' and finally the Kamoro as 'black' or 'dark'.

The current study's findings reflect the fact that as Collins, an African heritage scholar (2000) concludes, race, gender and sexuality converge in this issue of evaluating beauty. She further claims that white skin and straight hair are beauty standards that are used by white men, white women and black men. This idea is shaped through the media in mainstream culture which becomes internalised by local people. Mass media is responsible for reproducing the colonial ideology of whiteness as the beauty standard. Some scholars believe that white/light beauty is communicated through mass advertising, television shows, film, internet images, billboards and celebrity culture (Baumann, et al. in Hunter, 2011). Further, a scholar, Charles (in Hunter, 2011) asserts that hegemonic representations of white skin globally are thoroughly rooted in multiple social institutions including education, religion, mass media and popular culture (pp. 143-144).

The focus group discussion among the young men in Atuka revealed that body shape is also one of the beauty standards. These young men have another icon of beauty, a singer named Mitha Tahalatu. Mitha was originally an Ambonese young singer and she is often invited by the local government of Timika to perform in particular ceremonies or celebrations. Mitha Tahalatu is not simply a singer, she is an icon of beauty related to body shape as she has the ideal body as constructed in the mainstream culture which is related to body discipline as a sign of modern citizenship. She also has manipulated her original curly hair to become straight hair. By straightening her hair Mitha actually sends a message that her original hair, as well as Kamoro women's original hair and indeed all Papuan women's hair, is unacceptable in mainstream beauty standards. Like Agnes Monica, Mitha in her performance, always dresses up in a tight dress to show her body shape. Both Agnes and Mitha represent standards of beauty indicated in some of the statements from these participants. The standard of beauty as identified by Collins (2000) seizes the African American mind. They also impact on Kamoro women's self-definition. This phenomenon indicated the inability of Kamoro to identify themselves, including their beauty and handsomeness. According to Hunter (2011), an American sociologist, the concept of 'racial capital' only exists in a social context that views the body as a commodity. The "racial capital is more closely related to phenotype and how others perceive an individual, rather than how that individual defines him or herself" (Hunter, 2011, p. 145).

In the context of the Kamoro, who previously lived in a women-centred social structure, this indicates a patriarchal conspiracy introduced by colonisation through the so-called civilisation process. Colonisation has introduced the idea of beauty and handsomeness. Some young Kamoro men in this study revealed that they considered white as beauty and they associated this with Agnes Monica who has white/light skin. White as an idea of beauty is not simply a matter of colour, but it is also a racial issue. Charles (in Hunter, 2011) explains that the racist ideologies of race and colour were an integral part of the European colonial experience. As a former colonised nation, Indonesia reproduced the ideology of 'white' as the norm of beauty. This is indicated in some advertisements in Indonesia that mostly feature Indo-Western mixed-race people as illustrated by Prabasmoro (2003), an Indonesian feminist scholar. Dyer observes that in the colonisation context, white is a conventional symbol of cleanliness, purity and civilisation (in Prabasmoro, 2003, p. 30). Mire (as cited in Hunter, 2011, p. 144) argues that the mass-marketing of these images of white beauty and a 'white lifestyle' build on the long standing European colonial ideologies that valorise white beauty, European culture and white aesthetics. Moreover, "'Yearning for whiteness', has long been present in nations formerly colonised by Europe" (Hunter, 2011, p. 144). But today, "those old ideologies combine with new mass media and communication technologies to compound the message that 'white is right'" (Hunter, 2011, p. 144). Other scholars believe that whiteness, modernity, sophistication, beauty, power and wealth as a lifestyle are communicated through advertisements (Leong; Mahe Ly & Gounongbe, in Hunter, 2011, p. 144).

5.3.3 Dress Code and Fashion

There are debates about the terms 'dress' and 'fashion' in sociology and anthropology. To make it clear this study will use the term dress for that which not only covers the body but also adorns the body. Fashion as part of the dress system should be considered as well, as it is revealed by the young people. Entwistle (2015), a scholar from the United Kingdom, stated that fashion is understood as a historically and geographically specific system for the production and organisation of dress which is specific to western modernity (p. 44). When we discuss dress, it cannot be separated from 'body'. As Entwistle (2015) notes, dress in everyday life cannot be separated from the living, breathing, moving body it adorns. Without a body, dress lacks fullness and movement; it is incomplete (Entwistle & Wilson in Entwistle, 2015, p. 10). Moreover, Entwistle notes that the dress is a basic fact of social life. All people 'dress' the body in some way, be it through clothing, tattooing, cosmetics or other forms of body painting. Human bodies are dressed. Entwistle (2015) comments that dress or adornment is one of the means by which bodies are made social and given meaning and identity.

Culturally, the Kamoro people had their own way of dressing up their body. It included some material that they wore to cover the body and adorn it including body painting and tattooing. As drawn from my field notes, dress and adornment for traditional Kamoro are different according to sexes, events, and ages. Dress communicated meaning, identity and status of the wearers. Most of the material used to dress was naturally provided. Sago leaves were used to make skirts named *tauri* for women and tree bark for men's pants. According to Yusri, an elder in Atuka, Kamoro painted their body using colourful clay and extracts of certain plants or grasses. Interestingly, they also painted their body and face which transmitted particular messages in certain rituals including sexual rituals. The dress in traditional Kamoro then changed after contact with outsiders or modernity who introduced fabric, European clothes and a new way of dressing up. The dress then became a symbol of people's relationship to modernity, not only among the Kamoro but also all West Papuans. According to Roach-Higgins and Eicher (1992), dress of an individual is an assemblage of modifications of the body and/or supplements to the body. They further claim that

Dress includes a long list of possible direct modifications of the body, such as coiffed hair, coloured skin, pierced ears and scented breath as well as an equally long list of garments, jewellery, accessories and other categories of items added to the body as supplements (Roach-Higgins & Eicher, 1992, p. 1).

Change in the dress of West Papuans was part of the civilisation project as it followed the concept that nudity was inappropriate in modern life. Entwistle (2015), argues that clothing played a part in the identity construction of individuals, families, caste, religion and nations (p. xviii). In terms of modern versus backwardness, the introduction of fabric and distribution of clothes facilitated by the Dutch government was a part of the colonising and modernising process in West Papua. Since then, the Kamoro have no longer produced their own dress and depend on traders from the west. The dress was introduced to the Kamoro through school. Some missionaries and

teachers from Kei Island who were hired by the Dutch brought the fabrics and made simple clothes for the Kamoro people. An interview with Sophia who spent most of her time in Atuka, indicated that clothes act as a symbol of modernity and that the Kamoro people had to change as what they were wearing was seen as not good or inappropriate. Under supervision of the Catholic Church, particularly when Father Coenen was a priest there, her father built a dormitory and accommodated some of the young Kamoro in Atuka so they could attend school. As her parents had lived in Atuka since they were just married, some of their children were born in Atuka:

We had just married [in 1972], we came here [Atuka], my husband told me, at the first day at school, I saw them naked, and you told them to wear clothes. OKei, I discussed with them and their parents in their own native language, today is modern era, and you should dress up. When they finished school, they took off their uniform and went back naked or they grabbed pieces of fabric to cover their body. Some of them who had no fabric or had no money to buy fabric will be naked but some are not, because their parents are unable to provide clothes even sarongs. You come to school with this kind of clothes? [She asked those who did not dress properly as some of them came to school without any clothes] I asked them to go back home and change, and it is not good, I told them. Go put on a skirt or blouse then come to school [she repeated how she told them] (Sophia, August 15, 2015).

As the Kamoro were socialised with the new dress code that was introduced to them, and as they no longer produced any clothes themselves, they depended on imported clothes or fabric. The Kamoro people had been taught to make money to purchase the fabric. The participant described how her parents, as a missionary and teacher, introduced modern life activities to the Kamoro people. This was continued by her and her husband. Her husband is originally from Java and was sent by the Indonesian government to become a teacher in Atuka in the early 1970s. As teachers both of these generations were sent by the Dutch (her father) and Indonesia (herself together with her husband) to 'civilise' Kamoro people. It was implied by her story, and how her husband reacted, that nudity is inappropriate; it is 'backwardness'. Her response indicated that nudity is shameful and it is unacceptable in modern life. In this interview, the respondent also recalled her memories of how her parents 'helped' [as she stated] the Kamoro to be a modern people:

My father taught them to wash their body, also work on the farm, harvest it, and bring the harvest to the dormitory. A priest [a Dutch priest, Julius Coenen] will give them [her parent] some money then my mum will buy some blocks of fabrics. She will sew, make their clothes and dress them up. One of my sisters also assisted my mum sewing the clothes. It took a while for them to adopt clothes and dress. It consumed more time and it was difficult. Even when I married in 1972 and came back here, there were some of them still wearing a loincloth [cawat]. At that time, Indonesia had taken over [West] Papua already. They dressed up only when they came to school, but after school they were not, some girls with their uncovered body walked around the village (Sophia, August 15, 2015).

It is implied from this statement that civilisation aimed to alter the Kamoro people to be a modern society but required some efforts which were not easy. It indicated how hard her late father and mother worked for the Kamoro while teaching in Atuka. To be accepted as a modern society, the Kamoro people, have to wear clothes, clean their body and be able to make money by working on the farm.

Clearly, dress is a symbol of modernity (Entwistle, 2015). In modern society, nudity is not acceptable therefore the body must be covered which interestingly gives more emphasis to the women's body as this study revealed. As a symbol of modernity, dress is strongly related to an urban lifestyle. Even though the meaning of dress in the modern life of the Kamoro people has changed, modernity is still attached to the dress. For example, with the younger generation, dress and fashion indicate a modern life style which is affected by mass media and interaction with some immigrants in Timika as indicated in an interview with some younger participants in this study.

The agents of change of social meaning in the younger generation of the Kamoro are the Indonesian immigrants who are mostly from Java, Makasar and Manado and also the media, in particular, television. These values have resulted in control over women's appearance as Entwistle (2015) notes. There are different discourses about dress or fashion and their meanings across generations and geographically in the Kamoro. Some values relating to dress and fashion in the Kamoro are rooted in Indonesia's Islamic culture about covering the body. In particular women are influenced by Indonesian movies or soap operas, or other social institutions in West Papua. A story from Sobri, an old man in Atuka who participated in this study indicated the differences in dress and fashion across generations, also, how femininity is attached to the dress and women's body and authority:

For our parents, the length of the skirt should be over the knee, it should cover the knee that is how our parents dressed in the past. Also, they were wearing sarong and kebaya [traditional dress for Indonesian women] in the Dutch era. Our mother was not allowed to wear a short skirt, or short pants. In the past it was prohibited by Dutch and early Indonesians. This is because women are lord [the owner of familial property in the women centred culture of Kamoro] in the house and women have to be respected, while, men are free. Our parents in the past banned exposure of the woman's body, it was prohibited to exhibit our mother's or wife's thighs or even ass, because women's beauty [sacred] is along the leg to the hair. That is women, therefore everywhere, women's skirt should cover their body down to the knee. This actually applies now as well, but the values from outside have influenced the younger generation who dress up to expose their thighs. That is an influence from the outside, yes outside influences. From Timika, from some immigrants from Java, not only from TV, from Timika. In the town [Timika] is famous with the way they dress up like this [short]. Pity, our parents did not teach us [to dress up] like this. Our parents strongly prohibited this as because when the Dutch came they truly banned everything. In particular Catholic missionaries, the first time they entered Mimika, they banned everything, sexual encounter, theft, deception, and all of these are banned. Pre-marital sex or extra-marital sex were strongly not allowed (Sobri, August 14, 2015).

Sobri implies that women and their bodies were culturally highly respected in the Kamoro culture: in modern life as introduced by the colonisers, covering the body is related to morality. Sobri's memories of his parent's stories about women's dress in the Kamoro indicated how the assertive Dutch regulated the colonised people's bodies, in particular the Kamoro women's bodies, through the way they dress, while the way the younger generation dress, again in particular the women, now contests the older generation's views which are based on Christian moral values. Sobri argues that young women dress up mimicking the Indonesian immigrants in Timika.

Another older Kamoro man in Kaugapu indicated even more strongly a certain specific

dress code for men and women:

Women should dress up as the way women are supposed to dress up and they are not allowed to dress up like men. Women have to wear skirts, blouses, and dresses (Mumu, September 21, 2015).

These findings indicate the impact of colonisation on dress, fashion, women's bodies and the concept of femininity among the Kamoro people. These statements also indicated the moral values which are attached to women's dress. The fact is that what women wear is still a matter of greater moral concern than what a man wears.

"Discourses of [youth] sexuality and femininity are associated closely with the body and dress" (Entwistle, 2015, p. 22). Most of the men and women in this study in discussing dress associated it with young women instead of men. Entwistle (2015) notes that "consciousness of body appearance is gendered" (p. 13). As mainstream culture mostly invests in female's body and sexuality through dress it influences the dress and fashion of women (Entwistle 2015). Amira, an older woman in an interview in Atuka (13/8/2015) described a discussion related to dress among some young girls in Atuka who she named 'village girls' and those who migrated to the town of Timika and went back to Atuka after they finished their schooling who she called 'town girls'. They discussed dress in relation to gender and morality. As they migrate to the town of Timika, they bring the way the urban women dress to the village when they return:

They [girls in this village] wear casual [appropriate] clothes. Those who came from the town always dressed up like urban people dressed up. However, girls from this village always disagree with them and got angry with them, they argue about the influences you bring here from the town, this is the village, and they [the village girls] always told them [the town girls] so. They [the town girls] wear short pants, just like the way the prostitutes dressed, they [the village girls] always told them [the town girls]. So, take out the way you dressed up like the prostitute there in Timika. They [the village girls and the town girls] always discuss it among them. The town girls usually cry and report it to their parents. Most of their parents will not agree with their daughters as the way they dress is not good (Amira, August 13, 2015).

This statement shows that even among themselves, the younger women of Kamoro challenge each other's body norms and the way they dress. It is implied that young Kamoro women internalise certain moral values regarding their body which are similar to the Kamoro men's views as stated previously and clearly views strongly held by 'village girls'. Therefore, as young women in Atuka migrate to the town of Timika and experience the life style there, they challenge values back in their village.

How the young Kamoro dress indicated they are vulnerable to the conflicting social norms in their culture. Ditha, a young adult woman participant in an interview in Atuka (15/8/2015), described dress among young women in Atuka and the purpose of dress in certain spaces. This is indicated when she described that as people come to the church as a sacred place, this has to be respected through the way they dress:

That is not good, I have advised the girls in this village who are usually wearing singlet, tights, spinning around the village. I have talked to some of them, I said, you better take off your dress, it is not good, especially in the public where everyone can see you which is not good. Some people who saw you might be gossiping behind you. So, it would be better if you go back home and change before you continue walking around. They change it. It does not allow them to wear a short dress. Women are supposed to wear a skirt instead of trousers, I usually told them, but they never wear a skirt unless when they go to the church on Sunday, they will wear skirt. On other days, they mostly wear short pants. They saw this in Timika, or movies as they always watch soap operas and movies, they will imitate the way people dress (Ditha, August 15, 2015).

It is clear from this that women required certain rules in dressing not only for particular occasions but also for certain locations and in a certain manner.

Entwistle (2015), claims that “body adornment can be linked to the sexual act, give sexual pleasure, send out a sexual signal, and mark out sexual identities” (p. 185). An interview with Hasan, a young Kamoro man in Kaugapu, indicated his concern regarding the sexual signal that could be sent or the meaning that could be received by the observer communicated through dress:

A good woman should not dress up in short clothes, also in particular show their breasts. No. They should dress appropriately like how we [men] dress, just like a good woman if she is a good woman. If she wears shorts, it indicates that her brain is not functioning, means not good or just like a sex worker or perempuan aibon [Papua-Malay slang for Indigenous sex worker] (Hasan, September 19, 2015).

This statement further indicates that the observers thought they could identify women as ‘good’ or ‘bad’ through the way they dress. It also implied that men react to the way women dress in a specific way, as dress sends a certain meaning related to particular messages.

The statement of this participant implied that ‘good’ women will not dress in a way to promote their sexuality and ‘bad’ women tend to attract the viewing male’s sexual desire through the way they dress up. I argue that this view has been shaped by the way that Indonesia’s mass media, in particular television, promotes the way Indonesian Muslim women should dress. Discourse in contemporary culture in Indonesia about covering the body for Indonesian Muslim women is closely related to the view that the exposed female body drives the sexual desire of the male viewers as is promoted through television, even though I believe that the meaning of the wearer’s dress does not always match the viewer’s opinion. The way that contemporary discourses locate women and the way they dress in two opposing situations as bad and good indicated how colonisation and patriarchy works to control women’s body and colonised people.

5.3.4 Alcohol

The focus of this section is the effect of alcohol consumption on young people and some of the problems related to alcohol including unsafe sex. Alcohol and drunkenness have become a serious issue in Timika and also other parts of West Papua. There are three kinds of alcohol distributed in Timika as observed in this study. First there are certain commercial alcohol beverages produced by companies from outside Papua. This kind of alcohol such as beer, wine, or

vodka is distributed and provided legally in shops, cafes, bars, pubs or even brothels. The second type called *sofi* is a homebrew alcohol adopted from Manado which is often produced by immigrants and seen as an illegal business. The third alcoholic drink is traditional homebrew known as *saguer*. *Saguer* is commonly produced by the Kamoro people and in the past mostly consumed by the older generation, but recently younger people are also producing it. The *saguer* is an extraction of fruit from the palm tree that is fermented for a couple days: it has low alcohol content compared with *sofi* and the commercial alcohol beverages. The young Kamoro people, as observed through this study, prefer *sofi* compared with *saguer* and the commercial alcohol beverages. This is because *sofi* is affordable for them and has a high alcohol content, alcohol such as beer is quite expensive and the *saguer* takes some time to produce. Rasama, a businessman in Kaugapu who is an immigrant from Makasar, South Sulawesi, explained that there are around 30 homebrew alcohol businesses around Kaugapu and other neighbouring villages which are mostly owned by the immigrants who come from Makasar, Toraja, and Seram. Richardus from an organisation that works with the AIDS issue, in an interview (5/10/2015) observed that as landowners, some Kamoro people jointly own the businesses with the immigrants to produce *sofi* even though he did not explain clearly the joint business mechanism. He stated that the Kamoro people are interested in this business mostly for economic reasons. They will lease their traditional land to the immigrants who run the business. This situation might occur without consideration of women; culturally the Kamoro women have control over land and natural resources. Young Kamoro people, however, frequently consume the *sofi*, according to Rasama and other participants in an adult men's focus group in Kaugapu, but *sofi* is not safe. They believe that its production process is not hygienic and the health and cleanliness of materials used to produce this beverage cannot be guaranteed. Therefore, as they claim, *sofi* is potentially damaging the health of those who consume it. The cost of a bottle of *sofi*, (around 600 millilitres), is around 50,000 rupiah or \$5 AUS. Some young people will do some casual work and then use the money they earn to purchase the *sofi* which they then drink together.

While some of the Kamoro people drink alcohol individually, most of them drink it together with their friends described as 'share drink' or 'social drink'. Drinking together generally symbolises durable social solidarity, or at least harmony, although this of course does not mean that social drinking or share drinking is necessarily a good thing.

Riski, an older Kamoro man, around 50 years old, described that his grandfather mostly drank *saguer* after hard work in the sago forest for a couple of days. Drinking *saguer* is not new among Kamoro. However, he further explained that the alcohol consumption in the past generation was regulated by certain norms where only adult men were able to drink in particular situations.

Generally speaking, I observed that Kamoro men are more likely than women to consume alcohol and the younger generation are more likely to drink alcohol in comparison with the older

generation. According to Jernigen, the evidence worldwide indicates that alcohol use among young people commences at increasingly early ages, and the popularity, diversity and availability of low priced alcoholic beverages has increased (World Health Organisation, 2005, p. 143). Moreover, Yoast et al.,(in World Health Organisation, 2005) argue that young drinkers and women in the world market are regarded as a key group for increased consumption. Median-Mora states that “drunkenness among males is regarded as appropriate, but among women it is unacceptable, a double standard that is supported by men and women, young and old”(in World Health Organisation, 2005, p. 130). In a study about Mexican women and alcohol conducted by Romero (in World Health Organisation, 2005, p. 130)the cultural norm described has dual consequences for women who consume alcohol; “they will have to conceal or deny consumption and if they disobey these norms and are observed by others, the women will be strongly rejected and stigmatized”. I observed that some women in the Kamoro culture who consume alcohol, will be judged as ‘bad’ women. Atalia, who works across a number of organisations that deal with AIDS, explained that some Indigenous sex workers are likely to consume alcohol before they have sex with their clients.

There are different opinions about alcohol consumption in Kamoro. For example several non-Indigenous participants cynically argued that the young Kamoro are taught about alcohol from their parents even though they did not explain how and in what way they have learnt. Some old Kamoro women stated that the alcohol drink habit among Kamoro youth was introduced by their companions who are Indonesian immigrants. I would argue that in the modern society of Kamoro, the high level of anxiety among youth might be one of the reasons for the drinking habits of the young people. They are anxious about the difficulties of life or how to survive in modern life as they compete with the immigrants to find jobs or economic access. Most young Kamoro, who are less skilled, are unable to compete with the immigrants as told in stories shared by the participants. For example Atalia, , explained that most young Kamoro men come into conflict with the Indonesian immigrants when they are drunk, which to me suggests the unresolved issues they are facing. With regards to Indigenous sex workers who are mostly women, I argue that drinking alcohol might help them to cope with their bad feelings such as guilt or shame as a consequence of being a sex worker. This is in line with researchers who conclude that some reasons for young people’s drinking habits are split by gender (Romero et al. in World Health Organisation, 2005, p. 133). This study further reported that women drank alcohol as an emotional escape when they were experiencing negative emotions, while men consume alcohol to interact socially and to adapt to their situation. It appears that alcohol and drinking habits are strongly related to the stereotypes of masculinity and femininity.

The lack of legal instruments to regulate distribution of alcohol in Timika as well as the lack of integrity among police officers who implement the rules, contribute to alcohol consumption. Commonly in Indonesia, due to the Islamic culture, alcohol is banned. However, Timika as well as

other parts of Papua are the biggest markets for the alcohol business in Indonesia. As with the sex industry, alcohol is also an attractive business in Timika and production and retail outlets are mostly owned by immigrants. Sex industries in particular in the brothels, cafés, and hotels in Timika make alcohol available and accessible. This was indicated by some of the research participants. Sophia in Atuka, described that the alcohol business in Atuka for example, is managed by police who work there for a certain period of time. In Timika, the police who are supposed to regulate the production and distribution of home-brew alcohol do not do it properly. Some of them were even involved in this business as owners or being bribed by other business owners to secure their business. In particular Rasama explained that about ten of 30 homebrew alcohol businesses around Kaugapu and neighbouring villages in Timika have been seized by the police as illegal businesses. This is because of pressure by Kamoro women demanding that police officers be serious about the alcohol issue. Police officers also tend not to be seriously engaged with illegal actions due to alcohol or alcohol related crime. According to Tata, an old Kamoro woman, the police prefer not to interfere in people's lives. Tika, another old Kamoro woman, also claimed police do not take alcohol abuse as a serious issue.

In this study I observed alcohol consumption among youth in Kamoro mostly occurred when they were involved in social activities such as parties. In a focus group with some older Kamoro men in Kaugapu, they argued that a party is an occasion where most of the young people share and drink alcohol. They claim that at parties the young people sometimes behave in ways induced by alcohol either because of peer pressure or to stress their masculinity. These behaviours include fatal accidents related to drunkenness, and rape, or coercive sex. Rape and coercive sex will be described further in separate sections in this chapter. A story in Atuka, shared by nurses, was about three young men aged 15 to 18 years old who suddenly died after drinking alcohol. According to these participants, after the young men finished some bottles of *sofi* that they bought in Poumako, they mixed a chemical liquid that is usually used to wash sores stolen from a clinic in Atuka, with soft drink. Several hours later one of them died in Atuka and the other two were admitted to hospital but a couple of days later they also passed away. A young Kamoro woman in Kaugapu (Nia) shared the story of her husband who drank and died in a motorbike accident. Mortality due to alcohol among youth in Kamoro is common, as are the medical effects of alcohol on health including reproductive health.

I also believe that alcohol contributes to the increases in unsafe sexual practices. This situation is described well by Sobri an old Kamoro man in Atuka:

After they drink alcohol at the first place, second, they have sex with girls or even wives of others. These two are impacts of the development of this town. We have just developed and we do not know how to live the modern life, in Timika, we are left behind like, we are [Kamoro] left behind and now other people come, repress us, and intimidate us. It is difficult for our young people, generation to generation who finished their study in the university, such as Cenderawasih University and any other universities to find jobs as well as get a job as government officers. So, all of this is lies (Sobri, August 14, 2015).

Sobri also gives an account of rapid changes and anxieties of modern life that contribute to alcohol consumption, referencing both the 'left behind' ideology of colonialism, and Kamoro experiences of discrimination and government lies. Some older Kamoro participants in this study believe that alcohol is a political conspiracy by Indonesia to kill the Papuans. This is because, on one hand, they found that there is no willingness of local government or even national government to seriously regulate alcohol distribution in Timika or West Papua, while on the other hand the number of young people who have died from alcohol related causes has increased. In an informal discussion with some Papuan candidate priests as we shared accommodation during my stay in Timika, the tendency for traffic accidents related to alcohol to cause death among Papuan youth was discussed. They told me that young people who ride motorbikes which hit the pedestrians, who are often Papuans, then pour alcohol onto the mouth of the dead body pretending the accident was caused by alcohol. Unfortunately, the police are unable to find the perpetrators and this kind of accident continues. According to a priest candidate in this discussion this happened to one of their friends who was also a priest candidate; they believed that he had never drunk alcohol. Whether this is political conspiracy or not, alcohol has caused death among Kamoro youth and has become a concern for Kamoro elders and older generations.

As noted in my field notes, in Atuka, a regulation about alcohol was initiated by the villagers after the death of the three young Kamoro men in Atuka. This regulation banned alcohol distribution and consumption in the village. However, when this study was conducted in Atuka, I observed some young men breaking this regulation. They bought *sofi* and consumed it outside the village, but then returned to the village when they were drunk. Others brought alcohol to the village, especially those who live in the town of Timika and come to Atuka for a short time. According to Tata, an old Kamoro woman who is a coordinator of group of Mimika (Kamoro) women, concern with some social issues including alcohol and also a staff member of the Women Empowerment Bureau in Timika, Kamoro women in Timika have initiated a declaration regarding alcohol. She explained to me in a discussion in Poumako that this declaration is aimed at protecting young people from the bad impacts of alcohol and also protecting women from alcohol related domestic violence. However, she observed that the police, as well as other competent authorities, pay little attention to this issue.

5.3.5 Sexual Violence: Coercive Sex and Rape

Sexual violence in contemporary Kamoro is another issue captured in this study. It includes coercive sex and rape. As drawn from my field notes and some interviews, I argue that Kamoro women are vulnerable to forced sexual intercourse through coercion, aggressiveness or even rape. Even though this study accidentally captured some sexual violence I believe that there are some sexual assaults which the participants did not identify as sexual violation. Some of the perpetrators are known by the women who experienced sexual assault. Most of them are friends or partners including fathers or brothers, however others come from outside the family such as the Indonesian

Army. From an interview with Sobri, an old man in Atuka (14/8/2015), it seems some of the Indonesian Army who were involved in the Development Program named ABRI Masuk Desa (which means Army involved in accelerating Development Program) in Atuka around the 1980s were the perpetrators of sexual assault. The coercive sex was mostly revealed by the younger generation, although it may have also occurred among the older generation. An informal discussion with some young women in Atuka indicated that some of them had experienced coercive sex from their boyfriends in courtship. If they refuse to have sex, they may be beaten or the boyfriends will threaten that the courtship will be ended. Similarly, a young woman participant, Nia, in Kaugapu, in an interview (23/9/2018) explained that her late husband used to force her to have sex when they were in a courtship relationship, when she was thirteen years old. From my point of view, it was clear that Nia did not report this to her parents or share this experience with anyone else for a number of reasons. One reason is shame as discussion of pre-marital sexual experiences is taboo and also the fear that no one would care for her. Her gestures and expressions during the interview indicated this. Another reason is that she might have no understanding about sexual or reproductive rights. Coercive sex sometimes occurred under the influence of alcohol as in Nia's experience. None of the young women in Atuka, including Nia reported this coercive sex to authorities as it was not seen as a crime. Doni, an old Kamoro man in Kaugapu, shared a story of three young Kamoro men who drank and then raped a young Kamoro woman. This woman who is a university student has a familial relationship with one of these perpetrators. She was on holiday in her village and attended a party which the three men also went to. As they drank, they forced this woman to have sex with each of them: the woman resisted and was beaten by the three men. The family of this woman then reported this case to the local police. According to the participant, the family pushed the police to take this issue seriously as they have links to authority in the Indonesian police and were able to pressure the local police. He explained that if they did not use pressure, the case would be dropped. Atalia, who has spent years working with Kamoro people shared a story in Koperapoka about a drunken father who raped his four-year old daughter. According to Atalia, as the father had an alcoholic 'blackout' when the investigation took place, the police could not collect sufficient information to incriminate him, thus they released him.

I argue that the coercive sex phenomenon is strongly related to unprotected sex which results in reproductive health issues such as Sexually Transmitted Diseases including HIV/AIDS, unintended pregnancy and unsafe abortion. According to Atalia, the girl who had been raped by her father as well as other women who experienced non-consensual sexual relations, suffered inflammation and infection in their genitals. Some of them became pregnant and most experienced psychological trauma. Some people believe that frequent exposure to pornography may contribute to the incidence of coercive sex among the younger generation, however, to me the unbalanced power relationship between a man and a woman among the younger generation is key factor.

Therefore men tend to use power to fulfil sexual desire. Less respect for others in intimate relationships might be associated with lack of information about Women's Reproductive Rights, Women's Rights and Human Rights might be another reason, followed by lack of law enforcement in Timika which also contributed to the issues of sexual violation.

5.4 The Sex Industry

The practice of commoditisation of women was introduced to West Papua by Indonesia through the institutionalisation of prostitution in several regions of West Papua. Historically, it has been Indonesian practice to use women as well as money to bribe Papuan leaders in order to succeed with some of the national programs in West Papua. Selling sex is culturally inappropriate in West Papua, however sex exchange for money in West Papua has become common.

Modern prostitution in Indonesia, according to Australian and Indonesian scholars, Hull, Sulistyarningsih and Jones (1998) can be traced back to the time of the Javanese Kingdom. They argue that commoditisation of women in Indonesia historically occurred in the Javanese feudal system under the concept of the authority of the king. The king was the owner of everything; not only land and property but also the lives of the subjects. They explain that "the extent of the king's great power was represented by a large number of *selir* (the shortened version of *sineliran* literally meaning chosen one but translated by the Dutch as *bijwijf* or concubines)" (Hull, Sulistyarningsih & Jones, 1998, p. 2). Even though they did not provide any information about the gender of the *selirs* I assumed that most of them were women. They generally lived in a particular place that was provided by the king close to the king's palace as they were used by the king only.

Some of the *selir* were daughters of noblemen given to the king as a token of their loyalty, others were tributes from other kingdoms; and many were lower-class women sold or given over by their families to take minor positions in the royal household (Hull, Sulistyarningsih & Jones, 1998, p. 2).

Even though the feudal system did not have a fully commercialised sex industry as associated with modern societies, "the commodification of women in the past provided the foundation for the industry through the identification of the values of women as commodities to be exchanged and accumulated in the constant male quest for power and wealth" (Hull, Sulistyarningsih & Jones, 1998, p. 2). The commoditisation of sex also occurred in the colonial period in Indonesia, in particular during Dutch and Japanese colonisation in Indonesia.

The traditional system of slavery and concubines were adapted to the needs and mores of the European communities being established in port areas of the archipelago, with sexual gratification of soldiers, traders and emissaries becoming one of the priority issues in the clash of alien cultures (Hull, Sulistyarningsih & Jones, 1998, p. 3).

The institutionalisation of prostitution beyond the king's system of sexual service provision in Indonesia began in the Dutch period in 1852 when the colonial government introduced a new law which acknowledged the commercial sex industry: subsequently "a legal framework established

at that time remains basically intact to the present day” (Hull, Sulistyaningsih & Jones, 1998, p. 4). The modern official sex industry known as *lokalisasi* or brothel in Indonesia was formed during the Second World War when Indonesia was occupied by the Japanese. Government policy highlights the ambiguous legal status of prostitution in Indonesia. On one hand, prostitution in Indonesia is illegal. Terms used to name sex workers indicate that they are considered to be immoral, they are called *Wanita Tuna Susila* which literally means ‘women without morals’. On the other hand, brothels are maintained by an integrated group of local government and military authorities (Hull, Sulistyaningsih & Jones, 1998, p. 26). Most of the brothel complexes or *lokalisasi* in West Papua, including in Timika, were typically established as described by these scholars; developed by local government far from the centre of the town and maintained by local government and military.

The sex industry in Timika began when the town was developed with the operational activities of the Freeport Indonesia, Copper and Gold Mine Company, starting around the late 1980s. As the number of male immigrants in Timika has increased due to the Freeport activities this resulted in the demand for sexual services, a rise in the number of bars, or discotheques and institutionalisation of prostitution. According to Jayaputra (2015) from the Research and Development Centre of the Ministry of Social Welfare of Indonesia, the increase in spontaneous migration to Timika in 2005 was around 10 percent among Papuans and 54 percent among non-Papuans. Even though he did not differentiate the proportion of migrants according to gender, I assumed that as a male dominated town, this increase was dominated by males. This is indicated in the population in Timika which according to Jayaputra (2015), in 2005 was around 58 percent males and 42 percent females.

Before the government built the *lokalisasi*, most of the sex workers were spread around Pasar Gorong-gorong in Koperapoka which was a station where the miners used to be dropped-off on their off duty time from the mining site in Tembagapura. As explained by a Kamoro man from Kaugapu:

Before they moved here, they were accommodated around the old Freeport Street known as ‘Pasar Gorong’ where there are some bamboo trees and power poles. Perhaps, after thinking, the government then looked for a new place and they have been placed here (Doni, September 23, 2015).

According to this man, the local government of Timika then initiated the development of a complex to accommodate the sex workers. He did not explain when it was built but I assume it was around 1980 as the town of Timika started to be developed by the government at this time. I was told by Doni, an older man, that the military have been used to accelerate the establishment of *lokalisasi* in Timika, most recently to intimidate the Kamoro people into releasing their communal land to build the *lokalisasi* which is called *Kilo Sepuluh* located in Kaugapu.

The Indigenous people, Kamoro and some people from Mee³ refused the government's plan to establish the *lokalisasi*. The refusal was mostly because that land used to be the Kamoro's hunting place, farm area and also sago forest. Land for Kamoro people not only has an economic function but also cultural meaning as they believe that land is the place from where they come therefore it is sacred and has to be used appropriately. Another reason for this refusal according to Doni who relayed the story, is that Kamoro people believe that the *lokalisasi* negatively impacted on them as they see the sex workers as 'sick women'. Conflict between these Indigenous tribes and the Indonesian military resulted in intimidation and murder of two men from Mee. According to Doni, a Catholic priest from Mee, the late Nato Gobay, who found the bodies that were buried by the army near the street, led a protest to the local government:

We did not agree, we fight with the army, the army shot two men from Paniai [Mee] just because they argued that the WTS [Wanita Tuna Susila] were not allowed to share land with us. Our parents did not agree, they were fighting, they battle, they refused, the 'sick women' did not allow them to enter our area...send them [sex workers] far away to the highland or anywhere else (Doni, September 23, 2015).

Even though most of Kamoro society did not agree with the government's plan, the *lokalisasi* continued to be built as per the arrangement made with the head of the village without any community consultations. Moreover, Doni explains:

But, we did not make any agreement, the agreement was made between the head village of Hiripauw named Klestus with the head of the district of Mapurujaya. Both of them allowed those women to enter our land (Doni, September 23, 2015).

Doni's story shows how the Indonesian government acted, through the local authority and military, in what they called development. In their negotiations, when local people and government did not find a resolution related to *lokalisasi*, they used the military and in the end they came up with the reason that placing the sex workers in a certain location meant they could regulate and control communicable diseases. As the local government implemented the national policy to institutionalise prostitution, it would also benefit them through tax revenue.

Most of the women in Indonesia who become sex workers have experienced a failed marriage or love affair, or lack alternative opportunities, or have a desperate need to gain income to support themselves, their families or children (Hull, Sulistyaningsih & Jones, 1998). In some countries like Indonesia, this situation is particularly caused by lack of job opportunities for women who are mostly unskilled and less educated. Richards (2004 p. 86) an Australian scholar, also notes that "selling sexual services may be a logical outcome of women's structural disadvantage in a marginal economy". Inher article about negative impacts on women in Indonesia's mining industry Mahy (2011 p. 49) implies that the masculine culture in the mining area promotes the sex industry in mining towns. Furthermore, she argues that "women in mining areas have been

³Mee is (a neighbouring tribe in the highlands of West Papua) located in Paniai, north of Timika.

excluded from the direct economic benefits of mining and have borne the brunt of any negative social and economic changes". Women living in mining communities can be divided into two distinct categories: migrant (sex) workers and (Indigenous) community women.

According to Purnomo and Siregar the sex industry in Indonesia is divided into organised and unorganised groups (as cited in Hull, Sulistyaningsih & Jones, 1998, p. 50). In the unorganised sex industry the sex workers have a direct relationship with their client: included in this group are street walkers and others who operate in public or semi-public places such as markets, cemeteries, railway marshalling yards, or independent call-girls; and secondly women working dependently out of hotel coffee shops, discos, etc. The organised sex workers are under the immediate control of intermediaries, such as pimps, chiefs and *mamasan* or *mami* (Hull, Sulistyaningsih & Jones, 1998, p. 51).

Organised sex workers in Timika have operated in various locations, including complexes of brothels or *lokalisasi*, bars, hotels, discotheques, cafes, massage parlours called *timbang*, and salons. The organised sex industry is dominated by the migrant sex workers who mostly originate from Java, Manado, and Makasar. Hull, Sulistyaningsih and Jones (1998, p. 5) explained that in Eastern Indonesia, prostitution in many cities was dominated by longer distance sex workers, mainly from East Java. It is clear that regular and speedy shipping provided by PT. Pelni, the Indonesia National Shipping company, has enhanced the migration of sex workers from Java. Most of the consumers of organised sex workers are migrant men who work as miners or in other informal jobs as well as some Kamoro men. Some of the Kamoro men, in particular the older generation in this study, explained that most of them visited the *lokalisasi* or brothel only to get alcohol as the *lokalisasi* also sells alcohol. However, gossip captured during this study and even in interviews with participants, indicated that the older generation also visited the *lokalisasi* for sexual services especially when they received money from Freeport Company. Some Kamoro boys who are secondary school students also visit the *lokalisasi* for sex. They may use these visits to learn and experience sexual intercourse for the first time. A story shared by Atalia outlined this phenomenon:

When they received some money from Freeport, they went straight to Kilo [Kilo Sepuluh, the lokalisasi]. I remember, it was in 2010 some women from Tipuka and Ayuka called me, daughter, some of your fathers are in Kilo now. OKei, I said to them, you call a taxi and we go to Kilo. When we were there, all of their husbands were there, drunk and joget [dangdut dance]. All the money, which was around fifteen million rupiah was finished. A man only had five thousand rupiah remaining in his pocket. Yes, when they were drunk the women took all the money they have (Atalia, October 1, 2015).

This statement referred to some Kamoro men from the neighbouring villages of Tipuka and Ayuka that are areas that have received the most direct impact of Freeport Company activities, where villagers received compensation from Freeport. Atalia, who had been working with some Kamoro women in Tipuka and Ayuka told me that this amount of money then purchased sex and

also alcohol in *lokalisasi*. This experience indicates the unbalanced power relationship and decision making in the Kamoro family related to economic resources. Culturally economic resources in *taparu* or clan belong to Kamoro women, however, when Freeport Company distributed cash they ignored the women's involvement, a recurring practice which occurs commonly in Indonesia. Therefore, the money was directly used by the husbands without notifying their wives. This is an instance of the negative social and economic impact facing the women around the mine as claimed by Mahy (2011) previously. A few of the younger generation described that they rarely visited *lokalisasi* and mostly only to buy alcohol. Hasan, a young Kamoro man in Kaugapu stated:

Now, I never go there, but when I was a student and single, yes, I even went there to 'Kilo Sepuluh' but I do not play [have sex], I just went there to buy alcohol as this lokalisasi sold alcohol. Ah, but if I have much money. As far as I know, now the cost is about two hundred [rupiah] for one 'play' [sexual intercourse] (Hasan, September 19, 2015).

Of course Hasan might have been ashamed and not openly telling the truth to me, as I observed from his expression during the interview. Atalia explained that a number of young Kamoro boys who are secondary students aged 13 to 15 were found visiting the *lokalisasi* for sex in school hours:

It was around eleven am [school time] so why was this student in this area, I thought. I asked one of them, hey, what are you doing here? Ah, lots of us are inside, he answered me. When I came closer, I found some of the secondary school students are there in the room, 'use' [have sex with] these women. I pull them out from the room and belt them up with a stick till it was broken. I was so angry and said to them, it is too early for you to do this thing [have sex] (Atalia, October 10, 2015).

This statement indicated that some young Kamoro men started visiting sex workers when they were only 13 years old. Although this current study did not examine the motivation of the clients visiting the sex workers including these boys, there may be several reasons for this activity including looking for new experiences or variety. This might be related to the phenomenon of pornography which is easily accessible to young people of Kamoro even at an early age. Watching porn videos or images increases their sexual interest and visiting the sex workers in the *lokalisasi* can be a way to explore it. This study did not focus on condom use among the young Kamoro but from interview notes, it is found that their condom use is low, in particular when they have sex with the unorganised sex workers.

Marion, a young Kamoro man who is a university student, shared the story of his sexual experiences. He explained that he has three girlfriends, one of them is from Asmat and another is *oyame* (Kamoro's coded term for immigrants who are not Papuans) from Kei Island who is also a university student. He also has a girlfriend in Atuka. He regularly has sex with all three of them and also with female sex workers in *lokalisasi* if he has money sent by his parents in the village, or from the scholarship that he received from Freeport. When he has sex with a female sex worker in *lokalisasi* he always uses a condom but he never uses a condom when having sex with any of his

girlfriends including the secondary student girlfriend in Atuka. According to him this is because he feels uncomfortable or *'tidak enak'* using condoms. The main reason why Marion uses a condom with the sex worker in *lokalisasi* is because it is compulsory for the client and condoms are provided by the sex workers. Condoms are not publicly available for young people therefore not all young people can easily access condoms so he has not used condoms when having sex with his three girlfriends despite his awareness of condom use. Further, I observed that some of the younger generation who buy condoms themselves in a store or pharmacy will be labelled as 'bad' due to moral values and therefore decide not to use them, apart from the issue of uncomfortable feelings as identified by Marion.

Lokalisasi is a suitable place for migrant sex workers in Timika for a number of reasons. They work safely away from any aggressive clients. They also engage in a social rehabilitation programs for female prostitutes as part of the Indonesian government program delivered by local government and the Department of Social and Welfare Affairs. This program is based on moral values. Sex work in Indonesia, including in West Papua, whether organised or unorganised has been seen as an immoral job and those who are involved have been judged to be 'bad women', therefore, sex workers' morals need to be repaired through certain approaches, including religion. Their skills also will be enhanced through particular training that ideally equips them to find another job instead of continuing working as sex workers. This program also provided for sex workers who work outside the *lokalisasi* if they voluntarily report their activity as sex workers to the Social and Welfare Affairs office or when accidentally caught by the officers. The program is based on the paradigm that women turn to sex work because of particular issues that they need to deal with such as being less educated or unskilled or illiterate. The government ignores the effects of globalisation or other issues that have forced women to be sex workers. Therefore, after the program, these women are unable to establish their own business as they lack cash as capital. As an organised sex industry, the sex workers in *lokalisasi* will also regularly be tested for Sexually Transmitted Diseases including HIV/AIDS by the HIV Commission or Health Department.

Unorganised sex work in Timika is mostly dominated by Indigenous West Papuans who are originally from Biak, Serui, Kamoro or other tribes from the highlands around Timika. Indigenous sex workers in Timika are known as *perempuan aibon* or 'naughty women'. The term *aibon* is actually a type of glue that was often sniffed by young people in Timika similar to petrol. Hasan, one of the participants from Kaugapu, explained that *perempuan aibon* are judged as *perempuan bebas* (free women) which indicated that they have no particular relationship with anyone else, thus they are assumed to be ready to have sex with anyone. According to Munro, Butt and Wong, (2004, p. 70) the sex industry in *Tanah Papua* is "highly stratified along ethnic lines, and higher priced services are offered almost exclusively by Indonesian women in sites such as bars and regulated brothels". Moreover, they argue that, to the contrary, the Papuan sex workers "typically make less money and are much less likely to use condoms; they mostly work in unsafe sites that are in the open air

or that are perpetually in flux” (Munro, Butt & Wong, 2004, p. 70). The immigrant sex workers are officially registered which means they are legal and placed in locations such as brothels or *lokalisasi*: the unorganised sex workers are unable to bargain for condom use with their clients. The minimum standard of sexual service fees among organised sex workers is higher than the unorganised sex workers. The unorganised sex workers are not officially registered and their location cannot be predicted as it mostly depends on the security of the area. These sex workers will negotiate the location with their client. The common places where they meet their clients for sexual intercourse are in the traditional market in the town of Timika, named *pasar damai* or literally peace market. Atalia revealed that most clients are migrant males from outside Timika including non-Papuans and Papuans who work in informal jobs in Timika, or the unemployed who seek job opportunities in the mining company or those who are waiting for feedback on their application to the mining company and its subcontractors. Others are Indigenous Papuans who regularly migrate from the rural area to the town of Timika or visit their family in the town or to continue their studies. As they have less power to bargain for safe sex with their client, most of them are dealing with unprotected sex which is risky behaviour. Richards stated that the Kamoro people, and also Amungme, usually have sexual encounters with the unorganised sex workers because the fees are lower than fees in the brothel:

I think only a few of them, Amungme and Kamoro visit the lokalisasi. Not many of them go there. But, they usually ‘play’ [have sex] with those who are in pasar or market [unorganised sex workers], who only cost 10,000 or 25,000 rupiah [around \$1-\$2.5 AUD]. Most of the sex workers are local people, indigenous people. I think it is because they can afford to pay the fee and there is no strict rule such as having to use a condom. In lokalisasi it is compulsory to use a condom. The lokalisasi has certain rules, A, B, and C which they have to follow. Moreover, they also can easily have sex with some women in their village who provide sex for money or gift (Richards, October 5, 2015).

The AIDS Commission in Timika tends to focus on the organised sex workers, particularly those in *lokalisasi*. This is because it is easier to control the sex workers as they are organised and located in brothels. Condoms are provided in the *lokalisasi*. This means the Kamoro people and other Indigenous Papuans do not receive any advantages from this program provided by the AIDS Commission. Thus, if the knowledge or awareness of condom use among Kamoro men or even Papuan men is low, this indicates the failure of the program, as Atalia told me that the fees for sex services provided by unorganised sex workers depend on the quality of the health of the sex workers. It also indicated how they named certain locations where the sex workers usually have sexual encounters with their clients:

There are some terms that are used to identify the sex workers [unorganised] called gank seribu [group who charge a thousand rupiah for sexual service], gank dua puluh ribu [group who charge twenty thousand rupiah for sexual service] and gank Lima puluh ribu [group who charge five thousand rupiah for sexual service]. The gank seribu is for indigenous female sex workers or immigrant female sex workers who are living with AIDS. Around 10 pm these women will go out wearing short pants, adidas. Yes, the immigrant or the local, both are

same, so, they will persuade these men. These men came to Timika, leaving their wife in their hometown, in Bugis [South Sulawesi], in Timur [East Nusa Tenggara]. They seduce them and drive them horny then they will find a place around to do this immoral activity. While, the gank dua puluh ribu is those who are infected by Gonorrhoea or Syphilis. Men who have sex with men also there [men sex workers], which usually costs fifty thousand rupiah. The gank seribu is those who have severe health problems [the reproductive health condition] (Atalia, October 1, 2015).

Even though she did not explain how the health status of the sex workers is detected, this statement indicated that these groups of sex workers are vulnerable to Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STDs) as most of them deal with unprotected sex. On one hand they have no power to bargain for safe sex with their clients; on the other hand, most of their clients lack awareness of condom use and they work in the environment where condoms are not provided and there is no pressure to use a condom such as in *lokalisasi*. Atalia told me that most of the sexual encounters among the unorganised sex workers and their clients occurred secretly. Similarly, Munro, Butt and Wong (2004), claim that the pattern of this kind of sexual intercourse is what is called 'secret sex' and is common in Papua. The 'secret sex' indicated that the sexual relations that occur are not in accordance with the norms (Butt & Munro, 2007). It could be sexual intercourse outside marriage with sex workers or any other partners or pre-marital sex. The 'secret sex' mostly occurs among indigenous Papuans (Munro, Butt & Wong, 2004), however, their study did not explain the physical punishment associated with this practice. They argue that 'secret sex' is clandestine, often requires the use of brokers, and frequently occurs in the context of public events. Even though some of the 'secret sex' is conducted in open air places and some offenders are caught, most likely they will not be punished, particularly when it occurs among the younger generation. In the past, couples who conducted secret sex were punished, whether younger or older people. Ori, an old Kamoro man in Atuka, stated in an interview (11/8/2015), that since the traditional punishment has been altered to the modern legal system introduced by the Dutch and Indonesians, it does not solve some kinds of sexual violations and since society is more open to adopt new values, there is no such control on the community. Tod, an older man in Atuka who is a tribal leader of Kamoro chosen by the government, in a discussion with me (20/8/2015) outlined that in the Dutch period, young people who had pre-marital sex resulting in pregnancy could be imprisoned. Moreover, Sobri, an older man from Atuka in an interview (14/8/2015) stated that he has observed that since the government introduced the village or kampong the capacity of traditional norms to regulate society has been weakened.

Some participants, young men and older men in Atuka, argued that prostitution is only found in the town of Timika without acknowledging that selling sex also occurs in their village. They argued that there are few women in the village who exchange sex for money or goods which is seen as due to the influence of city life. This could also be related to consumerism and young women's aspiration to live a modern life. The story of two Atuka women who moved to the town to seek jobs as housemaids but then became sex workers is a collective story that the participants, women and men, younger and older in this study told me when we discussed the issue of

HIV/AIDS even though they did not remember exactly when it occurred. It was the story of young women who in the 1980s moved to the city of Timika to find a job. They worked as housemaids in the town of Timika. A couple of years later, they were sent back to Atuka, when they got sick, and subsequently died and were buried in Atuka. This story is described further in chapter six. Some of the participants tell the story with an expression of sadness and regret. Others expressed confusion about who should be responsible for this condition, these two poor Atuka women themselves, or the immigrants with all their 'selling sex' attitudes that influence Kamoro people. Sex workers, as well as AIDS, for some participants are seen as an urban trend. Hasan, an older man in Atuka, referring to the deaths of the women argues that this disease and all the sexual behaviours are a result of urban life. Similarly, a young Kamoro man from Kaugapu also illustrated that prostitution is an urban trend and those who live in the town will be influenced by that trend:

There is no perempuan aibon [sex worker] here. The perempuan aibon is usually in the town, they came from Serui, Biak, from us, Kamoro, Mimika mainly from Timika Pantai, Western far of Mimika [Mimika Barat jauh] (Hasan, September 19, 2015).

Obviously, this phenomenon strongly correlates with urban areas as claimed. Urban areas are the places where some migrants come across the boundaries of norms, including sexual norms and create new norms and attitudes as they migrate. I argue that when unskilled women and less educated women, such as the two women from Atuka, move to Timika where demand for sex services is higher, the sex industry is most likely an option for them to survive even though they have to cross the boundaries of norms. Villagers especially the older generation ignored the phenomenon of sex work in the village and it is seen as an urban influence.

5.5 Summary

The contemporary sexual culture of the Kamoro people can be seen through the stories about young people which were not only told by Kamoro people but also by the non-Indigenous people. Most of the narratives reflected the effect of colonialism and globalisation. The effect of colonialism and globalisation filtered into ideas of masculinity, femininity, gender relations and sexuality in contemporary Kamoro people, particularly among the younger generation. Traditional practices no longer exist among the older generation as these had been banned since Dutch colonisation. The sexual culture of the Kamoro people impacts on their understanding and attitudes to the issue of HIV/AIDS. The issue of HIV/AIDS among Kamoro and the colonialism practices connected to this issue will be discussed in chapter six.

6 HIV/AIDS AND THE KAMORO PEOPLE

6.1 Introduction

A number of studies focused on Indigenous West Papuans and HIV/AIDS have stressed racial discrimination in the delivery of HIV prevention programs by some agencies in West Papua. For example, a collaborative study in Papua province conducted by Butt, Numbery and Morin (2002) about sex workers, including Indigenous sex workers, and HIV prevention found discrimination in HIV prevention. A study among Arfak women in Manokwari, coastal North West Papua, in 2011-2012 conducted by Munro and McIntyre (2015) focused on mother-to-child transmission which emphasised the racially stereotyping judgments in the health services. On the other hand, Munro (2013) reported on the Indigenous approach applied by the local NGO, Yukemdi, in delivering HIV prevention in Wamena. This current study broadens the research to the Kamoro people in the South coastal area of West Papua and discusses the postcolonial context and impact of globalisation that has affected the HIV prevention program in Timika. It looks at the Kamoro people's response to the HIV prevention program and the attitudes of the HIV prevention program providers. The Kamoro people's response indicated their disinterest in becoming involved in the HIV prevention program which is understood as a way to confront the misconception and racial judgments about the Kamoro people's health and sexual practices continued from the past, constructed by the Dutch and reproduced in the Indonesia era. The attitudes of the health workers and HIV prevention program providers demonstrated discrimination in the AIDS programs targeting of groups and approaches in the AIDS program in Timika which contributed to the spread of HIV/AIDS. It is important to engage with the cultural history of the HIV prevention program for the Kamoro people to be able to address the issue of AIDS among Indigenous people.

Munro (2013) stated that "HIV in Papua [West Papua] follows ethnic lines, with 68 percent of infections occurring in Indigenous [West] Papuans" (p.3). West Papua is also the only part of Indonesia facing a generalised epidemic (Munro & McIntyre, 2015). According to UNICEF Indonesia, in 2012 the population prevalence and HIV/AIDS rate in West Papua among Indigenous people was 2.8 percent compared to non-Indigenous people which was 1.5 percent (in Cheema, 2014; see also Munro & McIntyre, 2015). The World Health Organisation (WHO), cited by Munro and McIntyre (2015), suggest that the Indigenous population in both provinces of West Papua have suffered the most rapid increase in HIV prevalence in the world (p.159). AusAID predicted that the adult prevalence of HIV/AIDS could rise to 7 percent by 2025 (as cited in Rees et al., 2008). UNICEF Indonesia claimed that the prevalence rate among adult males in 2012 was 2.9 percent while for adult females the rate was 1.9 percent in the same year (Cheema, 2014). An Integrated Biological and Behavioural Surveillance survey conducted by the Indonesian Ministry of Health in 2013 reported the prevalence of HIV among the Indigenous West Papuans was about 2.9 percent while among non-Papuans such prevalence was only 0.4 percent (Ministry of Health Republic of

Indonesia, 2013, p. 21). This report revealed 5.1 percent HIV prevalence among the younger generation in West Papua aged 15–24 (Health Ministry of Republic of Indonesia, 2013, p. 20). Furthermore, it has been found that HIV prevalence is the highest among West Papuans aged 15–24 living in the remote and rural areas (Munro & McIntyre, 2015).

The characteristics of the HIV epidemic in West Papua, including the Kamoro people, is dissimilar to the rest of Indonesia where it has been transmitted typically through injected drug use. The cumulative cases of HIV and AIDS infection in Timika is greatest through heterosexual contact, followed by mother-to-child transmission (Timika AIDS Commission, 2007). Infection through sexual intercourse between men is rare in Timika. The highest HIV prevalence in Timika is among part time workers or the unemployed followed by married women and farmers. Even though there is no further information about the categories of farmers, whether they are West Papuans or non-West Papuans, it is likely that that the farmers group includes those who rely on the subsistence and agriculture sector which is dominated by Indigenous people. Sex workers (organised sex workers) were placed fourth in HIV/AIDS cumulative cases in Timika. In the interviews with the staff of the AIDS Commission of Timika, it was explained that the number of HIV and AIDS cases among married women is increasing. This is because they are more likely to be tested voluntarily. Most of them contracted HIV when they were young and most of them detected it when they were pregnant. Freud (n.d.) explained that a survey of pregnant women in Timika indicated that from 1998 to 2004 the identified prevalence of HIV among pregnant women was over 1 percent. Moreover, HIV prevalence among the commercial sex workers in the same period, increased from about 2 percent to 9 percent in Timika. According to the Timika AIDS Commission report (2007) cumulative cases of HIV and AIDS in Timika were dominated by younger people aged 15–39 years old. This situation is strongly linked to the lack of knowledge of younger people. A survey on behaviour among high school students in Timika conducted by the Timika AIDS Commission in 2011 reported that comprehensive knowledge about HIV and AIDS in the West Papuan high school students was around 13 percent (n=460) which is lower than the knowledge among non-Papuan students, which was around 26 percent (n=731) (Timika AIDS Commission, 2011, p. 8).

These data indicate that the HIV prevention attempts are either not working or at least not synchronised with the growing nature of the epidemic. Therefore, this chapter seeks to understand what HIV and AIDS meant for the Kamoro people and what has been done by the government, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), and Freeport Company to deal with the HIV/AIDS issues. The data presented in this chapter are based on in-depth interviews and focus group discussions with the participants, both Kamoro and non-Kamoro, and field notes. Discussions with the non-Kamoro participants were initiated mostly via direct questions, while discussions with the Kamoro people were more flexible in terms of topic and time in order to encourage the participants to raise the issues which the participants considered important. Other relevant sources have been

used in order to complete, clarify and confirm the information received from the participants. History and health policies are taken into account in order to have a full understanding of how the issue of HIV in Timika has been addressed so far and the benefit to the Kamoro people.

This chapter consist of four sections. Section two is a summary of HIV/AIDS in Timika. Section three deals with the attitudes and assumptions, practices of workers and approaches in the HIV/AIDS program towards the Kamoro people. This section discusses the priority targeted group in the AIDS program, approaches and methods which have been applied by the program providers in delivering HIV prevention, and human resources. Section four discusses the Kamoro people's response to HIV/AIDS. This section presents the Kamoro people's views and reactions to HIV prevention and the ways of HIV prevention based on their cultural understanding. Section five is a summary.

6. 2 Summary of HIV/AIDS in Timika

According to a report by the Timika AIDS Commission, released in 2007, HIV cases were found for the first time in Timika in 1996 among four migrant sex workers in *lokalisasi* who tested positive for HIV (Timika AIDS Commission, 2007). These cases were reported by the District Health Office of Timika in the wake of a state government instruction to conduct HIV tests amongst sex workers following the increasing rate of the epidemic in Indonesia through heterosexual contact since 1996 (Timika AIDS Commission, 2007). There is no official data about the first HIV or AIDS case among the Kamoro people. However, the story of women in Atuka who died and were diagnosed with symptoms of AIDS indicated that the first deaths from AIDS among the Kamoro people in Atuka occurred before the first death from HIV in Timika was reported in 1996. This death, and perhaps the deaths of other Indigenous people, had not been recorded by the District Health Office as they did not occur in a hospital or clinic. It could also be because the HIV tests were most likely focused on commercial sex workers only as they were claimed to be the first HIV cases in Timika. Before the AIDS Commission was launched in Timika in 2006, HIV approaches focused on the medical treatment for people sick with AIDS related symptoms conducted by the District Health Office of Timika. Random tests had been conducted on organised sex workers in brothels and bars in Timika by the District Health Office since 1996.

In 1999 the Freeport Company paid royalties to the Indigenous land owners, the Kamoro and the Amungme. This fund was managed by the LPMK (*Lembaga Pengembangan Masyarakat Amungme Kamoro*) literally translated into Institute for Community Development of Amungme and Kamoro. The Institute has managed these funds which have been used to develop the health, education and economy of the Kamoro and Amungme people, which included the development of a hospital known as Caritas, run by the Caritas Catholics. Together with the local public hospital, the Caritas hospital, which later changed its name to *Rumah Sakit Mitra Masyarakat (RSMM)*

translated as Community Friendly Hospital, provided HIV tests and AIDS treatment starting in 2005 (Timika AIDS Commission, n.d.). Around 2002, some local community people together with a Dutch Catholic priest who were concerned about the HIV issues, helped some people with AIDS symptoms. These were mostly Indigenous West Papuans who lacked knowledge regarding HIV/AIDS. This group of activists, later developed into an NGO, currently known as YAPEDA (*Yayasan Peduli AIDS*) or the Institute for AIDS Care. This institution assisted the AIDS affected people to connect them to treatment and care. YAPEDA received funds from various sources including the Global Fund, AIDS Commission and the LPMK. HIV/AIDS treatment was provided in 2005 in *Rumah Sakit Mitra Masyarakat*, Mother and Child Health care centre in Timika District hospital, and the reproductive health clinic funded by Freeport Company (Timika, AIDS Commission, n.d.). The AIDS Commission in Timika was launched in 2006 as a result of the Indonesia Presidential Decree Number 75, 2006 about the AIDS Commission in Indonesia (Timika, AIDS Commission, n.d.). The AIDS Commission is a government organisation that was founded in response to the AIDS epidemic in Indonesia. The reorganisation and expansion of the National AIDS Commission into 21 government ministries and agencies occurred in 2006, (HIV and AIDS Data Hub for Asia Pacific, UNAIDS, n.d.). The National HIV and AIDS Action Plan 2007-2010 was launched in 2007. This Action Plan served as the national guideline for the HIV and AIDS programs. This means that in dealing with the HIV issue in Timika, the AIDS Commission in Timika must follow this national guideline. From 2007 to 2010 the focus of the Indonesian national AIDS strategy can be summarised as increasing access to health services, developing evidenced-based priorities and targets, offering a comprehensive-services approach, national and local government partnership with support from international funding agencies, sharing funding between the national and provincial budget, enhancing the capability of human resources and technical assistance, performing research-based policy and intervention, and a monitoring and evaluation system (HIV and AIDS Data Hub for Asia Pacific, UNAIDS, p.9). However, these national guidelines are not being adopted properly as was planned.

The Indonesian Ministry of Health, as the counterpart of the National AIDS Commission, articulated ministerial regulations related to HIV in several protocols. For example, the Indonesian Ministry of Health Protocol Number 21, 2013 (Chapter 4, Article 9) states that the problems of HIV and AIDS should be addressed through several activities; health promotion, transmission prevention, HIV diagnostic examination, treatment, care and support and rehabilitation. The HIV transmission prevention includes transmission through sexual contact, non-sexual contact and mother-to-child transmission. As described in this protocol, transmission through sexual contact can be addressed in four integrated actions. First, encourage the role of stakeholders or those who engage in HIV issues to create favourable conditions for preventing HIV transmission via sexual contact; second, intervention to make changes in sexual behaviour; third, maintaining availability and distribution of prevention tools; and fourth, management of Sexually Transmitted Diseases

(STIs). It is also stated that there are ways to prevent the spread of HIV by heterosexual intercourse which can be summarised by the acronym ABCDE, where A stands for abstinence, B stands for being faithful to one's wife (husband), C stands for using a condom while engaging in sexual intercourse, D stands for abstaining from drugs and E stands for education. There is an additional step to the ABCDE, which is circumcision (Indonesian Ministry of Health Protocol Number 21, 2013, Chapter 4, Article 9). Abstinence is explained as referring to unmarried people and being faithful is interpreted as having sexual contact only with one's long-lasting spouse (who is assumed to be HIV negative). I argue that these approaches cannot be applied effectively in circumstances where there is a lack of facilities and that the cultural legacy of colonialism shapes the stereotype of West Papuans sexuality and underpins the moral values of settlers in West Papua.

There are several government agencies and Non-Government Organisations (local and international, private sector) in Timika which have run HIV programs following the protocols of the Indonesian Ministry of Health regarding the AIDS response. About 23 health care centres in Timika have provided counselling and HIV tests. These centres include six hospitals, 13 community health centres and four clinics (Timika AIDS Commission, 2007). In their discussion of HIV prevention programs in West Papua, Munro and McIntyre (2016) stated that "racial dynamics and mutual distrust filter into the health system, particularly the construction of Papuans as hypersexual and promiscuous" (p. 159). Therefore, any discussion about HIV cannot be separated from discussions about attitudes, perceptions and practices of those who deal with this issue, such as official health workers, staff of the AIDS Commission and NGO personnel as these have affected their policies, approaches and strategies.

6. 3 Attitudes, Assumptions, Practices of Workers, and Approaches in the HIV/AIDS Program for the Kamoro People

This section describes the attitudes of HIV/AIDS workers, and their approaches and strategies in delivering the HIV/AIDS program in Timika. The focus is on three institutions namely YAPEDA (*Yayasan Peduli AIDS*) which is a foundation to care for people with AIDS – a non-governmental organisation, LPMK (*Lembaga Pengembangan Masyarakat Amungme Kamoro*), the Institute for Community Development for Amungme and Kamoro, the group funded by Freeport, and the government's Timika AIDS Commission. I conducted interviews with selected staff members of these three organisations. In implementing the national HIV program in Timika, the staff of the implementing agencies are influenced by their own views and assumptions about the disease and the people who have it. Consequently as well as describing what these interviewees told me that they do I include discussion here of their attitudes and beliefs. In its account of the programs that have been established, this section also draws on interviews with Kamoro people where necessary to provide background information.

In the interview with staff from the health department of LPMK, YAPEDA and the AIDS Commission in Timika the HIV prevention programs that they have implemented were described and discussed. These consisted of integrated health promotion, peer group education, counselling and testing, and distribution of condoms. Condom distribution is mostly conducted by the AIDS Commission and also provided in *Rumah Sakit Mitra Masyarakat* that is sponsored by LPMK. The YAPEDA focusses more on peer education among youth. The integrated health promotion program provides integrated health services and also collaborative work with other health providers.

The *kader warga pintar* is one of the AIDS Commission's programs that involves the Indigenous people. The expression *warga pintar* literally means smart society or smart group. *Kader* means cadre. In this case, *kader warga pintar* stands for a cadre of 'smart' people that is participative, takes initiatives, and has access to and linkages with HIV and STI services. A brochure from *kader warga pintar* provided by the Timika AIDS Commission states that as facilitators the *kader warga pintar* have several duties, namely to circulate comprehensive information about HIV/AIDS to the society, to encourage communities to do HIV tests, to support people who are HIV positive to openly declare their status to their family members, to educate people to stop stigmatising and discriminating against people living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHA) and to assist the health workers in health promotion activities (Timika AIDS Commission, n.d.). The *kader warga pintar* began in 2014 (Timika AIDS Commission, n.d.). Some villages around Timika are included and Atuka is one of the sites which is involved in this program.

Ori, an older man in Atuka in an interview (11/8/2015) explained to me that the AIDS Commission encouraged the community to select several local Indigenous people who represented women, men, young and old people to be *cadres* or AIDS facilitators. There are four people who have been chosen to be *kader warga pintar* in Atuka. The facilitators have been trained and equipped with educational materials and tools to educate the villagers. Another participant, Amira an older woman, described how the *kader warga pintar* was established in Atuka:

A team from the KPA [AIDS Commission] came to the village, around the year 2009 or 2008. The team came and got us, the women and men of the community together, after which the team selected one woman, one young man, one young woman, and one man. The head of the community was identified as observer. Actually, the selection was not made by the team from KPA, rather they wanted us to select. After the community made the selection and decided upon several names as candidates to be peer educators, they (the candidates) were sent to the AIDS Commission (KPA). I do not know who selected me as a candidate, but the head of the village said he was thankful because I could speak well and could help other women. If other women were selected, it was not certain whether they could speak much. At the end, my name was agreed upon [by all]. I am still involved [in the program] (Amira, August 13, 2015).

It is implied from the above that the process of recruiting *cadres* was conducted by the community in a way which aimed to represent the ownership of the *kader warga pintar* program, as

the facilitators of the program originally came from the local people. It is also apparent that these facilitators are those who are able to communicate effectively with the communities, as they are mostly responsible for transferring knowledge about HIV that they gained from the AIDS Commission to the villagers in their own native language. They needed to have the ability to communicate properly not only in their native language but also in Bahasa Indonesia. This is illustrated in an interview with Ori another *kader warga pintar* from Atuka:

The AIDS Commission believes that it would be better if the peer educators can speak in two languages – the general language [Bahasa Indonesia] and a local language so that they could communicate well with the community in disseminating the information [about HIV/AIDS] (Ori, August 11, 2015).

This statement indicates that the *kader warga pintar* are needed to convey the knowledge they received from the AIDS Commission to the community. The *kader warga pintar* are required to be able to read and write because all the educational and administrative material is available in written form. The *kader warga pintar* are also required to write a report for submission to the AIDS Commission through a coordinator. As the *kader warga pintar* are recruited and employed by the AIDS Commission, they get paid around IDR 1,500,000 (around AUD 150) every three months. As described by Ori, the *kader* usually receive their salary when they submit a report of the activities they have completed. However, both Ori and Amira added that since the coordinator of *kader warga pintar*, a Javanese nurse in Atuka, was away from the village for a couple months, they have not received their salary on time. In an interview with a staff member of the AIDS Commission in Timika, I confirmed the issue of delay of payment in Atuka which related to an administrative matter as a result of regular absence of this Javanese nurse.

The knowledge and methods about HIV/AIDS provided by the AIDS Commission ignores local understandings and Indigenous knowledge about illness and healthy life: for example, it did not engage with Kamoro's concept of health and being healthy. Also the procedure for recruiting *kader warga pintar* excludes those, such as elders, who are actually knowledgeable in the concepts of illness and health according to Indigenous knowledge. Even though, as stated in the Timika AIDS Commission brochure entitled *jangan takut bicara HIV* or Do not be scared of discussing HIV (Komisi Penanggulangan AIDS Kabupaten Mimika, n.d.), strategies of HIV prevention should be based on local understanding or local wisdom. In the implementation of the program of which this brochure is a part, I found that prevention strategies were mostly based on information supplied by the AIDS Commission nationally and even internationally. Administration and reporting must be provided in written form where the facilitator has to write in a particular required pattern or formula. Munro and Butt (in Munro and McIntyre, 2016) stated that "Indonesia's HIV responses have typically been uncomplicated and derived from international models and practices with little modification" (p.159). Furthermore, Munro and McIntyre described that even though the characteristic of the epidemic in West Papua is different from the rest of Indonesia, "HIV related intervention replicates initiatives from the rest of Indonesia" (p.159).

The YAPEDA was established in 2002 and initiated by a group of activists who worked closely with a program of the Health Department of Freeport Company, called Malaria Control (Malcon). The founder of this NGO described in an interview that at the beginning, before the AIDS Commission was founded in Timika, this group of activists reached out to the people with AIDS and treated them. They used their office spaces to accommodate some people with symptoms of AIDS. After consultation, these people, most of whom did not recognise their symptoms as AIDS-related, were sent to the hospital for treatment. Currently, YAPEDA focuses on raising awareness about safer sex behaviour, in particular among the younger generation. One of YAPEDA's programs for the younger generation is PILA (*Pemuda Indonesia Lawan AIDS*), which literally means Indonesian youth fighting against AIDS. According to a staff member of YAPEDA, between 2003 and 2015 YAPEDA has conducted training and produced around 13 PILA alumni. These alumni are peer educators who aim to promote HIV prevention to their peers. This program concentrates on secondary school students in Timika who are mostly aged between 13 and 18 years.

Apart from the *Mitra Masyarakat* Hospital (Community Friendly Hospital), the LPMK also conducts a reproductive health clinic and hires professional staff to run comprehensive STI tests as well as pregnancy tests. A member of staff of the health department of LPMK explained in an interview that these tests are aimed at preventing mother-to-child transmission of HIV. According to this staff member, the LPMK also conducts HIV tests for Indigenous students from the Kamoro and the Amungme communities who receive scholarships from Freeport Company that are managed by the LPMK. This staff member explained that some of these students have HIV or other STIs. If they test positive, their scholarship is suspended and the students advised to get therapy until they are ready to continue their study. It is clear that the tests were not voluntarily conducted but are an obligation for the students if they wish to go on studying.

From my observation it is clear that there is a disconnect between the HIV prevention programs that have been conducted in Timika and the actual fact of the HIV prevalence and STIs as well as caring for people with symptoms of AIDS, which needs to be addressed. Therefore, it is important to find out the trigger for this inconsistency. Some aspects in HIV prevention programs need to be examined, including assessing both the health service providers and the Kamoro people as program beneficiaries.

6.3.1 Priorities

The whole HIV prevention program in Timika is based on the dominant understanding about HIV/AIDS. Munro and McIntyre (2016), stated that the HIV prevention program in West Papua, including Timika, has tended to replicate programs from the rest of Indonesia without any modification (p.15). The program is also based on how the health practitioners interpret and implement this knowledge. The discussion here of targeted programs describes how the AIDS

programs of these institutions reaches out to the people in terms of including and excluding certain groups of people. It also considers their cultural sensitivity to Indigenous people.

Sex workers are a priority target group, or the key population, of the HIV program around the world including in Timika. Butt, Numbery and Morin (2002), in their study in West Papua, stated that most of the HIV prevention efforts in the past decade have concentrated on sex workers and their clients. They further explained that this is under the guidance of large-scale international aid organisations including UNAIDS, AusAID and UNICEF (p. 4). This is supported by the Indonesian Health Ministry Protocol Number 21, 2013 (Chapter 10, Article 7) that identified sex workers as one of the key populations of the HIV program. If the sex workers were equally represented by both the Indonesian and Indigenous West Papuans the program would reach both groups equally (Butt, Numbery and Morin, 2002). The interviews conducted for this current study, made it clear that the AIDS Commission in Timika is focused on the organised sex workers, mostly migrant women working in brothels, bars and *panti pijat* (massage parlours). In fact, there are many unorganised sex workers around Timika. This group is dominated by Indigenous women who are mostly visited by the Kamoro and other West Papuan men. Even though there is no information about the number of sex workers in Timika, Butt, Numbery and Morin (2002) estimated that there are around 4,000 organised sex workers and another 4,000 street workers or unorganised sex workers in West Papua. They further predicted that there are at least another 4,000 women engaged in more secretive sexual contacts in the rural locations (p. 4). These numbers are likely to have increased since their research. Both these unorganised sex workers and their clients are ignorant about AIDS. Richardus, who I interviewed in Timika (5/10/2015) described how the Timika AIDS Commission conducts HIV tests more regularly among the migrant sex workers than with the unorganised sex workers and supplies condoms to the sex workers' work places such as *lokalisasi* (localised or notified area). Migrant sex workers are well documented compared with Indigenous sex workers. Moreover, the Timika AIDS Commission reported that in September 2007, 179 migrant sex workers had tested HIV positive, four of whom had AIDS. On the other hand, only 15 Indigenous sex workers were found to be HIV positive, of whom five had AIDS. This is because the program is most likely focused on organised sex workers which is in line with Munro, Butt and Wong's, (2004, p. 70) comment that "the promotions which do exist consistently target women in fixed-locations such as brothels, rather than the highly mobile, street-based sex worker typical of Papuan sexual encounters". The priority of the AIDS Commission has not changed even though Munro (2012) argued for this in her article.

Furthermore, Richardus in an interview (5/10/2015) revealed that the migrant sex workers, are prioritised in the HIV/AIDS program and so become more knowledgeable about the illness and more protected from it compared to the Indigenous sex workers. A study in West Papua (Butt, Numbery & Morin, 2002, p. 7) reported that in one rural region where condom use among Indigenous sex workers was less than 5 percent, a random HIV test conducted by a non-profit

organisation among 100 Indigenous West Papuan men found that eight out of those who admitted to ever having sexual exchanges with a sex worker were HIV positive. Munro, Butt and Wong, (2004) stated that “In Papua [West Papua], risky sex is explicitly racialized” (p.70). They further explained that this is because condom promotion has been targeted at the Indonesian women working in brothels. Furthermore, a senior researcher in West Papua (as cited by Munro, Butt and Wong, 2004) estimated that “condoms used by Indonesian women in brothels ranged between 30 percent and 80 percent of clients, whereas unregulated Papuan sex workers used condoms with clients between 2 percent and 5 percent of the time” (p.70). Richardus, a top-level staff member in an organisation that works with AIDS, who is familiar with the Kamoro culture stated:

As we can see, our friends the commercial sex workers are much more protected, and much less likely to have IMS, that is sexually transmitted infection (Richardus, October 5, 2015).

Excluding the unorganised sex workers from the HIV/AIDS program shows discrimination in implementing the program. Discrimination appears in the above statement as well which is indicative of the disrespectful way in which Richardus regards the unorganised sex workers. At times he called the organised sex workers ‘friends’, by contrast on other occasions he did not even name the unorganised sex workers, instead he referred to them by the place where they usually served their clients. To me this implies his ignorance of the unorganised sex workers or a lack of interest in them, or their clients. He also argued that most of the Kamoro men engage with the unorganised sex workers, who are also known as *perempuan aibon*:

Only a small number of the Kamoro people, not many go to the brothel [lokalisasi]. But, they go there to have sex with those who offer their services around the market place for only 10 to 25 thousand Rupiah (Richardus, October 5, 2015).

This man’s naming and acknowledging of these two groups of sex workers indicated his respect or interest in those groups. His use of the word ‘friends’ referring to the migrant sex workers (I would translate as ‘counterparts’) may be strongly related to the approach in the national guidance of the HIV prevention program that he deals with. But, as a senior staff member with an organisation who works with sex workers he should also name the Indigenous sex workers as ‘friends’ instead of ignoring them by not naming them. Even though it seems that he respected the Kamoro culture, the way he expressed his opinion suggested that he knew Kamoro better than me, the researcher or even other outsiders. He acted as someone who has authority to define the Kamoro people, including by naming them, the sex workers. In this example it is clear that the implicit or indirect discrimination against the Indigenous sex workers is supported by the mindset of HIV/AIDS workers.

The exclusion of married women as a targeted group is explained in Indonesia’s HIV prevention protocol. According to the Indonesian Health Ministry’s Protocol of 2013, married women, who were referred to as ‘housewives’, are not classified as a priority group in the HIV program which means they are left out. However in accordance with the Annual Report of the AIDS

Commission in Timika, in September 2007 the number of HIV and AIDS cases in this group was 322, which is greater than the migrant sex workers in *lokalisasi* (Timika AIDS Commission, 2007). This number was revealed mainly from the pregnancy tests undertaken which includes tests for STIs and HIV which are generally available in the clinics around the urban area. Richardus claimed in his interview that he encouraged housewives to use condoms when they have sexual contact with their husbands but this approach has not succeeded in addressing the rising number of HIV and AIDS cases among the married women. He stated that this is because most of these married women refused to encourage their husbands to use condoms and even blamed the AIDS Commission for suggesting this as they considered that doing so would allow their husbands to have sex with other women. Stigma attached to condom use and the sexual morality issues illustrated in this account needs to be addressed. Condom use is strongly related to sex workers, and many people in Indonesia, including those in West Papua and Kamoro, commonly believe that it is not seen to be proper to use a condom in sexual contact within marriage (Butt, Numbery & Morin, 2002).

Another worker in the AIDS area, Cliff, in an interview in Timika (6/10/2015) explained that there is a tendency for the local government of Timika to view HIV as a health issue only. This can be seen in the AIDS Commission structure which is mostly populated by health workers. It was Cliff's perception that the whole HIV program in Timika is thus more targeted towards those who are diagnosed with AIDS and more focused on medical treatment only, simply because the AIDS Commission has recruited health workers only. He argued that most AIDS programs in Timika previously paid less attention to prevention. He further considered that the approaches that he used in the past which focused on people living with AIDS have impacted on the current stigma of HIV and AIDS in Timika. He explained that consequently whenever he approached an individual in the community that individual was stigmatised. His practice has subsequently changed.

The fact is that if I appear at a certain place, or in someone's house, people in the neighbourhood suspect that someone in the house I visit must be HIV positive. Therefore, I am very careful not to let people know the actual reason for my visits (Cliff, October 6, 2015).

This statement indicates the activities of the AIDS workers potentially contributed to the social stigma.

Some HIV prevention programs among the younger generation in Timika tend to exclude the Kamoro youth. In an interview with an AIDS worker and based on my observations, I found that the PILA, one of YAPEDA's program for youth, is more focused on students around the urban areas. Cliff stated that in general, compared with male students, female students are more likely to be involved in the PILA. I went through PILA's Facebook group account in March 2017 and found that it has around 2,000 followers. My observation of the Facebook account focused on these followers' last names and their profile pictures indicated that around 79 of the group's members

were West Papuan women and about 124 were West Papuan men. Around four of them had Kamoro's last names and six used Amungme last names. It is clear that the involvement of Indigenous people in the PILA program is less common than involvement by migrant students because the program is focused in the schools around the urban area where the number of Indigenous students is lower compared with the migrant students.

This bias might also be caused by the recruitment process to hire PILA facilitators which was influenced by the teachers who are mostly non-Papuans as the YAPEDA requested them to select students to get involved in the PILA program. According to Cliff options had been given to the teacher to select students based on the requirements that the school decided. He told me that, the main requirement is that the student should be in the second year of their study. In the first year the students are regarded as being too young (aged around 13 years) while in the third year, which is their final year, the students are preparing for their final exams. The selected candidates are trained for a certain period of time and if they pass the training, they become a PILA facilitator. The training mostly prepares the students with communications skills and knowledge about HIV. They are then expected to encourage other younger people around them and transfer their understanding of HIV to their friends. Cliff explained that some of the candidates withdrew from the program during their training or even cancelled their participation before training began, which reduced the number of students who completed the program. Cliff did not specifically state whether those who failed to finish the training were Indigenous Papuan or not.

Notwithstanding these failures to engage Indigenous Papuan students in the PILA process, some staff tended to blame the Kamoro young people. Other staff of YAPEDA, a non-Papuan younger man and a woman, repeatedly stated in a discussion (6/10/2015) that most of the Kamoro youth engaged with practices that tend to contribute to unsafe sexual behaviour including partying or alcohol consumption. The woman exhibited judgmental views and blamed the cultural practices in the past and the parenting of Kamoro families without any explanation about how the PILA addresses the issues of the younger Kamoro that they raised during our discussion.

The ignorance about involving the younger Kamoro in such HIV prevention programs was also apparent in my interview with Richardus (5/10/2015) who had even invited some Kamoro youth to join in a program called *Kelompok Peduli Sebaya* or youth care group which is similar to peer education. He indicated a lack of the Kamoro youth involvement in such programs:

Sometime ago, [there were] activities for a group on peer education program, called kelompok peduli sebaya. This group [was created] in the year 2008 and recruited young people to give them information [about HIV/AIDS] so that they could become peer educators. ... this program [was started], but could not sustain it for long because of the conflict. [The organisation] tried to work with the Community Health Centre, but it was not successful...this is because it was difficult to encourage the Kamoro people in Koperapoka to be involved in the program, even though they have little understanding and lack of knowledge, it is hard. I think, first they are pretending they are busy, second, they do not have any leader to encourage them, they are so ignorant (Richardus, October 5, 2015).

Richardus stated that the Kamoro youth are lacking in enthusiasm to take part in such a program, especially those who live around the urban area such as Koperapoka. With his cynical expression he explained that this is because of lack of leadership and role models among the youth. I sensed his cynicism was related to common views of Kamoro men he described where most of them engage with alcohol and were not being positive role models for the younger people. Even though he acknowledged that conflict influenced Kamoro youth (he was referring to a murder in 2008, although he gave no further explanation about the murder), with respect to the sustainability of the HIV program in Koperapoka, he did not discuss how traumatic experiences might affect the youth around Koperapoka and instead blamed their lifestyle as urban people.

Priority given to the places where the AIDS program is delivered was also revealed in this study. The LPMak, as it is mandated, mostly focuses on areas dominated by Indigenous people including the Kamoro. However, an interview with a staff member of the LPMak indicated that due to the lack of resources the health services that are provided are mostly concentrated in several villages that are easily accessible. The LPMak has allocated most of its budget to the *Rumah Sakit Mitra Masyarakat (RSMM)*, the hospital located in Timika, which is less likely to be visited by Kamoro people, especially those who live in the remote areas (Imbiri, 2017). While it is mandated that Kamoro and Amungme are the main beneficiaries of the LPMak's program most of the Kamoro people in the remote areas are unable to visit the RSMM due to lack of transportation.

Unfortunately, the Community Health Centres in the remote areas that are supported by government are not functioning well. The overlapping programs in regards to HIV/AIDS across these three organisations were raised in the discussion with Melkior, an AIDS worker, who believed that the AIDS Commission was supposed to coordinate programs to reduce the overlap. I also noted that there is no coordination among these three organisations which are supposed to be led by the AIDS Commission- Melkior described how the villages which are closest to the town of Timika are the villages that are involved in the LPMak health program:

The program is designed to suit the two communities – Amungme and Kamoro, Thus, the selection of target groups is not based on whether they are near Freeport, but according to where the Amungme and Kamoro live. Although it is obviously not able to cover the two communities entirely, the program is able to cover the villages which have been decided upon by the program management. It is not possible to cover villages such as Jila, Jita, Putowayburu or Uta because they are too far away and there are limited human resources. The villages covered are Amar, Agimuga, Tsinga, Arwanop and Banti (Melkior, October 13, 2015).

The criteria used in the decision for which area to target was made by the manager of LPMak and represents the interests of the organisation not the interests of the Indigenous people even though this organisation is mandated to support the people of Kamoro and Amungme.

The priority target of these three institutions, the LPMK, the YAPEDA and the AIDS Commission does not strategically address the issue of HIV/AIDS among Indigenous West Papuans. Even though not explicitly stated, some assumptions they made showed their orientation and reasons. For example, Melkior stated that the LPMK is not focused on the urban area because other institutions have been working in that location:

They focus on the places which have received no or less attention – they work in those places. Thus, they do not direct their efforts to urban areas, because they are easy to access and have many resources themselves (Melkior, October 13, 2015).

Most of the Indigenous people live in the rural area and they are vulnerable to HIV. Moreover, even though the LPMK program targets the Indigenous people, the focus of their services is the clinical approach such as treatment of AIDS related illness and HIV tests, while the social and cultural aspects that have contributed to the spread of the illness are less likely to be of concern. As an organisation that has direct responsibility to develop the Kamoro people, in formulating HIV policies or health policies among this group, it is crucial that the LPMK acknowledge the social and cultural realities of the Kamoro people. The HIV prevention programs have not addressed the socio cultural constraints that discourage the Indigenous people from being voluntarily involved in HIV testing.

It appears that the YAPEDA and the AIDS Commission programs only replicate the national program without considering the local context, particularly in their priority group of people and the area. In designing HIV prevention programs, the characteristics and patterns of HIV should be taken into account. Butt (2011) also states that “despite the unique status of Papua’s epidemic, HIV interventions in the province follow the same initiatives as the rest of Indonesia” (p. 326). The tendency to replicate the national program and the unwillingness to be more creative in addressing HIV in the context of West Papua might be related to what Munro and McIntyre (2015, p. 167) note is, “Indonesia’s state directive to avoid making HIV political”. Munro and McIntyre (2015) explained that in West Papua,

Health workers, aid agencies, policy makers, administrators even people living with HIV/AIDS, all work within the admonition not to make HIV political exemplified in the words of Nafsiah Mboi, former Minister of Health and Secretary of the National AIDS Commission, (p. 160).

This sentiment was implied by the interviewees from LPMK and the AIDS Commission staff during this study who repeatedly stressed that HIV/AIDS could infect anyone no matter where they come from. Furthermore, Munro and McIntyre (2015, p. 160) quote the statement of Mboi as cited in the Indonesian news agency, Antara News, “if we turn the disease into a political commodity, it will indeed be we ourselves who are killing the people. We have to save the Papua people soon and don’t blame others as we are all responsible for the problem”. Munro and Butt as cited in Munro and McIntyre (2015) argue:

In Papua [West Papua] de-politicised understandings of the HIV epidemic are in favour among government actors who wish to downplay the health consequences of regional militarisation, in-migration of economically dominant ethnic groups from other islands and poverty of indigenous [West] Papuans while silencing indigenous critiques of Indonesian rule (p.159).

This then results in the tendency to emphasise blaming culture. Munro and McIntyre (2015) stress that “Mboi’s comments came in the context of other statements normalising the epidemic as cultural in a place where people always practiced high-risk sex” (p.160).

Additionally, in their study in Manokwari, Munro and McIntyre (2015) consider that the absence of local Indigenous people in HIV services indicated discrimination and also lack of follow-through on international rhetoric on capacity building and local ownership (p. 167). In my research, the lack of coordination and consolidation among these three institutes to initiate the specific approaches in dealing with HIV in West Papua also indicates the weakness of local governance and leadership. The attitudes and mind set of the staff of these three institutions has influenced how they respond to the issues of HIV/AIDS among Indigenous people. The United Nations Economic and Social Council in the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (2006) remind us that in formulating HIV policies for vulnerable societies, including Indigenous people, it is important to acknowledge the social and economic realities at the local level (p.11). This includes acknowledging socio historical experiences and culture. Apart from the targeted area and people, the approaches and methods that have been used in delivering HIV programs have had a negative impact on the achievement of the program.

6.3.2 Approaches and Methods

The tendency to duplicate the national HIV program without considering the local context is reflected in the approaches and methods that have been applied in West Papua. There is a tendency to apply quantitative, instead of qualitative approaches in measuring the achievement of programs. Notwithstanding this commitment, there is a lack of complete and accurate data and information about HIV and ethnicity in Timika, and even West Papua. This might be another issue related to the stated mandate about avoiding making HIV a political issue (Munro & McIntyre 2015; Munro & Butt, 2012) in the current HIV program. Cultural engagement is less likely to be considered, as is indicated in the unwillingness of the HIV prevention program to consider the cultural history of Kamoro people or West Papuans or to understand their sexual culture, instead blaming cultural practices as they have been illustrated in colonial literature and therefore reproducing the images and stereotypes of sexual practices from the past. As a consequence, the personal approaches of some staff or health workers have created stigma and stereotypes that have potentially failed the HIV program.

A young female staff member of an AIDS organisation, in an interview (6/10/2015), stated

that the organisation evaluated its achievements by counting the number of participants recruited in PILA. This might be true in quantitative terms but there is no specific instrument to evaluate the achievements of the program in terms of its qualitative outcome, apart from knowing how many students are involved in the PILA program. The AIDS Commission confirmed that the number of new recruits is used as an indicator of program achievement. In an interview Richardus, stated that the AIDS Commission has targeted a certain number of people to be tested each year:

They should obtain around 900 cases per year from 46,000 people who are tested (Richardus, October 5, 2015).

Richardus emphasised the quantitative target. This was also clearly stated in an interview with Melkior. They usually count the number of condoms provided in a box in the hospital at Timika for a certain period of time. Melkior stated that the number of condoms that had been taken out of the box indicated the program's achievement:

After that [condom promotion] [the organisation] will provide condoms, if anybody wants. But it mostly works in the urban area. For example, if [they] keep boxes of condoms at hospitals from observations, they are mostly taken by the younger people (Melkior, October 13, 2015).

It is implied from this statement that the number of condoms taken indicated the distribution of condoms went well, which means the program is successful. According to Melkior, there is a worker in the hospital who has randomly observed those who took condoms from the box and this staff member also regularly counted the condoms remaining in the box. He further described that young men were most likely to take the condoms, without making any reference to their ethnicity. Ethnicity should be considered in order to know whether condoms are accessed by Amungme and Kamoro. However, Melkior did not know whether the condoms have been used or not, or how, or with whom. Therefore, a further assessment is needed to identify the success of this program.

The number of condoms used is a good measure of progress in promoting safer sex practices but it has to be followed by providing a description of the context behind the number achieved. This is important in improving and planning the HIV prevention program. Moreover, the United Nations Economic and Social Council in their Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (2006) have underlined that "surveillance data is only one small part of the picture. The availability of social research data examining the particular context of risk in communities and the relative effectiveness of a range of HIV interventions is also a crucial part of the planning process" (p. 14).

As I observed during the interviews with the AIDS Commission, YAPEDA and the LPMK, none of them explicitly described their specific cultural approach to the Indigenous people in designing the HIV program, even though they affirmed that some culture related practices contributed to the spread of this illness. The only cultural approach, as claimed by the AIDS Commission staff member that has been used in the health promotion program is language. The respondent stated that *kaderwarga pintar* is an example of cultural engagement in the HIV

prevention program. Those who are hired as facilitators of *kaderwarga pintar* use their own native language to transfer knowledge of HIV to their communities. But a culturally informed approach does not consist of only using the native language as a tool to transfer knowledge from the AIDS Commission to the targeted group, it has to go beyond that and engage Indigenous knowledge and local understanding in order to make sense of the knowledge that has been introduced to the community. It also means that the HIV prevention program must be appropriate to the culture. Moreover, cultural approaches are also needed in order to address some socio cultural constraints in HIV prevention.

Cliff, engaged with HIV issues, acknowledged his approaches have influenced current views on HIV. He asserted that the HIV information materials that state that this illness cannot be treated have impacted on people's views about HIV:

Meanwhile I think, in the past we underlined too much that there is no medication (Cliff, October 6, 2015).

Cliff realised that the messages that were spread previously which stressed that HIV cannot be cured, intended to indicate the importance of adopting safe sex behaviour, but instead created horror within the community. He did not speculate about the effect of this approach, but it might have discouraged people from involvement in voluntary HIV tests, as he implied that changing the underlying material encouraged people to do the test. Cliff then stated that he currently encouraged people, especially those who have contracted HIV, to live a normal life by adopting a healthier life style, such as consuming more nutritious meals, although this view was not found in the written materials regarding HIV that have been distributed in Timika and surrounding villages.

Atalia, who works in the AIDS area, provided a damning account of the withholding of information about HIV/AIDS from the Kamoro people. She outlined her personal approach to the Kamoro people regarding HIV. She observed that previously some of the Kamoro people who had symptoms of AIDS or other STIs tended to go to a shaman and looked for the sorcery healers as they thought that they were sick because of sorcery:

It was around 2008, when I came here I found that their genital organ [male] looked like a cauliflower, and all this area [the participant showed her inside mouth] were white just like ice in the freezer. The doctor did not tell them what happened to their body and they finally went to the shaman and suspected their families and neighbours who have done sorceries to them. I openly told them that they probably had STIs or even AIDS.

The doctor was angry at me and told me that I have no authority to discuss it with them. I argued that why don't we tell them the truth about their situation if we know exactly what it is. I told them [the Kamoro people] that this is because of having sex with more than one partner and this symptom is called AIDS. I asked their parents to provide nutritious food for their children to keep their stamina to be able to live longer. I was ready if they [the Kamoro people] got angry with me. I just can't imagine if they did not know [the truth of their illness]; they continued to spread the disease to others when their spouse died and her/his partner got married to other people (Atalia, October 1, 2015).

She recalls a time, not so long ago, when the Kamoro people did not understand or

recognise the symptoms of AIDS. They mistook symptoms as signs of sorcery. Clearly, HIV has been seen by the health provider agencies as a health problem only, so the approaches to deal with it are only medical and social, cultural and the humanity aspect have been denied. Even though she accentuated the 'bad' behaviour that led to HIV, she tried to be honest with the Kamoro people about their condition on the basis of her humanity.

6.3.3 Human Resources

Human resources, qualification and experiences as well as quantity, comprise another issue that have influenced the HIV program in Timika, not only in terms of the number of programs but also in terms of their competency and effectiveness. Lack of Indigenous staff and health workers who are competent in knowledge and treatment of HIV might contribute to the failure of the HIV program. The majority of staff of the AIDS Commission, YAPEDA and the LPMK, especially in the health departments of these organisations, consist of non-Indigenous people, however, involvement of Indigenous people in these organisations is important in the context of cultural sensitivity. Richardus raised the question of the involvement of Indigenous people in Caritas, an NGO working on HIV issues. In my visit to Caritas, initiated by a participant who was also a gatekeeper, I was introduced to some staff who I noticed were non-Indigenous, who then confirmed that they come from Manado, North Sulawesi and Toraja, South Sulawesi, other regions in the west of Indonesia. In the other institutions, such as YAPEDA, the staff I interviewed were also not West Papuans. When visiting the AIDS Commission, which I visited early in the morning, I found most of the staff who attended a briefing meeting were not West Papuan who I assumed come from Kei Island in Moluccas, Indonesia. Richardus expressed his disappointment at the process of recruiting staff in this NGO:

In this office [AIDS Commission office], a recommendation was given to Caritas to be partners with donor agencies with the hope that the organisation would not recruit staff from outside Timika. However, it is apparent that from the year 2011-2012 until now, non-Papuans are recruited, to work even in such remote and difficult places like Mapurujaya [remote area] (Richardus, October 5, 2015).

It is implied from his statement that employing the local people will maintain the sustainability of the program, even though he did not specify whether the local people he is referring to are Indigenous or non-Indigenous. This would also develop the capacity of the local people. Further, hiring the Indigenous people as health workers for these institutions, even West Papuans from other areas, would build and maintain the trust of the Kamoro people towards the staff. Lack of trust in the health workers contributes to people's unwillingness to participate in HIV testing. This is not only with regards to the HIV test but other health issues as found in Atuka where a participant described that most of the pregnant women in Atuka preferred to be assisted by a Kamoro former midwife when giving birth.

In several interviews participants in Atuka stated that the absence of the health workers in

the village affected the HIV program. Amira, Ori and Ditha who are *kader warga pintar* gave the example of the Javanese nurse who is the coordinator of the *kader warga pintar* program, but was not there for the last three months including when this study was conducted. It was explained to me that this Javanese nurse is hired by the AIDS Commission as coordinator of the *kader warga pintar* in Atuka and is responsible for supervising the local facilitators of this program. But the local government in the district has paid little attention to this program, including the issue of the absence of the nurse. As an official nurse of the district health office of Timika who is assigned to Atuka, this nurse is under district authority. Richardus explained that the head of the district is responsible for this program and for administering and supervising their employees:

It is true that the Puskesmas [government community health centre] is a place for mentoring kader warga pintar and the district government should be fully involved [in mentoring activities]. However, apparently there is a district office but its head and staff members are not seen, or they are not there. As a matter of fact, according to the Regulation No. 20 of 2007 of the Indonesian Home Affairs Ministry, the head of the district is the ex-officio coordinator of the AIDS Commission at the district level. But because they do not fulfil their role, all work related to HIV/AIDS falls on the shoulders of the Puskesmas and its staff (Richardus, October 5, 2015).

However, the presence of the sub-district chief and staff of the sub-district supports the HIV prevention program. Atuka is one village that provided counselling and HIV testing where the sub-district governance is located. It is reasonable to conclude that the district authorities have an impact on the HIV prevention program in the village.

Against this backdrop of the limitations and failings of the HIV/AIDS programs for the Kamoro this chapter now turns to the views about health and wellbeing expressed from the Kamoro people's perspective.

6. 4 The Kamoro People's Responses to HIV/AIDS

The attitudes of the Kamoro people and also their experiences of the HIV epidemic offer an interesting and important commentary on how the HIV program is affecting their lives. Many of their responses expressed an effort to confront the stereotype and stigma about the Kamoro people regarding HIV, health and their culture that was originally constructed by the colonisers: Dutch and Indonesian. The health promotion programs have contributed to their views about HIV and AIDS. When asked about this in interviews or group discussions the younger generation mostly repeated their knowledge about how to avoid the spread of this illness based on the understanding of HIV prevention that they have received from the health promotions. This HIV prevention is similar across various institutions and, as mentioned above, reflects the knowledge that is spread globally by the international AIDS organisations. I have defined this as the dominant understanding. However, even though the younger generation are knowledgeable, it is clear that most of them do not practise their knowledge of safer sex behaviour.

6.4.1 Views and Reactions to the HIV Prevention Program

How HIV has been experienced by the Kamoro people reflects the influences of colonialism in all aspects of their life as Indigenous colonised people. The effects of colonialism are apparent in their experiences, attitudes towards the HIV issue, and views about the importance of the HIV issue and in their responses to some discussions about HIV. This is evident in the presence of, and their response to, the dominance of mainstream knowledge of HIV, the stereotype of the spread of HIV among Indigenous people and racial judgments, and the tendency to blame culture through the AIDS program offered by the AIDS Commission that has been funded by international donors, as well as health care services provided by the Indonesian government or by the Freeport Company. I noticed that there are distinctive responses, attitudes and opinions towards HIV among the Kamoro people across generations, geographical landscapes and social engagement. During our encounters I sensed the feelings of fear and denial that were expressed in the ways and gestures of the participants when they illustrated their views of HIV and AIDS. Furthermore, while some Kamoro people consider HIV and AIDS according to the globally dominant understanding of the diseases, others viewed it as a colonisation issue which they explained as an effect of contact with settlers. Few people identified HIV as an outcome of globalisation, as I have suggested previously in my account of migration, pornography and the impact of media that have affected their sexual culture. Further, many of them see HIV and AIDS as unimportant issues compared with economic issues which indicate how their economic and political and social marginalisation impacts on their views about the AIDS issues.

When I raised the issues of HIV in the discussion or interviews in Atuka, most of the participants began with stories of those who died from diagnosed AIDS related conditions. For instance in interviews both Amira, an older Kamoro woman and Ditha, a younger Kamoro woman, recounted their memories about people from Atuka who had died with the symptoms of AIDS. These included a young man who was a nurse and two women who had been assumed to be informal sex workers:

Some people here in Atuka had contracted HIV/AIDS. Yeah it was around the 80s, there were three or four young women who died from this disease. We don't know how they dated [with boyfriends]. They lived in Timika till they got sick. Their bodies were just like only bone covered with skin only. They died there, and then their bodies were sent here to Atuka. Then there was a man, who was a nurse. He had just graduated and had started working for a year at the Regional General Hospital in Timika. He got infected with this disease as well. I think, it was only because he kept changing his partner and had sex with different people (Amira, August 13, 2015).

When I was still a kid, around five years old I heard our sisters from this village died. They lived all their lives in Timika but got this illness just when they got back here. Everyone here knew about that, by seeing their body conditions, their body and face were dark and skinny and looked not so healthy. Thus people knew that they were infected with this disease [AIDS]. Perhaps when they lived in Timika, they had sex with different people and did not use a condom. They previously had relationships with other men, who probably got infected; then they [the women] changed partners again, and they continued to do so until at the end, they themselves got infected with AIDS. Here currently some people have got syphilis but

the nurses usually keep it to themselves and give them treatment and medications (Ditha, August 15, 2015).

These statements indicated that even though they could not remember the exact time of the deaths, they kept their memories of the physical appearance of the bodies which were sent to Atuka to be buried. Ditha, who was around 25 years old when this study was conducted, described to me that she was around five years old when the bodies of these two Atuka women arrived in Atuka. Therefore, based on her description, I assume it occurred in 1995. Moreover, even though Amira and Ditha were not sure about how these deceased people contracted this illness, they both claimed that unsafe sexual contact with more than one sex partner contributed to their death. Amira, as well as other villagers at that time, had not identified the appearance of the dead body as symptomatic of AIDS related illness, however she then was able to describe to me that the death was related to AIDS by linking her memory of the body appearance to her knowledge about HIV/AIDS that she later gained as *kader warga pintar*. Amira and Ditha were both field facilitators of *kader warga pintar* in Atuka when this study was conducted: their claims might be based on their knowledge about HIV and the assumption of the characteristics of the epidemic in Timika. It may be true that unsafe sex behaviour caused the people they remember to contract HIV but to me it appears that the participants, particularly Amira tended to blame these people for their 'bad attitudes' without questioning their access to prevention services such as condoms or the medical treatment or even their knowledge about HIV/AIDS. These women's opinions are actually representative of the Indonesian health workers or AIDS Commission staff views about HIV/AIDS which tend to oversimplify and generalise the HIV epidemic and sexual behaviours of Indigenous West Papuans in Timika. Moreover, I noticed their gestures and the tone of their voices, which were low and were not so strong when they discussed the causes of the deaths, indicated that they were not sure about how these people contracted the diseases. On the other hand this low voice also signified shame.

I often sensed fear and denial of the participants when we discussed the issues of HIV/AIDS during this study. Interestingly, I observed that the denial mostly came from the older generation. In Atuka for example there were three men, a younger and two older men, and also an elder woman who, in interviews, repeatedly stated that there is no AIDS in Atuka. The statements of Sobri, an older Kamoro man, are revealing. He believed that health promotion and traditional treatments have reduced the cases of AIDS which can be seen in fewer deaths:

So, each month there is a health promotion visit to provide information about HIV and its [medical] treatment. We have already tried various local [traditional] treatments and now it seems there is no more HIV in our villages. In other words, this disease has been reduced in our villages. There are no more deaths [from AIDS] here. There are no deaths in the village, rather people die from AIDS in the cities because of the female sex workers there (Sobri, August 14, 2015).

Sobri associated HIV/AIDS with the sex workers in the town of Timika. Similarly, Amira, an elder woman in Atuka, one of the *kader warga pintar* who is a former nurse, argued that all people

in Atuka are healthy. She frequently assists women in Atuka when they give birth:

No, we don't have this illness [AIDS] anymore, men, women, young and old, all are healthy (Amira, August 13, 2015).

Ori, an older Kamoro man in Atuka who is also *kader warga pintar* claimed that the number of deaths in Atuka due to AIDS has fallen. He argued that this is because of the work of *kader warga pintar* and local health workers:

Now, the number of deaths [from AIDS] in Atuka is much less because we as kader warga pintar or local health workers have given information and discussed the issue of HIV/AIDS. Many health promotion campaigns have been conducted; thus the community understands and don't indulge in activities anymore [unsafe sex], therefore, the number of deaths is much fewer (Ori, August 11, 2015).

Further, Adolf, a younger man who represented the younger generation as *kader warga pintar* in Atuka stated that those who died with an AIDS diagnosis were not found in Atuka anymore as they had already passed away. He further claimed that they got infected while they were in Timika:

As for this place, no one is sick, but the sick came from outside, from Timika and they are already dead (Adolf, August 13, 2015).

These statements indicate there is misunderstanding about HIV/AIDS. The respondents' statements imply that when those who had illnesses related to AIDS died, it meant the disease was over. They also revealed that HIV/AIDS is seen as an 'urban disease' associated with migrant sex workers who mostly live in the town of Timika. There was a tendency to ignore the fact that Atuka women could also be sex workers: they knew that some local women were sex workers but they did not acknowledge this. For example, an old man, Ori, stated that the attitude of these Atuka women was the 'naughtiness of young people', while Amira and Ditha contended that courtship behaviour looks like this. These responses illustrated moral values and the issues of HIV/AIDS and implies strongly that sex work is commonly unacceptable in society in West Papua including in Kamoro.

These participants are mostly *kader warga pintar* who are knowledgeable about HIV/AIDS, however, their responses also indicated denial probably provoked by gossip or the horror around AIDS that was widespread in media or spread by other people or family in Timika. The denial of HIV and AIDS, particularly among the older generation, also related to the stereotypes of Atuka shaped since the Dutch period. In a discussion with a Javanese former teacher in Atuka (15/8/2015), he described that in the Dutch period Atuka was known as 'home of diseases' and 'village of thieves' although he did not explain more about the kind of diseases. He is married to a daughter of the first Catechist from Kei Island who had been hired by the Catholic mission to work in Atuka. In his retirement he still visits Atuka regularly as he owns a house there and his son owns a business. I believe that the denial among the older generation indicates the shame related to the

past stereotype.

This indicates that not only is there stigma related to HIV and AIDS existing among the Kamoro people but also that stereotypes related to health in general among the Kamoro people have been shaped by the Dutch. This stigma and the stereotypes have been internalised by the Kamoro people and have affected their response to the HIV prevention program today; this story is reproduced and socialised across generations in Atuka as 'bad' or even 'sad' memories. This story may also impact on HIV prevention programs in contemporary Kamoro society.

Even though Atuka participants acknowledge the historical experiences of the AIDS diagnosed death of the Atuka people, most of their comments indicated the fear which I assume is their response to the horror of AIDS. I observed during the data collection that they tend to reject the fact that some Atuka villagers might have contracted HIV and currently have symptoms of AIDS-related illness. The United Nations Economic and Social Council in the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (2006) stated that "efforts to encourage voluntary HIV testing and acknowledgement of HIV risks, for example, are unlikely to succeed if steps are not taken at the same time to protect already stigmatized Indigenous populations from further discrimination" (p.13). It is further explained in a paper presented to the forum that if the Indigenous people have already suffered stigma, they are less likely to acknowledge the risk of HIV (p.10).

Conversely, interviews with two Kamoro nurses in Atuka (14/8/2015 and 18/8/2015) confirmed that there had been some STIs tests conducted in Atuka only a couple of months before I was there but they were not sure about the number as all the data were stored and have been kept by the Javanese nurse who had been absent from the village for almost three months when this study was conducted. They stated, however, that the rate of STIs, particularly syphilis, was high among youth in Atuka. Without mentioning the time precisely, the two Kamoro nurses also argued that based on their observation, around 20 people in Atuka had died from AIDS-related causes and about ten people are still living with indications of AIDS. This includes the spouses and children of women and men who had died with AIDS symptoms.

The image of 'the horror' of AIDS among the Kamoro people is formed not only by their own observations but by the knowledge of HIV and AIDS that they have received from the HIV prevention campaigns conducted by the AIDS Commission of Timika, NGO health providers or Freeport's community health services. For instance, Nia, a younger Kamoro woman in Kaugapu, illustrated her feelings about some of the AIDS materials in a health promotion. When we discussed the information that she received, she explained her impression of some pictures of the people with AIDS that were shown in a health promotion conducted by the district health office:

I participated and so did others, Nurses came from the District General Hospital and Primary Health Centre and gave us information about HIV/AIDS. But I have forgotten all the information [participant laughed]. I only remember pictures of sick people shown to us. They [people in the pictures] were skinny and had sores on their skin. I felt unpleasant and scared when I saw those pictures [the respondent laughed]. It was in the village hall meeting, when some of the health workers spoke, some brought materials and some others distributed condoms. There were elderly people, young persons, and unmarried women attending the meeting. They spoke in Bahasa Indonesia (Nia, September 23, 2015).

This statement indicates that health promotion and information about HIV probably impacted less on her knowledge, instead it created horror. This is related to the methods used in the health promotion or AIDS campaigns to deliver information. For example, the language that was used, which was Bahasa Indonesia, might have failed in delivering information apart from the pictures of sick people as illustrated by Nia. Sera, an older woman from Kaugapu identified her experiences regarding the health promotion as well. She underlined that such information about there being no medication for HIV or AIDS which therefore cannot be treated, formed anxiety among the Kamoro people:

Mama [mum] has forgotten when they came but we all gathered at the church. They opened a paper [pamphlet] and stuck it at the front and explained. Young and old people alike gathered at the church and we listened with them. They told us: Don't do this, don't do that [having sex] anymore, there is no medication for HIV. They also told us, do not look at women like this [sex workers] and do not have sex with them. A doctor openly explained to us. The doctor happened to be a long haired – Papuan doctor from Timika. She does not live here (Sera, September 21, 2015).

The horror about AIDS discouraged people from being involved in HIV tests as they might have thought it would be better for them not to know their HIV status and die peacefully. In a discussion, Ori an older man in Atuka, stated that some might have thought that if they did the HIV test they would be scared if they found out that they were HIV positive. Most of the information about this contagious illness, accentuated by association with unsafe sexual behaviour, discouraged men from doing the HIV test. It is also indicated that stigma related to AIDS remains strong in society. The two Kamoro nurses in Atuka identified that the awareness among Atuka people about being tested voluntarily is low. Most of the villagers usually run away from the village and stay at the beach or forest when they are informed that HIV tests will be conducted in the village.

Adolf, a younger man in Atuka who is a *kader warga pintar*, argued that the fear of the loss of confidentiality also contributed to the refusal of some people to be voluntarily tested:

This [concerns about confidentiality] discourages them [Atuka people] from being tested. In fact, I told them if their blood was tested and found to be HIV positive, the health worker would let them know of this but would keep the information confidential. If they are found to be HIV positive, they will be provided with counselling and the health worker will accompany them throughout at the counselling sessions. But the people of the community do not trust the health workers and therefore, do not want to be tested (Adolf, August 13, 2015).

Adolf explained that the reluctance to be involved in HIV testing is associated with the fear

of losing confidentiality which indicates that there is a lack of trust between the Kamoro people and the health workers, who are mostly non-Papuan, regarding the disclosure of their HIV or AIDS status when they decide to be examined, even though Adolf had already explained the counselling procedures of the HIV test to them. Adolf implies that he kept to his understanding about ideal standards regarding counselling where confidentiality is secure. This phenomenon is similar to what Butt (2011) found in Wamena, West Papua. Her article about confidentiality in West Papua concludes that confidentiality about the HIV or AIDS status of patients in Wamena or even West Papua is often not maintained (Butt, 2011, p. 329). Clearly the issue of confidentiality is still a concern that should be dealt with.

HIV/AIDS have also been seen by some young Kamoro men in Koperapoka as 'imported diseases', which originated from outside West Papua. In our discussion they claimed that this communicable sickness is strongly connected to the migrant sex workers who are mostly those who are in brothels or *lokalisasi*. They consider that some of them might have been infected already before arriving in Timika and believe that if the *lokalisasi* did not exist in Timika, HIV would not be found there. However, when I raised the issue of unorganised sex workers around Timika being mostly dominated by the Indigenous West Papuans, they debated whether selling sex among the West Papuans is also influenced by the *lokalisasi* in Timika. Adolf said:

In fact, we, the people of West Papua do not have the disease HIV. This disease is imported from outside, for example through places like Kilo Sepuluh [a localised commercial sex area]. HIV/AIDS is caused by them [commercial sex workers]. This is so because they have sex with many men who keep coming and going, thereby spreading HIV/AIDS. Thus, the disease HIV is not Indigenous to West Papua, but it is here because people have brought it from outside... As regards unorganised female sex workers [perempuan aibon], I have seen this being practised in Java, where they practise this behaviour [of selling sex]. They have brought this practice from Java and spread it among some of the West Papuan women. But this practice is not indigenous to West Papua (Adolf, August 13, 2015).

The young men's response indicated denial to me, and also panic in handling the situation where they are mostly blamed by the health workers who consider that their unsafe sex behaviours are triggering the spread of HIV. This phenomenon is similar to the results of a study among Native Americans who believed that HIV and AIDS are something found in other societies, not in their own (Weaver, 1999, p. 28). Weaver goes on to describe how Indigenous communities are often very protective and caring toward their own people, "yet this protectiveness may result in rejecting a tribal member who is perceived as a threat to the community". In Kamoro society, even West Papua, AIDS has been seen as horror or a death sentence. These images were produced and reproduced through the HIV prevention campaigns by the AIDS program providers. This is articulated in the participants' statements and expressions that indicated separation constituted protection from those who died and those who still live; "we don't have such illness [AIDS] anymore, men, women, younger and older, all are healthy" (Amira from Atuka, interviewed 13/8/2015), "those who are ill were not here, they were out of Atuka" (Adolf from Atuka, interviewed 13/8/2015), "there are no more deaths here. Now the death is not in the village" (Sobri from Atuka,

interviewed 14/8/2015). However, caring was indicated in their responses. When the body of the person who had died from AIDS-related causes was sent back to Atuka, it was received by the society, who paid respect. This also mirrors research among Native Americans, Claymore and Taylor, Crown, et al., (in Weaver, 1999) argued that “some infected tribal members have been welcomed home to their reservation with empathy, whereas others have been rejected and banished” (p.28).

Some people I interviewed attributed HIV directly to colonisation. Sobri, an old Kamoro man from Atuka, declared that colonisation has influenced the migration of people and impacted on the spread of the disease. As he observed, the migration of sex workers into Timika, for example, has spread HIV/AIDS. He even linked it with the settlers since Dutch times:

This is because of Dutch. However, even though the Dutch were colonial they did not bring HIV, not, nothing, they did not bring that disease. This disease just arrived since the Indonesian era, particularly the recent Indonesia. Yes they brought this disease in [into Timika] (Sobri, August 14, 2015).

Sobri tells a story that takes in the whole history of colonialism. Although the Dutch colonial presence in Kamoro had no direct impact on the spread of this infection, the Dutch initiated migration from other parts of Indonesia to Timika. Historically, they also had indirect impact on institutionalised sex workers in Java.

Some of the group of Kamoro women in Atuka and Kaugapu showed a different response concerning the HIV issue. In response to my invitation to a focus group in Kaugapu (19/9/2015) some women declined to come which may have indicated a lack of importance of the HIV issue to them. Instead of attending the meeting that I initiated, they delegated an old woman to pass a message to me. She came to meet me and stated that the rest of them refused to attend the meeting if I discussed health issues:

They [Kamoro women in Kaugapu] told me, mama [this is how West Papuans address older women who are personally close to them], you go and tell her [the researcher] that we do not want to discuss about health issues. That is why we are not coming here [the focus group discussion (Cynthia, September 21, 2015).

An elder Kamoro woman who is also a *kader warga pintar* in Atuka illustrated her similar experiences when she tried to discuss HIV with other women, especially the younger women on several occasions in Atuka:

I usually join the younger people who gather together to share stories or jokes. I tell them ‘you share jokes, but can I discuss something about you?’ ‘Ah, go ahead’ they reply ‘we thought you would discuss something important with us, instead you want to discuss only about HIV. Why?’ I told them, this is also important. This issue is important because you frequently have sex, therefore we must discuss this. When I told them this, they laughed out loud. The ladies got bored with me. But I am never bored to try again, I must talk to them so that they do not get this disease. This disease is not good, there is no cure for this...

However, most of the ladies turned their faces away from me [indicating they are not listening] and just go away with a smile. If I am talking to them standing, they just turn their back to me (Amira, August 13, 2015).

These two experiences suggest that people consider AIDS issues to be not as crucial as those of economics. The ignorance of discussing HIV or unwillingness to engage in a discussion about health issues is strongly related to their belief that HIV and AIDS is not their own problem, but it is other's problem or even not an important issue at the time. They prefer to discuss other important issues such as the economic problems that they are facing in their everyday life.

Even though some of the Kamoro people expressed denial and ignorance of the issues of HIV, other Kamoro people believed that there are some ways to prevent the spread of the disease. Some of these were based on their dominant understanding of HIV/AIDS, others on their cultural understanding.

6.4.2 Ways of Prevention

In our discussions about HIV/AIDS, it was implied that some people are preventing the disease. Some participants argued that in accordance with their dominant understanding about HIV, methods of preventing the disease are abstinence, being faithful and using condoms (the ABC of HIV/AIDS). Interestingly, the participants did not mention education, drugs and circumcision, the other methods of HIV prevention according to HIV prevention protocols. They have remembered only incomplete information about HIV prevention as delivered by the AIDS program providers. Several participants discussed the constraints related to HIV prevention in the Kamoro people. For example, a younger Kamoro woman and a man in Atuka who are *kader warga pintar* described their opinions about HIV prevention. The young woman, Ditha, said that use of a condom is an appropriate preventive method:

The first thing is to use a condom, male condom, women also should use [female] condom. If women do not use condom, then men must use it. It should be like that. Secondly, there is no need to have multiple partners for sex. But, the methods of using male or female condoms have not been explained clearly. I do not have a female condom myself; I have only seen it in pictures. There has been a suggestion for promoting the use of female condoms but mantri [health worker] did not come. Perhaps he can bring female condoms when he next visits (Ditha, August 15, 2015).

Clearly Ditha's views about HIV prevention represent the dominant understanding about HIV prevention – although implementing this understanding was hampered by lack of resources. Female condoms, as Ditha stated, are not available, and rarely promoted, even though information about female condoms is written about in HIV prevention materials. According to Ori and Amira, condoms are provided in Atuka. Ori is responsible for storing the condoms that are distributed by the AIDS Commission and/or other health providers. However, Ditha stated that most of the younger Kamoro men in Atuka, as she found out, do not use condoms in their sexual contact. This phenomenon was also revealed in my discussion with the group of younger men and women in Atuka. Most stated that they had not used condoms in their last sexual contact. Several younger

men specified that they only used condoms in sexual contact with sex workers in the *lokalisasi*.

Several participants interpreted the concept of faithfulness in accordance with Christian values. Others believed that cultural and spiritual practices should be engaged in HIV prevention approaches. A younger Kamoro man underlined faithfulness as one of the ways of preventing HIV/AIDS. He further described that pre-marital sex is prohibited as it contributes to the spread of HIV/AIDS:

Talking about courtship, the courting partners must be faithful to each other. Each should have one partner only – there should not be two or three partners. If they wish to have sex, they must get married first; there should not be sex before marriage (Adolf, August 13, 2015).

This statement demonstrated the dominant understanding about HIV that is mixed-up with Christian values and practices related to sexual behaviour. This might be the result of health workers emphasis on interpretation of Christian values within the HIV prevention method. As illustrated in Adolf's comments, faithfulness has been interpreted as no pre-marital sex. Faithfulness was also indicated in an interview with Mumu, an older Kamoro man in Kaugapu. He stated that faithfulness had been promoted during the AIDS campaigns conducted by the Freeport Company through its program called *Malaria Control*:

I have heard about it as Kris told us that having unsafe sex here and there will get you this disease. The Malkon [Malaria Control of Freeport] people discussed this with us. They showed us some pictures and a movie on a screen (Mumu, September 21, 2015).

The dominant understanding about HIV prevention methods, known as ABC; Abstinence for A, Be faithful for B and C for using Condom, might be appropriate for the Kamoro people, and useful to restrain the spread of infection, however, these methods do not support each other in specific circumstances such as the Atuka phenomenon. The failure of condom use promotion in Atuka is indicated in the increasing numbers of STIs especially among the younger generation which implies that these people do not use condoms even though they are available. This is mostly because of the perceived stigma of condoms. This study found that dominant morals and Christian values stigmatise condom use as it is associated with 'bad' attitudes because it is mostly promoted for use by sex workers. Condom use is also linked to 'sin' and promoted for use with a number of sexual partners. Instead of a highly recommended disease prevention method it therefore carries a stigma. This was also indicated in the interview (13/10/2018) with Melkior, an AIDS worker. In regular screening for STIs they found high rates of syphilis and gonorrhoea among the younger generation. All of the younger Kamoro men in the focus group in Atuka indicated that they are uncomfortable with condoms, although there was some inconsistency and diversity in their interpretation of being faithful, and condom use, according to Christian values. They have an understanding of the usefulness of condoms and they know how to use them properly but are hesitant to ask for condoms as they are worried that they would be considered to be a 'sinner' or feel shame and may be adjudged as 'naughty girls' and/or 'naughty boys'.

The idea of faithfulness was interpreted differently by the older generation who mostly based their understanding on Kamoro cultural traditions of men's responsibility to family and a holistic concept of health. The concept of health expressed emphasised the connectedness of past, present and future. Sobri an older Kamoro man in Atuka described the concept of faithfulness. He stated that faithfulness is not only about personal practices or beliefs to maintain a relationship between a man and woman. Faithfulness should be related to the big goal of all members of a family or clan which is the sustainability of the clan. It has to be connected with past, present and future. In his response to the death of some of the people, he explained that as a Kamoro man, he has to be faithful to his future generations to be able to maintain the continuity of clan or family life by not behaving inappropriately in his life. This means he has to live a good life in accordance to cultural beliefs as he had been socialised by his parents. Sobri repeated what his parents told him when he was young:

'Son you have to keep in mind your goal in life, God, and remember that you will have a wife in the future whom you will have married. Thinking of your future and of your beloved offspring who will be born later in the future. Therefore, do not have sex with other women before or even after your marriage'. That is the advice of my parents which I remember to this day. And that is why up until this time I never got sick (Sobri, August 14, 2015).

Sobri believed that if he fails to maintain faithfulness, he will get sick and therefore will destroy his future generations. Even though he did not specify the kind of illness involved it might be related to reproductive health as his parents reminded him not to have sex before marriage or extra-marital sex. I also noticed this idea in a discussion with Ori, another older Kamoro man in Atuka, on another occasion. He stated that if they have done something wrong or failed to maintain their commitment, including to not have sex affairs out of marriage, they will get sick or be unable to move their body. The faithfulness observed by the older generation, based on a cultural understanding, is stronger than the Christian and/or HIV prevention message of faithfulness which has shaped the beliefs of the younger generation.

The cultural understanding about abstinence was also implied in the interview with an older Kamoro man in Atuka and also the staff of the AIDS Commission. They acknowledge that the Kamoro people in the past had practiced the spacing of births through abstinence. The abstinence used to be until the new born baby was aged around ten months to one year old. This self-discipline was also implemented when the wife was in the last three months of her pregnancy. Although this practice occurred among the older generation it was less likely among the younger generation. Ori explained that the Kamoro people believed that abstinence benefited the health of the baby and the mother:

As long as her womb has not dried yet, it is prohibited to approach her [a wife]; she should be left alone and abstain from having sex with her. Until the new born baby is big enough and is able to sit or crawl [around ten months to one year old], only then the couple can

sleep together [have sex]. But until such time as the baby is still an infant, it sleeps with its mother or grandmother and the husband usually sleeps in a different room sharing it with other children. In the meantime, the newly delivered wife is left alone, and will stay together with some elder women, her mother or mother-in-law. But now-a-days, the couple start having sex one or two weeks after the wife delivers, so that the baby's development is slow and the wife's health is also affected. Thus, the wife becomes pregnant again before the current child is ten months or two years old (Ori, August 8, 2015).

An AIDS worker confirmed these beliefs. He described the Kamoro cultural practices of abstinence among young people in previous times. As he explained, the Kamoro people were not allowed to have sex before they celebrated puberty in an initiation which means before they were mature and skilled enough:

They have their own values that a man should not have sex before he has gone through initiation [known as Karapauw], before he is able to produce sago, and before he is able to hunt a pig (Richardus, October 5, 2015).

Obviously, the Kamoro people have understandings about faithfulness and abstinence according to their cultural beliefs and practices. These views currently only apply to the older not the younger generation and in the discussion with older Kamoro women in Poumako (27/9/2015), they stated that they do have their own way to educate their children in regards to sexuality, even though they acknowledge that globalisation has influenced their children most. Similar views were also indicated in the interview with the Bishop of Timika. Considering culture in HIV prevention might be a useful strategy and should begin with identifying and documenting the positive values of Kamoro culture.

6.5 Summary

The HIV/AIDS issue in Timika is not only a matter of health. This is indicated in various responses towards HIV/AIDS across generations and landscapes. The social status of Indigenous people which was shaped by the impact of colonialism has influenced their vulnerability to HIV yet the AIDS response in Indonesia tends to ignore this. Ignorance and denial regarding HIV/AIDS was indicated in people's interpretation and knowledge about HIV/AIDS, also their attempts to confront misconceptions about the Kamoro people, and their sexuality and cultural practices constructed since Dutch colonial rule. Appropriate approaches in design of HIV prevention are needed to incorporate the historical and cultural context as is recommended in the conclusion of this thesis.

7 CONCLUSION

7.1 Background and Introduction

Keeping memories and sharing stories through generations among Kamoro people is part of resistance to colonialism. This is the strength of Indigenous people; it is not simply keeping memories but maintaining the truth of their life. Maintaining the truth is a resistance strategy to colonial power. I now understand the efforts that my father made in the past to confront the hegemonic power of colonialism, even when I was a little girl, through his stories at the dining table told to maintain the truth about us. This powerful experience encouraged me to not only question the history about us as colonised people written in colonisers' books in the school library but also question the reality. Through my academic journey I have come to understand that challenge to the hegemonic power of colonialism must be undertaken through knowledge production.

Most research about HIV/AIDS in West Papua has applied a quantitative approach to generate knowledge. The methodologies most commonly used in conducting research have given only limited space to the first-hand experience of West Papuans. In this way hegemonic power relations have thus affected how knowledge is used in designing HIV prevention programs in West Papua: those who have money and power control the knowledge. This occurs in West Papua not only in terms of methodology in most research about HIV/AIDS in West Papua but also in defining Kamoro people as 'other' in histories of Kamoro people (Harple, 2005). The starting point for this thesis has been mindfulness about how the dominant system of knowledge and representation has damaged non-western societies. By using postcolonial, Indigenous and feminist perspectives this thesis has examined the issue of HIV/AIDS through an understanding of how historical experiences of colonisation contributed to the norms, values and practices of Indigenous people related to their sexual culture. This study has also investigated how hegemonic culture has affected knowledge production about Indigenous people, their sexuality and HIV/AIDS and has tended to ignore the difference of their life experiences. The importance of acknowledging, recognising, and understanding the past is to determine where and how to go in the right way in the future. This is the main reason why this study takes into account the historical and colonisation experiences of West Papuans.

Focusing on Kamoro people's past and present experiences of colonialism, this study has examined the context and reality of the current situation of HIV/AIDS. The increasing number of HIV/AIDS cases in West Papua, where it is a generalised epidemic, indicates the failure of the prevention programs. The experience of colonialism is important in thinking of possible changes in HIV prevention by offering the opportunity to redefine concepts about sexuality, femininity, masculinity and the values inherent to them. The findings of this thesis are based on the data generated from the Kamoro people and through in-depth interviews, field observations and focus

group discussions. Some non-Papuans participants also contributed to the study. The themes of the research findings have been identified through constructionist and realist thematic analysis as described in the thesis.

Considering the views of Spivak (1998) and critical Indigenous scholars like Chilisa (2012), Smith (2012) and Fredericks (2008) about hegemonic knowledge, this study has drawn from Indigenous research methodologies in negotiation with the research protocols of the University where this research has been undertaken. This research paradigm was chosen as it allows the researcher to take into account the life experiences of historically oppressed people on the assumption that this will contribute to enabling them to heal and to be transformed. At the core of postcolonial Indigenous research methodology is the process of decolonising knowledge which means centralising Indigenous people's concerns and world views and coming to know and understand the theory and research from an Indigenous perspective and for Indigenous purposes. In doing so, as an Indo-Western trained researcher, I have been aware of the need to decolonise my mind which includes being mindful of my position as both an insider and outsider among the Kamoro people. In Indigenising research methodology this study has also considered some concepts and practices based on the Kamoro's ethno philosophy that assisted the researcher to understand the particular phenomenon of the researched people. Even though some of these concepts and practices have faded among today's Kamoro people their spirit lives in the society.

Applying an Indigenous research paradigm has involved reflecting on Spivak's concern about representation (in Campbell, 2011). This study found a lack of self-representation of West Papuans in knowledge production which, following Spivak, I situate as predictable phenomenon within the philosophical tradition that explains and justifies the subjection, dispossession, and exploitation of non-Western society and Indigenous people in particular. The lack of self-representation relates to the poor political representation of West Papuans which relates to politics in Indonesia. Spivak reminds us that representation of the subaltern, in this context West Papuans, is a complex process that cannot be easily accomplished in any straightforward way.

This study broadens and deepens the current focus on HIV/AIDS in West Papua by considering colonialism's impact on epistemology and practice to understand how the colonialist images of West Papuan sexuality shapes the experience of HIV/AIDS. By reflecting on Spivak's account of the postcolonial situation, in particular hegemonic power, representation and the place of the subaltern, this study has delved further into the impact of colonialism on knowledge production, and how the images of West Papuans and their sexuality have been produced and maintained in the accounts of colonial authors, past and present.

Several important findings emerge from this study. Misinterpretation of Kamoro peoples' sexual culture is widespread. Images of Kamoro sexuality are often portrayed inaccurately as

being similar to the cultures of people in southern New Guinea, including the Asmat tribe which practices swapping partners and homosexuality. Kamoro people did not practice partner swapping or homosexuality rituals as thought. Most government officers believe that the spread of this illness in West Papua is strongly related to West Papuan culture and they refer to imagined sexual practices of the past. The older generation of Kamoro spoke to me of sexuality and fertility in the rituals, art, norms and practices of sexual education in the past; these have been progressively erased since the arrival of the Dutch. They are generally not practiced in the contemporary life of the Kamoro people. Even though the older generation and the young generation have not practiced these aspects of culture in their current lives, stories about them have been passed through generations. These are however, often told to remind their offspring about the danger of continuing these practices or rituals in the face of their criminalisation. 'Civilisation' and modernity have been promoted by both the Dutch and the Indonesians, emphasising individualism instead of a communal or *taparu* system such as the Kamoro people lived within. This change has reduced social cohesion in the society. The structure of society and landscape has been reformed by introducing kampongs to alter the *taparu* system, re-arranging the kampongs without considering the *taparu*, and encouraging men to be bread winners, replacing women's position as it used to be. Traditional norms that used to regulate relationships, including sexuality, through social institutions, gender roles and responsibilities, which were present in marriage, family, and courtship practices, have also been changed and/or disappeared.

Traditionally, Kamoro people dress their body up with traditional clothing, tattooing, cosmetics or other forms of body painting. This has changed since contact with the outsiders. Clothing as a symbol of 'civilisation' was introduced to the Kamoro people through school uniforms in the Dutch period. In contemporary culture, dress and the presentation of the body are also influenced by moral values which attach primarily to women's bodies. Norms of masculinity and femininity among the older generation are most likely to be based on the traditional framework. Marriage was arranged by parents and family. Standards of masculinity in relation to marriage included the capability to hunt, to build a house, to make a canoe and garden, all to fulfil the needs of their new family. In the contemporary society, courtship as known today by the younger generation, did not exist. Sexual intercourse in the previous era was banned before commencing the marriage ritual. Traditional punishments would be applied for any violation of these rules. However, these traditional punishments were banned as the Dutch and then the Indonesian legal systems were introduced to the Kamoro people. The meaning of sexual intercourse has changed as well. For older generations it related to procreation while among the younger people it is for pleasure. In discussing sex, the older generation are likely to use metaphors or particular terms instead of talking literally as the younger generations do, although the younger generation mostly feel comfortable discussing sex within their peer group.

Sexual culture among the younger generation is significantly influenced by global culture and sexual practices through pornography, media, and interaction with the non-Indigenous settlers' values and practices. The sex industry around the male dominated mining town of Timika is also significant. The prevailing sexual culture is also shaped by Indonesia's national norms about sexuality. These changes are evident among Kamoro in the ideas of beauty and handsomeness, and how both men and women implicitly illustrated their concept of sexual attractiveness. Ideas of beauty and handsomeness differ between the younger and older generations. The idea of beauty and image of women, as defined by the younger generation, is mostly focused on body shape, skin colour and how to dress up the body. Mass media is responsible for reproducing the colonial ideologies of whiteness as the beauty standard. The Indonesian-Malay norm of female beauty is the one mostly advertised in the media. That is, women's bodies, and even being a woman, are conceptualised accordingly to the settlers' culture. Young men use these ideas of beauty as their criteria for choosing their future wife.

These changes in culture have contributed to changes in sexual behaviour. They have granted the Kamoro men privilege as the head of their family, weakened social cohesion and social control, destroyed older forms of sexual expression and sexual education, and damaged traditional frameworks that regulated society in response to sexual violation. Pornography makes sex more visible, especially to young people who are the target group for this product, as does the rise of the sex industry in Timika. But this visibility is not matched by adequate attention to sex education at school and the shifting norms about sexuality among youth have impacted on the Kamoro people's sexual behaviour in contemporary society. As well as poor education, practical efforts which would empower young Kamoro are inadequate. Taboo and stigma around condom use affects access to this means of safer sex practice. This situation becomes worse when alcohol and violence are used by men as tools to control women's sexuality. Violence related to sexuality in this context includes coercive sex, rape and alcohol-induced discouragement towards safer sex practices.

The AIDS response in Timika comprises policies and programs that do not match the context of the Kamoro people, their political history, and culture. Lack of understanding of the impacts of colonisation, and of globalisation in terms of the transfer of ideas about sex and pornography, and of racial judgmental and discriminatory attitudes in delivering the HIV program or policies, have prevented the Kamoro people from being involved in these programs or even having their awareness raised. Their reluctance to be involved voluntarily in HIV testing is influenced by their culture and political history. Culture in this context is that brought by Indonesia settlers. Views about sex among the younger generation, and stigma around condom use, constitute barriers to the younger generation's practice of safe sex and discourage them from taking the HIV test. This study found that colonial understanding of being healthy that demonised Kamoro people, shaped by Dutch ideas, were implicated in the reduced participation of the older generation in HIV testing. Horror about HIV/AIDS as presented in messages in health promotion programs has also

discouraged both younger and older generations from participating in HIV testing. Discussions about health concepts and ideas of being healthy with the Kamoro elders found that some have their own knowledge about these concept and ideas. This study also found that less social control in the society was triggered by the weakness of societal cohesion as impacted by changes in the *taparu* system. This resulted in lack of communal responsibility to educate, look after or even remind the young people about matters related to their sexual behaviours or other social issues. As the society is no longer interconnected as in *taparu*, Kamoro have become more individually focussed than before the *taparu* system was changed.

Finally, this study found that the Kamoro people have conducted self-reflection to evaluate and examine themselves. Scholars believe that self-reflection is one way of healing and transforming the lives of colonised people. Most self-reflection among the Kamoro is undertaken by the older generation, less so by the younger generation. The younger generation identified and reflected themselves through outsiders' perspectives about them. The self-reflection of the older generation included examination of the current situation of discrimination, racial judgments, violence, psychological trauma, economic disadvantage, numbers of deaths among the young Kamoro and poor health conditions. They also reflected on past stories from their parents to assess and understand the absence of norms and values in regulating people's lives. Of particular concern in the context of this study were their reflections on the impact of this weakening of Kamoro cultural norms in relation to the increasing number of migrants, alcohol consumption, pornography, murder and HIV/AIDS. That is, the older generation identified clearly the threats to Kamoro health, safety and survival. Critical self-reflection among the younger generation was impacted by fewer acknowledgements of Indigenous knowledge production. Less attention is given to Indigenous knowledge production in West Papua as an impact of colonialism.

7.2 Implications for Knowledge Production

The characteristics of the HIV epidemic in West Papua including Timika are obviously different from other parts of Indonesia. This study recommends that addressing the HIV/AIDS issue in Timika, or West Papua more broadly, should be undertaken in politically and culturally sensitive ways. Even though the Indonesian state has directed that HIV should not be made into a political issue, in the context of a colonised society it is impossible not to consider it a political matter. The socio cultural and political history that has characterised or contributed to the epidemic of HIV in Timika should be taken into account instead of applying top down programs and approaches that are simply duplicated from other parts of the world. It is vitally important to consider local context and Indigenous people's experiences, knowledge, and perspectives. Articulating Indigenous people's experiences through an Indigenous way of knowing and methods that allow them to articulate themselves in their own way, will limit the tendency to generalise and simplify the issue of HIV/AIDS. Indigenous ways of knowing in this context should consider the impact of colonialism on

knowledge production about Indigenous people. As a disease related to sexual behaviour, the historical context of Indigenous people that links to contemporary sexual behaviour must be fully understood. Researching conceptions of wellbeing, health, illness, sexuality and all aspects of Indigenous people's lives must be based on their own knowledge systems. Therefore, such study in the future should focus on empowering and transforming West Papuans instead of focusing only on the assessment and evaluation of programs of government agencies or donors which are based on strategies that do not work.

Further research is needed to understand the effect of colonialism on Indigenous people, and there is also need to focus on healing from the trauma of colonialism and assist people to reflect on their current situation and move forward for a better future. Encouraging representation of Indigenous people in knowledge production is important. This can be done by reducing political barriers in conducting research and enhancing the participation of Indigenous researchers. Therefore, it is important to develop capacity among West Papuan researchers, create support systems in knowledge production, and legitimate knowledge produced by West Papuan researchers. Providing funds, establishing research centres, and disseminating information and research publications would enable this to occur. All of this needs doing with the spirit of Indigenising knowledge as a political strategy in response to HIV/AIDS. It needs to be done by integrating Indigenous understandings about health and being healthy with global knowledge of HIV/AIDS. Critical Indigenous knowledge should be used as guidance in developing programs and policies in West Papua. The process of decolonising the mind enhances the critical consciousness of West Papuan researchers which prepares the ground for the people to heal from the trauma of being defined through the colonisers' lenses in knowledge production.

7.3 Implications for Policies on HIV/AIDS in West Papua

Decolonising and Indigenising must be implemented, not only in knowledge production but also in HIV prevention policies. The Indigenising process should begin by addressing the misconceptions, stigma and stereotypes of Indigenous people and the judgmental and radicalised assumptions about their past cultural practices. The impact of colonialism on people's health, including its traumatising effects, must be acknowledged in practices as well. Addressing past misinterpretations becomes part of the contemporary healing process. This Indigenising should take place in the institutions that deal with HIV/AIDS through their policies and programs and human resource practices. The program and policies have to be in accordance with Indigenous protocols in AIDS response. All these programs and policies should be designed based on accurate and valid data, therefore research is important in supporting these advancements. Strong political commitment by local government and leadership is vital for the success of all programs. Apart from medical ability, health workers or those who deal with the HIV/AIDS issues must have cultural competency. The cultural competence of the health or AIDS workers is not only about

understanding the culture and treating the beneficiaries of the program and policies with cultural respect, but also with willingness to assist the Indigenous people in the process of decolonising, transformation and empowerment. Consequently, in preparation, those who deal with Indigenous people's health have to prove their competence in culture and Indigenous issues which should also include consideration of racism, human rights and gender issues.

Practical short-term approaches for HIV prevention among Kamoro can be initiated. A first priority must be encouraging safe sex. This can be done by distributing condoms and inspiring people to change their mind set about condom use, including promoting positive images about condoms, and by discussing sex in a responsible way. Condoms should be provided as widely as possible and all potential constraints that contribute to their inaccessibility, including stigma, should be addressed. Second, people, especially the younger generations, should be encouraged to become aware of their reproductive health. This could be initiated by integrated approaches to sex education and reproductive health, gender, and reproductive rights in the school curriculum. 'Integrated' means involving parents and community and considering the *taparu* system to enhance society's cohesion. Third, distribution of pornography and alcohol, especially among the younger generation, needs to be regulated. This requires strong commitment by the authorities and the total support of society. The issue of porn should also be part of sex education by discussing how it influences young people's ideas about sex. Education about alcohol consumption for the younger generation should be part of life skills education in school as well. It is also important to take into account the effort to heal those who are addicted to alcohol. Alcohol is a key factor that propels people to have unsafe sexual relationships and also leads to sexual violence. The younger generation who are exposed to pornography are most likely to engage in early age sexual relationships consequently providing facilities for social activities out of school that the younger people can use during their spare time is recommended.

Responding to the increasing number of people with HIV and AIDS among Indigenous West Papuans requires political commitment from the Indonesian government and the local authority. Decolonising thinking of addressing HIV/AIDS in West Papua is needed. Decolonising in this context means acknowledging the political history of West Papua, recognising the effect of colonialism on West Papuan life, recognising the potential for Indigenous ways to deal with HIV/AIDS and integrating Indigenous knowledge into HIV prevention strategies. This has to be done in two ways, epistemological and practical by acknowledging political history. Indonesia as part of the global society has committed to reducing the number of HIV/AIDS cases. There has to be confidence that Indonesia can achieve this by giving self-determination through rebuilding political trust with West Papuans in all aspects including response to AIDS which can be done by giving greater power to West Papuans to solve their own problems in their own ways, including the responses to AIDS.

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