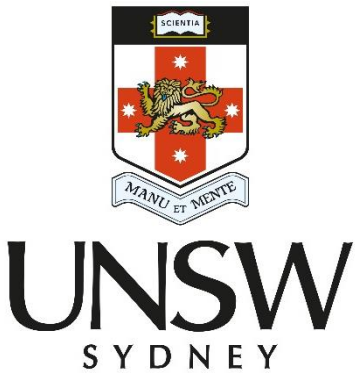
Transculturation and Indigenous Amungme women of Papua, Indonesia

Josina Octovina Wospakrik

A thesis in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy



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This thesis applies the concept of transculturation to show how outside influences are transforming gendered relations and women's roles in an indigenous community. Christianity, capitalism, androcentrism, and feminism have driven processes of acculturation, deculturation and neoculturation in the lives of indigenous Amungme people. Field research was conducted in 2015 among the indigenous Amungme, who live in the Mimika regency of Papua, Indonesia. Interviews were conducted with 60 participants including indigenous Amungme, Papuan feminist activists, church leaders, and government officials. The customary marriage system of indigenous Amungme community was changed by western missionaries who arrived in the highlands of Papua in the 1950s. When the Freeport mining company arrived in the 1970s further changes in gender relations took place. Traditionally, marriage was decided by family negotiations and a bride-price was paid by the groom's family to the bride's family. This tradition has gradually been lost in a process of deculturation. Marriage is now based on individual preference, husbands' obligations are declining as desertion and divorce increasing. Polygamy has been reinvented in ways that leave many women in precarious situations. Indigenous Amungme women perceive these changes as strengthening patriarchal power so they act as feminist agents of transculturation who critique androcentric norms and values. Capitalism offers opportunities for some indigenous Amungme women who adapt to modern dreamworlds through acculturation and engagements with the corporate workplace. In spite of their economic independence, these working women are considered subordinate when it comes to decision making in the household and the community. Interestingly, some indigenous Amungme women are doing the creative work of neoculturation to create a better future for coming generations of indigenous Amungme. They promote modern health practices to make community lives safer and healthier and promote economic transculturation values by encouraging other indigenous Amungme women to sell their arts and crafts.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis is dedicated to the indigenous Amungme people of Timika in the Mimika regency of Papua, Indonesia. It is especially dedicated to the indigenous Amungme women who welcomed me warmly into their community. They deserve my deep gratitude for generously sharing their stories, experiences and views. These were of great value to my research and understanding gender relations in their contemporary lives.

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ABBREVIATIONS

LEMASA	Lembaga Masyarakat Amungme (Amungme Customary Institution)
NMI	Nemangkawi Mining Institute
YAHAMAK	Yayasan Hak Azasi Manusia Amungme dan Kamoro (Amungme Kamoro Human Rights Foundation)

INTRODUCTION

Theoretical justification for the study

Relationships between indigenous women and men are changing significantly as indigenous Amungme women challenge men's authority to define gender relations and their roles both in the family and the wider community. This study seeks to understand gender relations among contemporary indigenous Amungme in the Mimika regency of Papua. I argue that a process of transculturation is occurring within the indigenous Amungme community due to its encounters with modern values brought by Christianity, capitalism, and feminist ideas about women's rights and gender equality. By applying transculturation as a theoretical framework for this study, I offer an alternative perspective for understanding changes in gender relations and roles that are taking place in today's indigenous Amungme community.

The concept of transculturation offers a window on the complexity of socio-cultural and economic change. By drawing on this concept, I examine not only the negative effects that such contact has had on gender relations and women's roles, but also examine how indigenous Amungme women try to adapt to modern values, and how they use these opportunities to create new gender relations and transform their roles within the family and wider community.

Fernando Ortiz, a Cuban sociologist, coined the term *transculturation* in his book *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar* (1995) to "express the different

phases of the process of transition from one culture to another" (p. 102). Transculturation does not involve merely acquiring another culture, or *acculturation*. The concept also maps the process of losing, or uprooting, a previous culture, which could be defined as *deculturation*. In addition, transculturation "carries the idea of the consequent creation of new cultural phenomena, which could be called neoculturation" (Ortiz, 1995, pp. 102-3). For Ortiz, acculturation can only be "used to describe the process of transition from one culture to another culture" (p. 98) and, therefore, it is not suited to explaining the complex cultural change that has taken place in Cuba. Furthermore, Ortiz points out that the term transculturation is used more appropriately to express and understand "the highly varied phenomena that occurs in Cuba as a result of the complexity of cultural transmutation" (p.98).

The concept of transculturation was developed further by Mary Louise Pratt (2008) to examine the processes of intercultural dialogue in a "social space where disparate cultures meet, clash, grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination" (p. 7). Transculturation, according to Pratt, "is a phenomenon of the 'contact zone'" (p.7) in which the term "contact zone" refers to the "space of imperial encounters, the place in which people geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict" (p. 8). The term transculturation is used by ethnographers "to describe how subordinated or marginal groups select and invent from materials transmitted to them by a dominant or metropolitan culture" (Pratt, 2008, p.7). Here, marginal groups will

determine and extend the dominant culture brought by the coloniser and absorb it "into their own, how they use it, and what they make it mean" (Pratt, 2008, p. 7). In this instance, it is clear that the process of transculturation not only creates positive outcomes for indigenous people, including the Amungme, but that it also perpetuates and aggravates gender relations.

Transculturation renders visible the complexity of cultural change. As a theoretical framework in this thesis, it refers to "the process of cultural mixing and the resulting effect" (Millington, 2007, p.258) that occurs in a "contact zone", where peoples separated by geography and history meet (Pratt, 2008). Transculturation helps us to understand "the nature of the processes and products of cultural mixing" (Millington, 2007, p. 258), by which "human beings as the bearers of culture and frequently as the victims of cultural change" (p. 261) create and adapt. "Transculturation goes beyond the mere acquisition of a different culture to embrace other elements" (Millington, 2007, p. 262). Indeed, to understand cultural change, some anthropologists use the term "syncretism" (see Stewart & Shaw, 1994) to describe the synthesis of Christian and indigenous religious cultures and how issues of agency and power play out. Criticisms of syncretism include questions over a disregard of the politics of difference and identity and a primary focus on the imposition of external influence. Thus, syncretism is seen as best applied in circumstances of religious fusion (Milington, 2007) while transculturation is more suited for expressing local interpretations of the complexities of cultural change (see Ortiz, 1995; Clifford, 1997, Millington, 2007).

The concept of transculturation aids us in understanding the situation of and problems faced by women in the Third World. Many postcolonial feminist scholars reject the Western (white) feminist's view of the experience of women's oppression in the Third World. From a postcolonial feminist perspective, the lived experience of women in the Third World is different from that of women in the West. Postcolonial feminists emphasise that "the oppression of women in one part of the world is often affected by what happens in another, and that no woman is free until the conditions of oppression of women are eliminated everywhere" (Bunch, 1993, p. 249, as cited in Tong, 2009, p. 215). For postcolonial feminists, women's issues in the Third World do not relate simply to male (patriarchal) domination, but are also caused by economic exploitation and political oppression as well as limited access to such basic needs as clean water and children's education (Schech & Haggis, 2000, p. 88), which directly affect women's lives. Therefore, they argue that the assumption of women as a universal group that experiences patriarchal intimidation cannot be applied to understand the situation of women in the Third World (Mohanty, 1991; Spivak, 1990). Problems faced by women in the Third World are not merely caused by their gender, but also by other dimensions such as class, race, ethnicity, and sexual preference. Uma Narayan (1997) highlights that "One of the 'dangers' of some forms of Western feminism is a focus on 'women's interests'", and, therefore, she argues that "a serious feminist commitment to attending to dimensions such as class, caste, race, or sexual orientation has to be a commitment to caring about how these factors adversely affect the lives of different groups of men as well as women" (p. 79). According to postcolonial

feminists, "sexual and reproductive freedom should be of no more or less importance to women than economic and political justice" (Tong, 2009, p. 216). Rajeswari Sunder Rajan and You-me Park (2005) argue that "postcolonial feminism cannot be regarded simply as a subset of postcolonial studies, or, alternatively, as another variety of feminism. Rather it is an intervention that is changing the configurations of both postcolonial and feminist studies. Postcolonial feminism is an exploration of the intersections of colonialism and neocolonialism with gender, nation, class, race, and sexualities in the different contexts of women's lives, their subjectivities, work, sexuality and rights" (p. 53).

Postcolonial feminists make differences visible across cultures (Mohanty, 1991; Spivak 1988). With regard to Western feminists' views of women in Third-World countries, Spivak (1990) and Mohanty (1991) insist that Western feminists' assumptions that Third-World women are universally oppressed, uneducated and controlled by men should be challenged. Ethel Crowley, in the article "*Third World Women and the Inadequacies of Western Feminists"* (2014), shows "that the descriptive and normative dimensions of Western feminism are found to be sadly lacking when applied to non-Western societies" (p. 44). For her, the major problem in Western feminism is that it has spent too much time in "'ideological nit-picking' rather than formulating strategies 'to redress the problems they highlight'" (p. 44). Therefore, Crowley notes that "'Freedom' certainly does not mean the same thing to all the women of the world" (p. 47).

Departing from challenges generated by postcolonial feminists for Western feminists, I use *transculturation* as a conceptual tool to analyse and understand the complexity of women's issues during cultural transitions in

developing countries, including the indigenous Amungme. Transculturation is an important concept that is useful for understanding the rapidly changing, intersectional nature of gender relations and the roles of women and men in the contemporary indigenous Amungme community. Using the notion of transculturation to frame gender relations and women's roles within this community, this study examines transformational encounters such as the arrival of Christian missionaries, the presence of industrial mining, and capitalism, as well as modern concepts such as feminism, and how they influence traditional gender relations. This study also demonstrates how gender relations and roles are negotiated, contested and invented as men and women renegotiate roles in their contemporary lives.

Research aim and objectives

The aim of this study is to examine how contacts with new values influences gender relations and women's roles among contemporary indigenous Amungme community. The objectives of this thesis are as follows:

1. To analyse the dynamic of the shifting of gender relations in marriage and divorce as the result of contact with Christianity, feminism, and capitalism;
2. To examine how indigenous Amungme women find possibilities offered by markets and work to meet their family and individual needs, and negative challenges faced by indigenous Amungme due to development capitalism;

3. To explore how gendered roles in the home and in the workplace are performed, contested, and resisted by women as they draw resources from feminism and economic development;
4. To describe how indigenous Amungme women act as agents of transculturation within their community.

Setting the scene

Indigenous Amungme live in the western highlands of the Mimika regency of Papua province, Indonesia, where the capital city is Timika. Today, the population in Timika is relatively heterogeneous, including immigrants from other regions of Papua and other parts of the Indonesian archipelago. It is estimated that the average population growth rate is 1.19% a year (Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Mimika, 2016). This high population growth is due to the fact that Timika is the centre of economic activity, education and government in the Mimika regency. Mining company Freeport-McMoRan attracts temporary migrants and settlers from both the Indonesian archipelago and abroad. These migrants come seeking work in the mining industry, civil service or other economic activities (Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Mimika, 2016).

The Nemangkawi Mountain, an ancestral place for Amungme, is believed to be the most sacred location. As a source of spiritual inspiration and a symbol of the indigenous Amungme identity, entrance to the area is traditionally prohibited (Walton, 2004; Haluk, 2014, p. xvii). However, because the area contains great natural resources such as gold, copper and sulphur, foreign mining

experts were attracted to explore the mountain. Such exploration was the beginning of violation against this “sacred” place (Douglas, 1978).

In 1936, Jean-Jacques Dozy, a Dutch mining engineer, discovered the Grasberg/ Ertsberg mineral deposit. World War II deterred any follow-up of this discovery, so knowledge of it was stored in the Leiden University library. In 1959, Forbes Wilson, a mining engineer from Freeport Sulphur Company in Louisiana-United States of America, discovered the report while conducting research at the library. In 1960, an expedition led by Forbes Wilson rediscovered the Grasberg/Ertsberg mineral deposit. In April 1967, Freeport signed a Contract of Work (CoW) with the Indonesian government to explore and exploit these natural resources (Mealey, 1996; Hill, 2000, p. 179; Leith, 2003, p.13). Since then, the mountain has been severely damaged by blasting for minerals and metals. Clean river water has been polluted. Fertile soil has been contaminated by mining waste, forcing people to seek new land for gardening further from their homes (Amiruddin & Soares, 2003). The Freeport Mining Company has also established infrastructure such as office buildings and housing for its employees, as well as shops, restaurants, a hospital, school buildings, and sporting areas (Amiruddin & de Soares, 2003, p.29; Kafiar, 2013, p. 42).

The presence of this mining company amid the indigenous Amungme society has contributed to transculturation in their lives. Some aspects, such as expanded medical and educational facilities and increased work opportunities, may benefit the local people. However, mining activities have significantly disrupted indigenous Amungme customs and have damaged local ecosystems. Most of the land has been used for public facilities such as markets, shopping

centres, hospitals, offices, schools, and residential buildings. As a result, the Amungme must now seek new land to garden far from their homes, and some must rely on only a small area around their houses because gardening land is sparse.

The main livelihood of indigenous Amungme is small-scale farming (shifting cultivation), raising pigs, and hunting. In the garden, they plant sweet potatoes, the staple food of indigenous Amungme, as well as bananas, pumpkins, and many other kinds of vegetables (see Chapter Two, section, 2.3.1). Raising pigs is part of indigenous Amungme culture. Pigs have a high value among the indigenous Amungme as symbols of a man's wealth and prestige in the community (see e.g. Rapport, 1984; Muller & Omabak, 2008). Traditionally, a man who had many pigs had the opportunity to have many wives. Then, as now, a man's wealth is also determined by his involvement in community affairs, particularly in assisting in the finding of rational resolutions to conflict between parties. Today, a man's wealth in pigs still brings prestige that enables him to play a more important "public" or community role (Mampioper, 2000, pp. 74-74).

In the past, hunting wild animals and birds, clearing the land for cultivation, protecting the family and community from enemies, and conducting tribal wars and rituals were men's responsibilities. Meanwhile, gardening and raising pigs, as well as childcare and gathering and preparing food for the family, were women's responsibilities (Cook, 1995; Beanal, 1997; Mampioper, 2000; Muller & Omabak, 2003). Although women and men performed different roles, with particular roles assigned to men and other roles assigned to women, it can be argued that such traditional gender roles have not been static and dualistic.

Flexibility has existed within these roles: if one party could not carry out a particular role, a party of the other gender would absorb that role. As in the Bun community of East Sepik Province in Papua New Guinea (see McDowell, 1984), indigenous Amungme women and men have also worked together to garden. Men have cut down large trees and cleared areas that would be used for planting crops, while women have planted and weeded crops. Harvesting has usually been a woman's task, but men have also helped if the work has been too heavy for the women. Likewise in childcare, Margaret Mead (1930) noted that in the highlands of New Guinea, although childcare was the responsibility of the wife, the father would take over when the wife was in seclusion, particularly after the birth of the baby. Based on Mead's note, I contend that in the indigenous Amungme community, childcare may also have been taken over by the husband when the wife was absent due to childbirth, illness, or when she has been far from the family. In situations of tribal war, where the community was endangered and the husband was taking part in the war, he would be unable to hunt far from the home as usual. In such circumstances, the wife could undertake small-scale hunting close to home. In such instances, the negotiation and sharing of tasks between husband and wife was not considered to be demeaning (see O'Kelly & Carney, 1986, p. 2).

The dynamics of traditional gender roles among indigenous Amungme women and men are under continual negotiation. Such flexibility in negotiating women's and men's responsibilities shows that traditional gender roles among the indigenous Amungme were based on principles of complementarity (see Strathern, 1988). Studies of the division of labour in subsistence societies have

shown that while women and men have played different roles to meet their families' needs, their tasks have been valued equitably, and in certain situations, one person could take over another's tasks. Thus, the gender division of labour in subsistence societies has been complementary and highly egalitarian (Murdock & Provost, 1973; Murdock, 1949; Brown, 1970; O'Kelly & Carney, 1986). This dynamic of complementarity and shared responsibilities is apparent among indigenous Amungme women and men, with each party playing a role that complements the other. Here, negotiation and shared responsibilities between wife and husband are pivotal in garden work (see Chapter Two, section, 2.3.1). This shows that gender roles are sociocultural constructions which change over time and between contexts (Butler, 2006; Connell, 2002).

Encounters with Christianity sharpened the gender roles of women and men into binary spheres: domestic and public. World historian Peter N. Stearns (2006, pp. 95-99) and Darell. L. Whiteman (1983, pp. 178-179) have discussed how foreign missionaries in Polynesia and Papua New Guinea provided opportunities for men and women, yet we can see in the indigenous Amungme community how such formal education differed for young men and women. Education for boys aimed to prepare them for authoritative roles in the family and to be community leaders, while giving them responsibility to spread religion in the community. Moses Kilangin, for example, a young indigenous Amungme man, received an education from the missionaries to help spread the Gospel among the indigenous Amungme community (Muller & Omaba, 2008, Pp. 86-89).

Women, in contrast, were encouraged to restrict themselves to what missionaries regarded as proper feminine roles, for example, obeying male

authority in the family. As is well known, in many parts of the world missionaries frowned upon women taking responsibility for cultivation (Stearns, 2006; Wiesner-Hanks, 2011). Whiteman (1983) highlights that while in some ways the missionaries offered a new life, even to women, through education, they also treated the community in accordance with Western norms concerning the separation of domestic/private and public spheres. With regard to the ways Western missionaries treated people in Polynesia and Papua New Guinea, Margaret Jolly (1989) writes of how they not only reinforced the gendered boundaries of ancestral religion in the lives of women and men in Vanuatu, "but also introduced a division between public and domestic" (p. 223). This observation resembles what happened to the indigenous Amungme when missionaries arrived in the 1950s in the highlands of Papua. In contrast, however, traditional gender boundaries of the indigenous Amungme were more flexible and evinced greater complementarity.

My own experience, as an indigenous Papuan woman who has worked as a minister in the Christian Evangelical Church of Papua since 2004, informs my interpretations of Christianity, gender relations, and transculturation among the indigenous Amungme people. Donna Haraway (1988), in her article *Situated Knowledges,* states that knowledge is formed by the contexts and situations surrounding a person. The role and position of a person in the society in which he or she lives will contribute to the knowledge of that person on a particular subject. "Situated knowledges" help us to realise that our understanding of a particular subject is not innate, but, rather, the result of experiences we enact, as well as who we meet in our society.

I am an indigenous woman from the small island of Biak, which is one of the 275 ethnic groups in Papua, Indonesia. My father was a teacher and my mother was a housewife. My parents encouraged all of their children, regardless of gender, to gain a higher education. After finishing high school, I moved to Salatiga in Central Java to study theology and to complete a master's degree in sociology of religion at a Christian university. My experience in learning about and adjusting to a different culture, as well as my exposure to feminist writers and theology, enabled me to understand the importance of building gender relations that are based on the principle of equality. Therefore, when I later taught feminist theology, I had the opportunity to encourage students to think about gender equality that is based on a non-androcentric understanding of texts in the Bible. I invited my students to spread the idea of gender equality in their respective environments, with respect to the cultures and communities in which they lived (Haraway, 1988, p. 580). Here, I was aware that the "feminist objective is about limited location and situated knowledge, not about transcendence and splitting of subject and object" (Haraway, 1988, p. 583).

As a researcher who is conducting fieldwork among indigenous Amungme women, I am aware that the women and I have different positionality. I am an indigenous Papuan woman minister with a good education, from a coastal region of Papua; the indigenous Amungme women are highlanders, most of them lacking a good education. While there are some antagonisms among highland and coastal indigenous groups, we share solidarities as ethnic Papuans. In such different positionality, reflexivity becomes essential to the research process. In this sense, reflexivity helps the researcher to take a critical gaze towards his or her

"subjectivity on project research design, data collection, data analysis, and presentation of findings" (Gough, 2003, p.22). This is important because the researcher is an instrument of the research. In this sense, the researcher must produce the condition for intersubjective understanding to facilitate the building of relationships with the participants (Finlay, 2003).

To understand and interpret the lived experiences and stories of indigenous Amungme women, this study uses feminist ethnography as a methodological approach (see Appendix One: Methodology, section C). Feminist ethnography seeks to understand women's experiences from their perspectives. For this purpose, a feminist ethnographer should "place women at centre stage both as key informants – subjects – in the research project and in creating knowledge" (Dyck, 1993, p. 53). Women, as key informants and agents in negotiating knowledge, should be treated in a way that makes them feel comfortable and confident with the research situation, where they are important individuals who contribute to the research. For feminist ethnography, as for feminist research, putting women at the centre indicates that women (informants) also have power in the research process. They have power to decide what they want to share and how they share their lived experiences (Stapele, 2014, p.15). Here, Stapele argues that feminist researchers need to undertake self-reflexivity when conducting research. She explains that "self-reflexivity allows a researcher to avoid the reproduction of such false stereotypes and concomitant dichotomies of the participant's story. It also enables the researcher to debunk self-evident 'truths' that looks for polyvocality and thus makes room for alternative meanings of the stories shared by the participant" (p. 14). In this

thesis, I have sought to identify the religious, ideological, and epistemic dynamics that influence my interpretation so that the participants' voices are preserved. Although I was aware of my social status as a church minister, feminist and intellectual, I did not treat participants as people who knew nothing, but instead considered them as respectable resource-persons: in possession of unique indigenous knowledge and specific experiences of transculturation, and who could offer me valuable information. I therefore paid full attention to what they told me about their life and experience.

From the outset of my research I was aware of being both an outsider (coming from another tribe and region of Papua) and a religious leader (i.e. a church minister). These attributes influenced my point of view and, no doubt, my analysis. However, despite the diversity of Papuan tribes, it must be pointed out that there exists a strong overall Papuan identity. Furthermore, as a church minister, my position was akin to that of ministers who originate from the indigenous Amungme. The fact that women ministers are still rare among the Amungme seems to have advantaged me in terms of the relationships I established with women participants. Such equality between researcher and researched enabled women's voices to be heard in this project.

However, I was also aware that any researcher will be subjective to some degree. As a Papuan feminist woman and Christian theologian, I am no exception. However, I tried to attain a degree of objectivity and bias control in my research. For example, I elected to interview participants from various backgrounds in terms of education, gender, occupation, and place of origin. While they all belonged to the one ethnic community (indigenous Amungme) and lived in the

city of Timika at the time of my fieldwork, the participants originated from different villages. This, I believe, provided not only some objectivity but also bias control. I also tried to avoid religious bias. However, in the absence of other researchers (particularly non-Christians) investigating this area, I have been unable to compare my findings.

In addition, an indication of my efforts to avoid religious bias can be found in the fact that some of the Amungme women who participated in my research had become divorced since moving to Timika. As a Christian minister, I was initially shocked because divorce does not accord with the Christian outlook in Papua. However, when I looked more deeply at the effect of divorce on the participants, I realised they experienced it as liberating. Divorce for indigenous Amungme women in Timika is more a matter of emancipation than a cause of stigmatisation. Participants even viewed divorce as a rejection of male domination rather than a shameful act, which a moralistic view might confer (see chapter one).

Since the focus of feminist ethnography is the lived experience of women, considerations of reflexivity are important for all aspects of the research process. Reflexivity refers to how subjects are affected by the personal and the research process in which the research is conducted (Davis, 1999, pp. 3, 4). Reflexivity requires the researcher to turn the critical gaze inwards. By engaging reflexivity, the researcher commits to introspection regarding their place in the social context of the participants' lives (Finlay, 2003). This highlights the fact that the relationship between researcher and participant is crucial in feminist research. In feminist research, the researcher should minimise power relations between

researcher and participant, as well as positional differences between the two groups that the researcher encounters during fieldwork (Hesse-Biber, 2007; Nazneen & Sultan, 2014). Reflexivity during fieldwork can mute the imbalance of power between researcher and participant. Research processes become more mutual as a result, and relationships with the participants become equal. Nazreen and Sultan (2014) argue that educational background, age, class, and experiences are factors that influence researchers in conducting interviews with participants. Therefore, to minimise power relations between the researcher and the participants, the researcher must navigate around and negotiate her own positionality (e.g. educational background, religious background, cultural background, race, and class) to create shared *positional spaces* with participants (p.3).

Positional spaces refer to "areas where the situated knowledges of both parties in the interview encounter, engender a level of trust and co-operation" (Mullings, 1999, p.340). Positional spaces are used to gain an understanding of the realities of women's lives (Nazneen & Sultan, 2014, p. 3). This is not only important in gaining access to and trust of the participants, but also in reducing discomfort that the participants or the researcher might face due to their different backgrounds.

In the context of my interview encounters with indigenous Amungme, I was aware that my positionality differed from theirs. I come from a coastal town of Papua, have a good education and am a woman minister, as well as a feminist theologian. The indigenous Amungme are highlanders and most of them do not have higher education (as mentioned previously). Some engage in modern jobs,

while others rely on traditional work (gardening and raising pigs). In my first contact with the indigenous Amungme, they saw me as a modern, educated woman, a woman minister who came from a coastal town of Papua. These attributes affected the relationships between indigenous Amungme and me at the start of our interview encounters.

To acknowledge these differences, I did not interview them immediately on first contact. Instead I introduced myself, explained why I had come to meet them, and asked them if they wanted to be involved in my research. Once some had agreed to be interviewed, we worked together to make a schedule for our next meetings. My position as a woman minister had a positive impact on building relations with the indigenous Amungme. They saw me as a person who could help them to solve their problems. Therefore, they felt comfortable sharing their stories and experiences with me while also likely seeing me as a modern, educated woman who was culturally and ethnically different to them. To create *positional space,* the indigenous Amungme women called me "sister"; I called the older women "mother" as a sign of respect. This also helped me to sharpen my interview questions. For instance, although I did not plan to ask questions about divorce and how the indigenous Amungme women had survived male domination, when I interviewed them, I learnt that such issues should be included in my study. This is important because we can see how both independency and bravery of woman play a potential role in deciding what is good and bad for her life in the family or in the community. In other words, she sees herself as somebody who is created by God as equal to man. Therefore, the decision of indigenous Amungme women to divorce their husbands is a form of women's

liberation, an awareness that women and men are both entitled to make decisions in order to live in dignity and freedom.

The stories and experiences of these indigenous women have strengthened my feminist theological view in terms of how gender equality can be created within families and the wider society. From their stories I learnt that to create gender equality I must consider the cultural and social contexts in which women – including indigenous Amungme women – live. Any one context is different from the next, and therefore, theological norms might need adjusting. In the specific transcultural context of indigenous Amungme living in Timika city, divorce from a patriarchal womaniser seems theologically preferable to maintaining the marriage. The fact that some indigenous Amungme women in Timika divorce their husbands demands respect because it is an act of liberation and emancipation. In this way, my feminist theology has been strengthened. It is allied with Haraway's notion of situated knowledge (1988, p. 580), where "the ability partially to translate different knowledges among power-differentiated communities" is what is at stake. For Haraway, "The moral is simple: only partial perspective promises objective vision" (p. 583). Here, I employed Haraway's notion of strong objectivity (1992), in which women's stories and my stories are socially situated. Hence, during conducting interviews with indigenous Amungme women, I was aware that as a feminist researcher and feminist theologian I needed to learn from other women's stories and lived experiences to enrich my knowledge and expand my dream, as a feminist theologian, of creating gender equality within the wider community. Thus, it was important for me to place the indigenous Amungme women as important persons of knowledge

productions. This is evident in the fact that I designed open-ended, non-leading questions in the context of semi-structured interview guides, allowing the participants to share freely their stories and lived experiences. Therefore, in the thesis, I quoted many stories of the participants, showing that they are the ones who produce the knowledge.

During my fieldwork among the indigenous Amungme I told participants why I was there, where I had come from and the story or experience I wanted to hear from them. Such things were important in gaining a sense of whether the participants felt comfortable with my presence and the research I was conducting. Reflexivity helped me to think about how to conduct my fieldwork, and how to interpret its findings.

I employed the research method known as ethno-mimesis, following Maggie O'Neill and Phil Hubbard (2010, p. 47), who write that if "mobility, flux and change are normal conditions of our contemporary world, then issues of *becoming rather than being* appear more in tune with the manifold process by which differences are materialised, embodied and experienced. This does not mean that categories of class, gender, age and so on need to be jettisoned; rather, it is to insist that these are supplemented by notions of emotion, aura, and affect which register how identities become in the midst of relations between self and other". Therefore, my encounter with indigenous Amungme people has strengthened my desire to promote gender equality in the wider community, both within the Amungme community and the Papuan community more widely. In the context of this established research practice, "questions about to what extent participants mirrored" my own situated knowledge do not detract from

the project but rather add further nuance to it. For instance, in Chapter One I presented the story of a divorcee, and in Chapter Four I presented stories from indigenous Amungme women who critique the male domination of women in the hope of promulgating gender equality in their own community. Their stories and lived experiences are important for showing that the desire to be free of male domination and the awareness of gender equality are both increasing among indigenous Amungme women. As a feminist theologian, my feminist approach is clearly indicated by my choice of literature (e.g. Fiorenza, 1984) and the way in which I conducted my interviews. My questions focused mostly on the reality of indigenous Amungme women and the challenges they faced. My feminist way of listening to their narratives gently directed them towards gender criticism. Furthermore, whenever participants raised gender-related subjects during the interviews, I gave ample space to discuss them at greater depth. For example, I had not initially planned to touch upon the topic of divorce, but following indications from the participants I included it in my analysis and consciously avoided a moralistic "churchy" view, instead acknowledging the liberating and emancipatory dimension indicated by the participants themselves.

As an indigenous female minister of the Papuan Evangelical Church in Papua, I found that some male ministers in Papua have continued to emphasise a different status for women and men within marital life. They use Ephesians 5: 23-24 to explain how the relationship between husband and wife should work, with greater emphasis on the different status and roles of wife and husband. For me, as an indigenous female minister, marriage is based on equality, and thus, the relationship between husband and wife ought to demonstrate it in daily life.

Couples should build an inclusive, symmetrical relationship within the family institution. They should, according to this principle, share duties and responsibilities within the family. However, some male ministers still emphasise that the head of the family is the husband, and that the woman, as a wife, should submit to her husband. Regarding the roles of husband and wife, these ministers still differentiate the domestic realm as a female domain and the public realm as a male domain. Although they explain in their preaching that the differences in the status and roles of husband and wife should be implemented in relationships of mutual respect, as can be seen in the relationship between God and humans, they still conclude that husband and wife play different roles and have different levels of authority. In my opinion, this interpretation creates a hierarchical relationship between husband and wife. Therefore, I reject the Biblical interpretation of the husband being head of the family, and the wife submitting to her husband. I also reject the idea that the domestic role is the domain of women and the public sphere is the domain of men, as interpreted by the male ministers. Similarly, I reject the conclusion that husband and wife have predetermined roles, and that the wife has less authority in decision-making situations. For me, the point of the Biblical text is to reflect the relationship between God and human beings, in which the submission of humans to God is seen as a form of human recognition of the sovereignty of God over human beings. Although it is important to me to include these texts because they represent my positionality, I was careful to not ask leading questions that may bias the responses and I did not include any particular questions regarding their Christian convictions.

Explanations regarding the texts have a very strong influence on people's understanding of the relationships between husband and wife in family life. At the end of 2011, I gave a sermon in one of the congregations of Jayapura, the capital of Papua, where I live, about building a good relationship between husband and wife from a Christian perspective. When I was speaking, one woman (a wife) raised her hand and told me that every time she argued with her husband, her husband used the Biblical text to remind her that she had to respect him, as the Bible said. She said that if her husband referenced those texts, she felt sorry and bad. This illustrated the strong influence of the text on people, particularly men, as they sought to exert power as the head of the household to control their wives. While even now the text is often used by husbands, women ministers have been trying to reinterpret it by explaining that the notion behind the text is to explain the relationship between God and humans. Therefore, myself and other women ministers advise our congregations to read these passages completely and in the contexts where they are situated. By doing so, women ministers are acting as transcultural agents, encouraging the re-contextualisation of the Bible in contemporary lives and opening up feminist possibilities.

Similarly, most feminist theologians seek to reinterpret the Bible and thus act as transcultural agents for religious cultures. In this way, feminist theologians highlight the political nature of the patriarchal production of partial perspectives and situated knowledges. They note that the texts of the Bible are androcentric and reflect a patriarchal worldview (Stanton, 2003; Ruether, 2001; Fiorenza, 1984). Texts of the Bible are approached by feminists with a fair degree of suspicion and efforts to avoid biased understandings of these texts. Elizabeth

Cady Stanton, a historical feminist biblical critic, in her book *The Woman's Bible: A Classic Feminist Perspective* (2003), resisted the use of Biblical texts as a weapon that legitimated the oppression of women. According to Stanton, religion, particularly Christianity and its Holy Bible, has been the source of all oppression of women, and therefore she urges cutting the texts that legitimated such oppression. Her purpose was to reconstruct the position of women as portrayed in Christian tradition, particularly Biblical texts: as sinners and as evil. The result was a Christian tradition that denied the role of women in the spread of Christianity (Stanton, 2003).

Rosemary Ruether (1983), a radical feminist theologian, also says the texts of the Bible were shaped by men in a patriarchal culture, so much of their revelatory experiences were interpreted by men from a patriarchal perspective. Ruether (2001, p. 48) points out that "Although the New Testament preserves remnants of this earlier (egalitarian) role of women, the authority of these stories as the basis for gender equality has been erased or marginalised. Instead, the canon is shaped to direct us to read the understanding of the church from texts such as Ephesians 5 and I Timothy. Here the patriarchal hierarchy of men over women is set forth as the model for interpreting the relationship of Christ and the church". In order to achieve the political goal of feminist theology, which is to liberate women from oppression due to religion, biblical scholars have identified two stages of feminist theological work, namely: critique and reconstruction of the texts of the Bible (Young, 2000). Elizabeth S. Fiorenza (1984) notes the importance of a reconstruction of male biases within the Bible through feminist interpretation. She said "Feminist interpretation therefore begins with a

hermeneutic of suspicion that applies to both contemporary androcentric interpretations of the Bible and the biblical texts themselves" (p. x). By doing critique and reconstruction of the texts, the readers, who are church ministers and congregants, will find that the main message of the Bible is to liberate people from domination, including male domination. Therefore, the Bible is not meant to intimidate and oppress women and other vulnerable groups.

The placing of gender relations and the roles of women and men into asymmetrical relations, as taught by the Western missionaries and presented in the Bible, resembles the Western feminists' understanding of separating women's work and men's work into a binary between private and public. As Sherry Ortner explained in her essay *"Is female to male as nature is to culture?"* (1974), cultural constructions of gender have generally worked to the disadvantage of women. Ortner believed universal women's subordination was primarily encouraged by the hierarchical association of women with nature and men with culture. This, in itself, implies that the male domination of culture shows human attempts to control and transcend nature. Ortner also highlighted that this distinction between a feminised nature and masculinised culture was carried over into a binary between the private/domestic domain as a woman's sphere and the public domain as a man's sphere. Yet the question remains as to whether this common feminist model described by Ortner can be applied to understand male/female relations in every single society around the world, including the indigenous Amungme. Here, I argue that the division of gender roles in the indigenous Amungme community should not be understood from the binary perspective of nature and culture. The division of gender roles here should

be understood from the principle of complementarity and co-operation, where women and men had equal responsibility for meeting family needs. Here, the value of women's and men's work was not measured by economic value, but with a greater emphasis on the social value of the roles played by women and men in the family (see O' Brien & Tiffany, 1984; O'Kelly & Carney, 1986; Strathern, 1988).

To support my argument, I refer to a story from an indigenous Amungme woman that shows how gender roles in her community cannot be understood as static and dualistic. Martha, 27, a married woman with two children, had completed high school and was working as an assistant to the regent's wife in Timika regency. Her husband, a Freeport company employee, took two weeks off every month to visit Martha and their children. Martha and her husband decided to buy their own modern house in the town of Timika. Since she was so busy with her work, she invited her younger sister to look after her children when she was fulfilling her duties outside the home as an assistant of the regent's wife. When I arrived at Martha's house, she was feeding her two children while her husband watched the television. Interestingly, when she told her husband the purpose of my arrival – to interview her – he told Martha to meet me while he continued to feed their children. Feeding children is generally regarded as "women's work" in contemporary indigenous Amungme households, but it was clear that the game of gender in this household was open to improvisational play, "with skill, intention, wit, knowledge and intelligence" (Ortner, 1996, p. 12).

When I asked Martha what she thought about gender relations and women's and men's roles in the past among indigenous Amungme, she confidently said that in the past, the task of the husband was to clear land for

gardening, collect firewood for cooking and hunt wild animals for family consumption. The task of a wife was to care for children, plant the cleared garden with sweet potatoes, and prepare the food for the family. In the past, the husband and wife worked together to meet their family's needs, and everything was harmonious. I asked Martha about what she did at home after returning from her work. She said that as a wife and mother, "My responsibility is to look after my children and prepare food for my children and husband." She explained, "though I am busy with my job in assisting the regent's wife, I always try to get home at break time, which is usually from about 12pm to 2pm, and then go back to office. Since my two children are under five years old, I decided to take off weekends to do activities inside the home" (Martha, Interview). However, the influence of capitalism has strengthened the gender roles of women and men into dualistic spheres: domestic and public. As a result, although indigenous Amungme women have opportunities to enter the workplace, they are still expected to be responsible for their domestic roles (details about these issues can be seen in Chapter Three, section 4).

Research rationale

My approach to gender relations among contemporary indigenous Amungme is significant because it addresses a gap in gender literature. It goes beyond the Amungme literature on the impact of mining waste on the environment (Leith, 2003, pp. 155-186; Amiruddin & de Soares, 2003; McKenna, 2015, pp. 162-183), human rights in Mimika regency (Ballard, 2002; Leith, 2003,

pp, 220-247), and broader literature concerned with human rights in West Papua (Osborne, 1985; Rutherford, 2003; Chauvel, 2006; Kirksey, 2012; Hermawan, 2015). Other literature deals with the sociocultural and religious aspects of the indigenous Amungme (Cook, 1995; Nawipa, 1995, Ellenberger, 1996; Mampioper, 2000; Muller & Omabak, 2008). But there has continued to be a critical gap when it comes to the Amungme community and how it interacts with and is affected by outside influences and economic change.

Some literature documents the struggle of a prominent indigenous Amungme woman who fought against two forces: oppression of the Freeport Mining Company, which was guarded by the Indonesian military; and male domination of women within the Amungme community (Giay & Kambay, 2003). The study by Giay and Kambay begins with the life history of "Mama Yosepha Alomang", including her relationship with her husband, and her struggle against the local patriarchal regime that restricts women's involvement in customary institutions that are recognised as exclusively male domains. The following chapters document Mama Yosepha Alomang's activities in resisting the intimidation of Freeport Mining Company and Indonesian military approaches to indigenous people in Timika. The scope of this study is to show how capitalism and the military intimidate indigenous people to exploit their natural resources. Interestingly, the study also shows that the struggle to achieve freedom and dignity within a society is the responsibility of both men and women. In some aspects, my study is an expansion of this literature. However, the previous study did not demonstrate how capitalist enterprise, Christianity, economic development, and feminist ideas have affected gender relations and women's

roles in the indigenous Amungme community. This study addresses such external influences on gender relations here by using transculturation as a theoretical framework for understanding the complexity of the changes taking place in gender relations within today's Amungme community that have not been studied before.

In addition to the studies mentioned, literature exists that addresses socio-cultural changes in West Papua due to contact with outsiders. Leslie Butt and Jenny Munro (2007) describe how the impact of rapid socio-economic changes under a colonial system of Indonesian government "has created novel sexual opportunities for young indigenous women" (p. 585). The influx of Indonesian migrants into the highlands of Papua influenced the young Dani to challenge their traditional sexual moralities (Butt & Munro, 2007). Such changes also influenced their traditional marital and sexual relations, in which young women are no longer willing to be governed by traditional norms that limit their autonomy in choosing a partner (Butt, 2001). In contrast, young educated men still struggle to translate gender ideas of equality in gender relations within family life (Munro, 2017).

Encounters with outsiders do not merely affect traditional marital and sexual relations of indigenous people in West Papua, but also their native language and social relations, as well as their imagination of modernity. Anthropologist Rupert Stasch conducts ethnographic fieldwork in south-eastern Papua, where the Korowai tribe lives. Drawing on his long-term fieldwork with the Korowai, he documents how contact with others has affected their native language and social relations, including how that contact is affecting their

perception of their world (2007, 2014a, 2014c). In the article "Demon Language: The Otherness of Indonesian in a Papuan Community" (2007), Stasch describes how first contact with outsiders influenced the indigenous Korowai language. For the Korowai, the Indonesian language is a demon language, and it represents the authoritarianism of the Indonesian government and military. Even so, the Indonesian language is used increasingly among Korowai in daily conversation. Stasch (2014 c) also shows that contact with tourists, whether Indonesian or foreign, attracts people to modern imaginaries. For the Korowai, engagement with tourists is seen as an opportunity to "gain access to money and modern goods" (p. 84).

The way the Korowai see tourists as representatives of modernity and wealth is similar to the views of the Gimi people in the Maimafu highlands of Papua New Guinea, and the Gebusi, a small group living in a remote administrative centre of Papua New Guinea's Western Province. Paige West (2006) provides a detailed ethnographic examination of socio-cultural changes that have occurred in the Maimufa highlands of Papua New Guinea as a result of the presence of conservation and development projects there. Similarly, Bruce M. Knauft (2002) offers an excellent ethnography about how modern institutions, such as church, school, and government have embraced the Gebusi people as modern. If the Korowai see tourists as symbols of modernity and wealth, and the Gebusi perceive modern institutions as representations of modernity, the Gimi see conservation projects as symbols of capitalism that can open up access to money and modern facilities. Unfortunately, conservation has reinforced the local patriarchal regime among the Gimi by giving the benefits of the projects to some

men while excluding many women. If the Gimi people understand that conservation projects can offer possibilities to engage with modern goods, the Marind people in Merauke see the presence of large-scale plantation projects as a threat. In her article "There Are No Straight Lines in Nature: Making Living Maps in West Papua" (2017), Sophie Chao shows how the presence of a large-scale palm oil plantation disrupted the landscape that sustained the indigenous Marind people in Merauke. For the Marind, human and nonhuman (plants and animals) are entangled. The forest plays an important role in providing food for humans, and therefore humans must respect it. Unfortunately, this relationship was destroyed by the palm oil plantation, and as a result, the forests no longer provide enough food for humans.

While scholars write about the impact of development projects on indigenous peoples, others document the shifting gender relations that are occurring in New Guinea societies due to modernity. Modernity has opened up new opportunities for Papua New Guinean women to engage in the cash economy. Cities or towns are seen as places where they can gain access to modern economies, and, therefore, they move from the village to town to seek opportunities for paid work (Macintyre, 2017). For Papuan women, engaging in a cash economy has become a necessity in helping their children and families gain a better life (Macintyre, 2011). In addition, living in cities or towns provides these women with possibilities for individual autonomy and to create a better future for themselves (Demian, 2017). Engaging with modernity not only opened up opportunities for women, but also affected the traditional marriage system, such

as bride-prices (Jorgensen, 1988; Wardlow, 2002) and, in some situations, triggered an increase in gender-based violence (Eves, 2006).

Building on the broader literature about gender relations in contemporary New Guinea societies, this thesis seeks to understand what gender relations look like for contemporary indigenous Amungme in Mimika. My argument that a process of transculturation is occurring among the Amungme due to encounters with modern values brought by Christianity, capitalism, and the spread of feminism about women's rights and gender equality, is derived from two key questions: How have gender relations and women's roles within indigenous Amungme families and the community changed during contact with the outside world? What are the impacts of the contact on gender relations and women's roles within the indigenous Amungme family and community?

Structure of the thesis

The thesis is divided into six parts, including this introduction. Subsequent to this Introduction, the thesis has four core chapters, followed by a conclusion. Chapter One, "Marriage, Divorce and Neoculturation", examines the shift of gender relations from traditional to modern in the life of contemporary indigenous Amungme, focusing on the changes in the marriage system and in the process of divorce. This chapter also discusses the influence of Christianity and Indonesian norms regarding matrimony and separation. Feminist norms about marriage and their influence on contemporary indigenous Amungme women in

transforming and redefining their status in traditional marital systems are also examined.

Chapter Two, “Modern Dreaming”, discusses the horizons of indigenous Amungme dreamworlds that have shifted as a result of contact with new ideas from Christianity, feminism, and development capitalism. This chapter also explores the process of transculturation in several contact zones: the garden, the marketplace, and the workplace. Indigenous Amungme women and men who are trying to adapt to rapid socio-cultural, economic and political changes face significant challenges, but development capitalism has largely failed to deliver on promises of prosperity and wealth. Although some indigenous women have gained access to modern work, others said their traditional activities such as gardening and raising pigs offer alternative possibilities for meeting the family’s needs.

“Women in the workplace”, Chapter Three, discusses the shifting gender roles of indigenous women as they move from domestic spheres to the office work environment. It argues that the involvement of women in the workplace has not liberated women entirely from their domestic responsibilities. Women continue to see that domestic tasks are their responsibilities. This chapter also discusses how women’s participation in customary institutions has not been entirely recognised by men. Here, I argue that the traditional regime of patriarchy is still strongly upheld by men, and as a consequence, women’s voices are still neglected in decision-making.

Chapter Four, “Caring for Indigenous Futures”, explores how indigenous Amungme women act as agents of transculturation within their own community

in order to foster better ways of life. Here I discuss how indigenous Amungme women take actions to improve the health of indigenous communities by spreading the notion of cleanliness, and maternal and infant health, and how women encourage the locals to use their skills in weaving string bags as income opportunities to meet family needs.

In the Conclusion, I draw on the findings and arguments presented in this thesis to show how gender relations have changed as the indigenous Amungme encountered Christianity, modern institutions and feminism. The limitations of the thesis are explained and I make some recommendations for future research on gender relations and the roles of women and men within the region. In addition, the last section of the conclusion details what this study contributes to the growing body of literature on women's and gender studies.

Appendix I details the methodological approach and processes of conducting fieldwork over six months in Timika in 2015, as well as the strategies used to collect data. This methodological discussion is not included in the body of the thesis as a separate chapter but is attached as Appendix I because it would be a major narrative disruption that would distract from the main theoretical claims and the thematic issues. The narrative flow, and theoretical arguments, are preserved without the disruption that would be generated by cutting and pasting large swaths of text. In addition to the research methodology, Appendix II provides some selected interviews from the 60 that I conducted for this study. These primary materials are in the Papuan dialect of Bahasa Indonesia (*Logat Papua*) and will be useful for those who are interested in contemporary gender issues in West Papua, especially among the indigenous Amungme.

A brief preface to the study

This thesis constitutes an empirical analysis of the processes of transculturation that are taking place in diverse sectors of the indigenous Amungme community. Amungme people have gradually changed their perspective of gender relations during encounters with Christianity, capitalism, and feminist ideas. Men and women are integrating modern values and reworking external value systems on their own terms. Women's involvement in the workplace exemplifies such a change; they recognise that the opportunities to have paid employment in government or the private sector no longer exist for men only. However, economic development does not always make a positive impact on indigenous Amungme (details about issues arising can be seen in Chapter Two). Although there have been opportunities for women to enter the workplace, the involvement of women in decision-making is still limited (see Chapter Three, section 5). Indigenous Amungme women are also aware of their role as carers for indigenous Amungme futures (see Chapter Four).

This study is based on the stories and experiences, as well as personal opinions, of indigenous women and men. The study participants included indigenous Amungme, church leaders, government officials, and Papuan feminist activists.

Encounters with outside influences have multifarious effects on gender relations in marital relationships, and open up opportunities for indigenous Amungme women to negotiate with men, engage with modern workplaces and

redefine their roles within their community. The next section of the thesis analyses the impact of modernity on the married life of indigenous Amungme.

CHAPTER ONE

MARRIAGE, DIVORCE AND NEOCULTURATION

1.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses shifts in the gender relations between indigenous Amungme people – from traditional to modern. Changes have taken place in the Amungme system of marriage, for example, and how marriages break up. The position of indigenous Amungme women amid such cultural change is presented, along with a discussion of the influence of Christian, Indonesian and legal norms. This chapter also considers feminist norms concerning marriage and how such values assist to understand the position of women in contemporary Amungme marriages.

Traditional marriage practices such as polygamy have taken on a new form in the modern era. Previously, marriage involved two clearly defined parties from different Amungme moieties. A bride-price was exchanged, in the form of pigs and other valuable possessions. But contemporary Indonesian marriages often focus on the signing of legal documents in the presence of a government representative. Neoculturation has emerged – the generation of new cultural forms – as a result of contact between Amungme traditional systems and modernity, namely Christianity, Indonesian and legal institutions, feminism and the system of wage labour.

1.2 Marriage, polygamy and divorce

Culturally, traditional Amungme marriages play a crucial role in establishing relationships. Through marriage, relations between two parties are built. The indigenous Amungme embrace the *exogamy-moiety* marriage system under which endogamous marriages, such as cross-cousin and parallel-cousin unions, are strongly prohibited. Such marriages are deemed taboo *(tawari*) under Amungme customary law, and can lead to the murder of the couple. In order to avoid marriages between moieties, it is important that the parents of the girl and boy research the moiety background of each family involved before the marriage takes place. However, marriages between other moieties of the same clan are allowed if the couples are the fourth generation of these moieties (Cook, 1995, p.61; Muller & Omabak, 2008, p. 78; Beanal, 1997, p. 21-23). Few people today have married against this *tawari* (Muller & Omabak, 2008, p. 35; Beanal, 1997, p. 37).

Marriages today do not occur only among indigenous Amungme people but can also involve people from outside the community, whether from other regions of Papua or beyond. Younger generations of the indigenous Amungme are more independent in choosing a marriage partner. This change occurred after the arrival of Western missionaries in Timika in the 1950s. They brought not only the Gospel to the community but also Western ideals relating to love and freedom of choice regarding a future spouse. Muller and Omabak (2008, p. 78) note that while contemporary indigenous Amungme have such freedom to choose a partner in marriage, they still respect prohibitions around moiety incest.

Similar changes have been noted by O'Hanlon (1993) in the Komblo tribe of Papua New Guinea. Since the late 1940s, mixed-marriages between the Komblo and close relatives outside the tribe have taken place, he points out. Komblo men have increasingly preferred to marry girls from areas outside the Wahgi region, such as Enga, the Southern Highlands and Simbu, while some Komblo girls have married wealthy non-Wahgi men who are in waged employment (O'Hanlon, 1993). Such changes began to occur when the Australian administration introduced a cash economy to the Wahgi in the late 1940s, through which young Komblo men gained the opportunity to work on the Highlands Labour Scheme and on patrols. As a result, they no longer depended on old men to pay the bride-price, and nor did they have to work for them in return for the loan of shell ornaments. Such changes also affected young Komblo women, who no longer wanted to be forced by their parents into sister-exchange and other marriage arrangements (O'Hanlon, 1993, p. 32-33).

Leslie Butt and Jenny Munro (2007) illustrate the influence of colonial systems of governance on the sexual behaviour of young Dani women in Wamena, a highland city of the half of New Guinea that is under Indonesian administration, and which is nearest to Timika. They highlight the fact that Dani parents are concerned about changes in the sexual behaviour of young Dani women. These new behaviours have accompanied rapid change under colonial governance and the influx of Indonesian settlers, institutions and values. The parents worry that their traditions, such as bride-price and arranged marriage, have disintegrated as a result of contact.

All of these discussions show that "outside contact" has been accompanied by changes in gender relations, sexual behaviour and partner selection. The dominant role of parents has gradually decreased, and indeed, their role in choosing partners for their children is no longer considered necessary; in fact, it is at times ignored.

Young generations of the indigenous Amungme are also adopting a free choice model for partner selection. Since Freeport Mining Company began to operate in Timika in the 1970s, it has had a tremendous impact on indigenous Amungme life, including marriage systems. The company's presence in Mimika regency has attracted an influx of outsiders to the region. Most of them have come to work as employees of the company or as government workers, or in other jobs such pertaining to economic trade. Meanwhile, the indigenous Amungme were introduced to modern lifestyles through technology such as the internet, television and magazines (see Meiselas, 2003). Such encounters have affected the Amungme marriage system, with young generations identifying the opportunity to choose a young woman or man to marry without parental consent.

The traditional approach to marriage for indigenous Amungme has simple requirements. Apart from research into the background (moiety) of the future bride or groom, the couple must be physically prepared and able to show an ability to carry out traditional tasks as defined by the traditional division of labour (Muller & Omabak, 2008; Beanal, 1997). Since the marriage is part of building a relationship between two clans, a bride-price has been essential as it has sustained those relationships. Here, the family of the groom must give the bride-price to the family of the bride.

This exchange system also involves the bride moving into the household of the groom and principles of reciprocity. Malinowski (1922) details the principle of reciprocity through his description of transactions practised by the Trobriand Islanders of Papua New Guinea. In *Argounauts of the Western Pacific*, he describes the *Kula*, a trading system practised by Trobrianders, who exchanged goods, including food, craft, household items, necklaces and bracelet shells. The purpose of such exchanges was to bind the two parties through the alternating obligations of receiver and giver (Malinowski, 1922). Reciprocity, as Malinowski says, mostly occurs "within a standing partnership, or is associated with definite social ties or coupled with a mutuality in non-economic matters" (Malinowski, 1926, p. 39-40). This system "benefitted both sides equally" (Malinowski, 1926, p.40). Reciprocity creates a "mutual dependence … realised in the equivalent arrangement of reciprocal services" (Malinowski, 1926, p. 55). Thus, the principle of reciprocity requires trust and obligation, as well as responsibility between the groups (Mauss, 1990).

The bride-price within the indigenous Amungme community also functions as a tool to legitimise the marriage, integrate the two parties into one family and establish rapport between the two families. In addition, it acts as a guard to prevent infidelity by the husband or wife (Beanal, 1997; see. e.g. Strathern, 1972). In the past, this payment process always involved the extended families and relatives of the groom. And the receivers of the bride-price did not only comprise the nuclear family of the bride, but also members of her extended family and relatives. Divorce was difficult**,** but in the past it did sometimes occur as a result of an arranged marriage, particularly when the girl's parents had

accepted a request from the boy's parents without consulting their daughter. In such a marriage, the girl sometimes chose to run away from her husband and marry a man of her choosing. The new husband of the young wife was then obliged to kill a pig and give it to the former husband. He also had to return all the property that had been bought by the family of the former husband. If the new husband did not follow this obligation, a tribal war might ensue (Marsh 1995; Mampioper, 2000).

However, if a young husband decided to take another woman, he would be obliged to pay "disgrace money" (literally, *uang malu*) to the former wife. And if the first wife decided to stay with her husband, along with the second wife, then he would not be obliged to pay the disgrace money (Jacoba, Interview). "Disgrace money" payments announced to the families of the wife and husband – and to the whole community – that the wife and husband were no longer bound in marriage. Their relations had ended. After disgrace money was paid, the woman and man no longer had the status of wife and husband. The woman was symbolically returned to her parents, and thus considered single. By changing from wife to single woman, she could marry another man. This tradition is part of the custom of bride-price payments that bind the families of bride and groom. After the union had effectively been dissolved, the wife usually took custody of the children and responsibility for their welfare. The husband usually took some responsibility for ensuring the survival of the children, however, even if he married another woman, since the children were still recognised as his. But this tradition is gradually disappearing and is rarely practised by indigenous Amungme today. Arguably, it gave more benefits to the husband than the wife. As long as the

husband had very strong financial options to pay disgrace money, he could always do the same to his new wife. But the wife would marry another man only if her ex-husband paid disgrace money.

"Disgrace money" is no longer seen as a form of apology for mistakes made by the husband. And today men often leave their wives and take another woman without paying the ex-wife's family. This is one indication that marriage is now seen more as a personal interest than an attribute of the clan, moiety or parents. Perhaps it is no longer viewed as a bridge to build and bind relations between extended families.

In short, customary rules concerning disgrace money to resolve marital problems are rarely enacted today by indigenous Amungme people. This may be evidence of broader shifts within the society, from being predominantly communal to placing greater interest on the individual.

Since the payment of bride-price is essential to the marriage system of the indigenous Amungme, and relates to the prestige of the families of the groom and bride (see. e.g. Strathern, 1972), a man who plans to marry should have enough property to pay the bride-price to the family of the girl he wants to marry. It is therefore difficult for an indigenous Amungme man to practise polygamy unless he is rich (*nagawan*), or a big-man (*meki*), within his community**.** Polygamy among the indigenous Amungme community historically occurred among prominent leaders such as the rich (*nagawan*) and the respected men (*meki*) (Mampioper, 2000, p. 44). It was often motivated by several factors. First, by power, since the leaders could enhance their status within a community by practising polygamy. Second, in relation to offspring, the first wife might have

been barren, so the husband could take a second wife. Third, by economic issues related to labour.

The Mee tribe, another highland people of New Guinea, also practised polygamy. Leopold Pospisil explains that in the Mee tribe (which he calls the "Kapauku"), a man who becomes a big-man (*tonowi*) gains the title through prestige and wealth. In order to keep his wealth, he needs many wives to maintain his gardens and pigs; the wives influence the scope of cultivation and pig raising (Pospisil, 1978). After paying the bride-price, the man regards his wives as a financial investment (Pospisil, 1978; Pospisil, 1972). "Consequently, the economically minded Mee man feels that his investment must be fully exploited by providing the women (wives) with enough work" (Pospisil, 1978, p. 10). However, Pospisil says, "this does not mean assigning her (the wife) certain tasks that she can do independently of the men, this is because in the Mee agriculture the work of the sexes is interdependent" (Pospisil, 1978, p.10).

Polygamy can be seen as a means of oppressing women not only because wives are considered as labourers, but also because the husband treats them as objects to satisfy his sexual desire. As labourers, women are responsible for producing men's wealth. As objects of sexual desire, they are expected to submit their bodies to their husbands for the fulfilment of his sexual needs at the time of his choosing. Polygamy gives space for a man to fulfil his sexual desires with many females, while the wives only have one husband. In a polygamous marriage, the husband can have sexual relations with wives simultaneously, while each wife is expected to have one lover: the husband. The wives have no right to interrupt and limit the husband from sexual relations with another wife. The husband has total

freedom to choose one of the wives for sexual relations, while the wives depend on his willingness for sexual relations with them. Since the wives are bound by the husband's control, they cannot have love affairs with other men. Such power indicates a "double standard" enacted by the polygamous husband to control and limit his wives' sexual desires (Veaux & Rickert, 2014). Polygamy can therefore be seen as a husband's domineering sexual possession of his wives. The wives are considered as investments and assets of the husband in relation to labour, sexual desire and the production of offspring. Women also extend power to men in social spheres. In polygamous practices among indigenous Amungme, male privilege is clearly visible. The husband often uses this privilege to control his wives in an effort to fulfil his goals (Willey, 2016).

Polygamy can be seen as a social construction under which men control and women are controlled. The differences in the position of women and men in polygamous practices can be understood as what Ortner (1996) calls a "serious game":

> "The idea of the 'game' is meant to capture simultaneously the following dimensions: that social life is culturally organised and constructed, in terms of defining categories of actors, rules and goals of the games, and so forth; that social life is precisely social, consisting of webs of relationship and interaction between multiple, shifting interrelated subject positions, none of which can be extracted as autonomous 'agents'; and yet at the same time there is 'agency,' that is, actors play with skill, intention, wit, knowledge, intelligence. The idea that the game is 'serious' is meant to add into the equation the idea that power and inequality pervade the games of life in multiple ways, and that, while there may be playfulness and pleasure in the process, the stakes of these games are often very high" (p.12).

Ortner contends that the notion of a "serious game" helps us to understand gender relations between women and men. In gender relations, there is a tendency to see women as games for men. Men play the game to gain power, authority and lovers (1996, p. 15). Departing from Ortner's explanation, I can say that polygamy is part of the "serious game" and that it is socially and culturally constructed and organised. This game demonstrates men's power over women, and also helps men to maintain power and authority in the broader community. However, although women are under their husband's control in the institution of polygamy, making it difficult for them to act as completely autonomous "agents", they can also play with skill, intention, wit, knowledge and intelligence to counter and criticise their husbands. In short, women have power too, and the ability to escape from the authority and tyranny of their husbands. A woman sometimes chooses to become independent by seeking a divorce. She can then decide what is good for her and her children. Therefore, the position of women in polygamous practices should not be seen only as passive; they should also be seen as active agents who can contest, criticise and shake the establishment of power – as well as the authority and superiority of men – embodied in polygamous practices.

I have noted that bride-price payments function to authorise a marriage, to integrate the families of bride and groom into one family, and to establish rapport between the families, as well as to prevent infidelity. However, bride-price payments also have implications for gender relations. When money is added as a component of the bride-price, due to the scarcity of cowrie shells for instance, the role of the bride-price payment appears to become commercial, its traditional

value often shifting. Payment of the bride-price increases, and therefore, it now seems akin to buying a woman. One respondent said that the bride-price payment, particularly the monetary component, can now exceed 100 million rupiahs (about $10,000), while the number of pigs is three to five. The amount of the bride-price depends on the background of the bride's family. If the bride comes from a prominent family, her bride-price payment can be high – though sometimes the groom's family will pay an even higher bride-price than requested by her family as a matter of pride (Nico, Interview).

Dan Jorgensen (1988) argues that in Telefolmin the advent of the OK Tedi mine and opportunities for young men to work at the company engendered the reorganisation and commoditisation of marriage transactions (p. 60). Previously, bride-wealth payments in this community required at least one string of valuable traditional shells, which was usually accompanied by subsidiary items such as stone adzes, black palm bows and net bags (p. 61). However, such traditional shells have been replaced by money. Jorgensen notes that young men employed at the mine have brought money back to the village and begun substituting it for shells, accounting in part for cash in contemporary bride-price transactions (p. 60). "Cash had begun to enter bride-price transactions, and the scale of these payments was growing at the rate that has a number of local people concerned" (Jorgensen, 1988, p. 60). Such a change in bride-price tradition also occurred in the Huli community, in the highlands of Papua New Guinea. Holly Wardlow (2002) points out that Huli women combat the bride-price tradition by engaging in promiscuity and prostitution. For Huli women, the contemporary bride-price payment means that women are treated like "commodities to be bought and sold

by their families" (p. 143). Therefore, their engagement as "passenger-women" (sex workers) is an expression of their frustration and anger at families who treat them as commodities.

Such change has an impact on the marital relationship. The wife can be transformed into an object, while the husband is the subject who makes the payment. The husband considers that he has spent money, gathered pigs and other traditional items, to pay the bride-price. Consequently, the relationship between husband and wife is premised on subject-object considerations. The husband may therefore see his wife as property; as being under his control and authority. Violence against women is thus normalised, and internal household violence is not necessarily debated by the wife's parents or extended family. Debora, one respondent, agrees with this impact of the bride-price payment on women:

> "In indigenous Amungme culture, when a woman gets married and the bride-price has been fully paid by a man, then the woman belongs to the man and his family. Therefore, whatever the husband does to the wife, the wife's family cannot be involved in solving the problem" (Debora, Interview).

Debora's statement demonstrates the negative impact of bride-price on a married woman's status. After the full payment of the bride-price to the family of the bride, the bride (wife) moves from her father's possession to that of the groom (husband). As a consequence, her parents, as well as her brothers and sisters, do not have the right to complain to the husband if anything happens to their daughter or sister (see Strathern, 1972; see Schoorl, 1993).

Nowadays, the indigenous Amungme still recognise the bride-price as part of their cultural heritage and strongly practise paying the price before the marriage ceremony. Since the bride-price is a custom of the indigenous Amungme, the church in Timika regency, whether Christian Protestant or Catholic, does not see bride-price payment as a custom that is wrong and should be abandoned. Rather, the churches recognise this tradition as part of the cultural heritage of the indigenous Amungme and see that it should be respected and maintained. In fact, when couples are involved in modern work, money is added as a component of the bride-price payment, increasing it. Such a change becomes problematic for the churches. On the one hand, they respect and maintain this custom; on the other, bride-price payments are increasing.

The purposes of marriage, in the eyes of the churches, are happiness and procreation, and the bride-price payment is observed as supplementary because it is the custom of the people. I spoke to two ministers in Timika to understand the churches' views. Herman is not an indigenous Amungme person and has worked as pastor for more than 10 years at the Catholic church in Timika. His congregation comprises indigenous Amungme and other Indonesians. Regarding the tradition of bride-price payments, Herman says:

> "Principally, we (the Catholic Church) respect the bride-price tradition practised by the Amungme. From my point of view, bride-price is the expression of the cultural identity of a tribe. Since the bride-price is a part of cultural identity and dignity of the tribe, then we should respect this tradition. However, I hope that the people do not see the bride-price as a main foundation of the marriage. They should develop the marriage based on love, so that happiness and love will strengthen the marriage" (Herman, Interview).

Herman's statement shows that while the church respects the bride-price payment tradition, as a customary symbol that legitimises Amungme marriage, it sees that the relationship between husband and wife must be built not on the bride-price payment but on love. Herman is making a compromise in relation to the tradition, but he is also insisting on the Catholic view of marriage, in which love is fundamental to the relationship between husband and wife.

Like Herman, Nico, an indigenous Amungme priest, recognises bride-price payment as a cultural Amungme tradition that ought to be maintained. Nico has been a priest in the Christian Protestant church of Timika for more than five years. As with the Catholic Church, congregations of the Christian Protestant church hail from various ethnic groups of Indonesia, as well as the indigenous Amungme community. Nico says:

> "For me, bride-price is our culture. Therefore, we need to maintain this culture. As a minister, I always advise my people that they do not demand groom's families pay too much. This is our culture, so people should respect it. Regarding the amount of the bride-price, it depends on the people" (Nico, Interview).

These two statements confirm that the churches tolerate the bride-price tradition and support the custom. Yet, they also seek to reduce the bride-price quantum by advising their congregants. Here, the two church leaders are doing the work of deculturation around the amount of bride-price demanded by families of the brides. They consider that the payment can affect gender relations in the marriage. Therefore, the churches advise their congregations, during Sunday

services and in pre-marriage counselling with the couple, to build marriages on the basis of love and not on the amount of the bride-price payment. For the churches, relationships between husbands and wives are stronger when based on love. These two intellectuals of the churches are also doing the work of neoculturation among their congregations, particularly the indigenous Amungme. Neoculturation refers to the creation of a new form of marriage that integrates indigenous Amungme traditions with Christianity.

Although the churches support the bride-price payment tradition, they do not recognise polygamy as an ideal Christian marriage. For them, polygamy is an offence to the dignity of marriage because it is impossible for a husband to share his love with his wives in a balanced way. The churches reject polygamy because it could create misery for the first wife/or other wives and her/or their children. For the churches, monogamous marriage is essential to Christianity, and they take a number of approaches to promote monogamy – from conversation with polygamists to preaching in the church. Although Christianity discourages polygamy, the churches in Timika still give opportunities for the children of polygamous men to be baptised, even while prohibiting polygamous men and their wives from taking part in Holy Communion. The latter aims to end the practice of polygamy, which is widespread among indigenous Amungme men. However, the two church leaders recognised that this pressure had not put an end to polygamy. They told me that they were still struggling to end it, saying: "Sometimes we try to ignore it, but it is hard because we know that polygamy is prohibited by Christianity. We can't do anything because it is widespread and has become such a trend among the people" (Herman & Nico, Interviews).

1.3 Amungme women's stories about their marriage

In light of the previous discussion about contemporary indigenous Amungme women and their marriages, this chapter shares their stories of marriage, especially of polygamy and divorce or breaking up. These stories reveal the position of indigenous Amungme women who have previously been seen as controlled by men, and therefore, not autonomous agents. However, women can still be actors, playing the game of marriage with "skill, intention, wit, knowledge and intelligence" to counter and reject male power over them.

Jacoba's story illustrates one woman's position in a polygamous relationship: as an object used by the male to show his power and authority. Polygamy as a "serious game" has placed women socially and culturally under male control. Yet women, as a group under male control, are skilful and informed actors who play the game to confront and resist male power and control. Jacoba is 40 years old and has three daughters. She does not have a permanent job and spends her time as an indigenous Amungme activist feminist, struggling for Papuan human rights as well as women's rights. She received her secondary education in Timika and is skilled in the Indonesian language so always answered my questions carefully. Although she was unable to finish her studies, Jacoba encourages her daughters to get a good education for the sake of their futures. When I asked her about her marital experience, Jacoba took a few minutes to breathe and then answered:

> "I decided to take my three children and move out of our home and go back to my parents when I found out that my husband had gone with another woman. This was my decision that I made 10 years

> ago. I am not a 'loose woman' (*perempuan murahan*), and I deserve dignity (*saya punya harga diri*). When I argued with my husband, because he took another woman, he said that he would provide us with financial support regularly. My husband has a good position in Timika Regency, so he has much money. But in reality, he rarely sends money to me. And now he no longer sends money for us. He only looks after his second wife. I do not care that he has another woman. For me, I do not care if my husband is married to another woman. The important thing is that he should take responsibility to meet the needs of our children. Actually, I can marry another man. But I know that it can create problems between my husband and my family (parents). So, I decided to look after my children. Most Amungme men usually have other women even though they have a wife, and we (women) cannot complain" (Jacoba, Interview).

This excerpt indicates three things. First, in Amungme culture, women are under male control, so it is hard for a woman to resist the decision of her husband to take a second wife. Male promiscuity has roots in the institution of polygamy that is practised by members of the indigenous Amungme community. In the contemporary situation of androcentric transculturation, however, Jacoba's story shows that some women are powerless to argue with their husbands when he has taken another woman. "According to our tradition," Jacoba said, "if a husband has another woman, then he should introduce the woman to his first wife, or existing wives, and ask them to give him permission to marry the woman. The wife/or wives could not refuse the request of the husband because their refusal would be considered as disrespectful to the husband" (Jacoba, Interview).

Second, by saying that "I am not a loose woman, I deserve dignity", we see that Jacoba is countering a culture that usually considers women to be second

class. It also indicates that she wants her husband to know that even though she is a woman, she can care for her daughters without help from her husband. This is why she finally decided to take her children from her husband's house and live with her parents. Although women like Jacoba cannot be seen as completely autonomous "agents", they can yet grow to become assertive and agential actors who challenge hegemonic male transculturation. Jacoba's case shows me that while indigenous Amungme women are perceived as being under male control, particularly in marriage, they are also the stronger party. I think this is one aspect of the strength of indigenous Amungme women, who have also been accustomed to hard-working activities such as gardening and raising pigs outdoors, and serving the husband and looking after children indoors. Hence, although their husbands leave them behind and escape from fatherly responsibilities, indigenous Amungme women survive and solve their problems.

Third, Jacoba knows that, because women hold second-class status in her culture, she must be careful when deciding whether to marry another man. Her decision could be considered disrespectful of her husband and create conflict among their families, even a tribal war. In indigenous Amungme culture, if a wife wants to marry another man because her husband has another woman, she must obtain permission from her husband because her bride-price has already been paid by her first husband's family. In this context, Jacoba sees that the marriage binds relationships between her and her husband's families, creating one family. Her decision against marrying before the relationship with her husband has been settled according to custom indicates that Jacoba respects the institution of marriage and the family relationships built by it. Her position as wife has an

important role in maintaining harmonious relations between two parties, and when there are children, the relations between the two families is even stronger.

As previously mentioned, decisions about who to marry are shifting from being a parental or group interest to being a personal interest. In the past, polygamy was usually exercised by big men and rich men to maintain power in their communities, as well as prosperity, and to bear offspring. However, since indigenous Amungme, especially men, have been engaging in modern work, the practice of polygamy has changed. Many indigenous Amungme men now have the opportunity to work for Freeport Mining Company; some of them work in the local government and other local organisations. Previously, the tasks of indigenous Amungme men centred on hunting and clearing land for their wives to cultivate – tasks that were not rewarded with money. When people became involved in modern work, money became important. It also became the measure of one's prestige. Since the presence of Freeport unleashed an influx of people from other regencies of Papua and other parts of Indonesia on the region, the opportunity to engage with modern work as well as newcomers has changed polygamous practices.

In the past, clear norms made the husband responsible for ensuring the welfare of his wife and children. Therefore, before taking another wife, he would ensure the adequacy of his wealth to guarantee support for his former wives and children as well as his new wife. These considerations are neglected by indigenous Amungme men today. Norms about responsibility have been lost in a process of deculturation. In the contemporary, androcentric transculturation, abandoning wife and children is considered acceptable. With the arrival of the

market economy and Freeport Mining Company, more men (husbands) have found the freedom to marry more than one wife. Interestingly, indigenous Amungme women are also agents of transculturation. They resist men, discursively and materially, because of the injustice created for indigenous Amungme women. Jacoba's story convinced me to find that a woman who is living in a complicated situation will tend to compromise with the power holder – the husband – as a way of maintaining relations with the husband so he will remain responsible for the future of their children. As identified by Eben Kirksey (2002, p. 6), "compromises can open up the field of possibility in a situation of seeming impossibility".

However, the story of another indigenous Amungme woman, Yemima, illustrates that compromises do not always open up the field of possibility. Her story illustrates how women struggle for the basics of life in polygamous situations where they can never be completely autonomous "agents" but are constantly under domineering male control. Yemima, a mother of three children and a village woman who depends financially on her crops, could not finish her primary school studies. Her parents relied on traditional gardening and did not earn enough to support her to complete school. Yemima has poor communication skills and could not always answer my questions as I expected. Her husband left her and the children, but Yemima is a strong woman and remains committed to caring for her children. She does not want to marry again.

"My husband divorced me because he has gone with another woman," Yemima told me. I asked her about finding out that her husband had gone with another woman. "I prefer to be silent, because in the past my husband and his

woman beat me and asked me to go out from our house, while at that time I was pregnant with our third child," she said. I asked about her family's response to the violence perpetrated by her husband. Yemima said her brothers also kept silent because they did not want to involve themselves in her marital problems (Yemima, Interview).

Yemima's story indicates four things. The first is silence. It shows how power, gender relations and class intersect within family and social life. In a society that embraces patriarchy, as the indigenous Amungme culture does, the status of women is recognised as being second class. Sylvia Walby defines patriarchy "as a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women" (Walby, 1991, p.20). Patriarchy is visible in placing the man as head of the household with authority to control his wife and children. A husband's domination of his wife is visible in the concept of patriarchal production, which refers to the undervaluing of women's labour in the household, with housewives regarded as the producing class and husbands as the expropriating class (Walby, 1991). Women (wives), being second class citizens, are under men's control and have less power to argue with their husbands.

Gender relations in patriarchal contexts locate women as objects; they are controlled and exploited by men. Within the institution of marriage, gender relations in such contexts are based on hierarchical relationships. In hierarchical relationships, violence against the wife is seen as a way for the husband to show power over his wife. Yemima's story exhibits the strong influence of patriarchy, where the wife is under the husband's control. Her decision to remain silent and allow her husband to marry another woman displays the gender relationships in

a patriarchal setting: Yemima has a producing class and her husband has an expropriating class.

Yemima's story also demonstrates the powerlessness of women in countering male power. Yemima prefers to stay silent as a way of avoiding further domestic violence against her. As a woman, she has no power to confront her husband. She is aware that her anger towards her husband and her disagreement with him over the other woman could instigate violence towards her as it had done in the past. For this reason, to secure her safety, Yemima regarded silence as the better choice.

In Amungme culture, boys and girls are taught to be different. Boys are educated to be leaders of the family and community. Teaching materials for boys focus more on how to hunt, conduct war or defend the community, how to build a house, and how to clear land for cultivation, as well as conducting community rituals and carrying their meaning. Daughters, meanwhile, are educated to become wives, and accordingly, their educational materials focus on tasks such as tending vegetable gardens, looking after husbands, delivering babies and caring for children, as well as raising pigs (Beanal, 1997; Mampioper, 2000; Muller & Omabak, 2008). Such differences indirectly form the character of boys to become people with power and authority, in their families and the community. Daughters, on the other hand, have been taught from their early years to become good wives, educated in women's tasks by their mothers, aunties and other older women. Gender relations between husband and wife are thereby affected by early education for boys and girls. I believe Yemima's powerlessness to argue with her husband was influenced by such traditional education.

Third, this story suggests that the customary bride-price payment in Amungme marriages contributes to the powerlessness of the wife, as well as her parents and wider family, to intervene when problems arise. That is why Yemima's brothers did not want to get involved in her marital issues, even though they knew her husband and his new girlfriend had beat Yemima. As an object entangled in a marriage based on a bride-price payment, Yemima could not sue her husband. Her brothers were also constrained by the ongoing obligations of competitive interfamilial gifts (see. e.g. Strathern, 1972; Strathern, 1980).

Fourth, Yemima's story exemplifies the dynamics of power within contemporary marriages of the indigenous Amungme people. Since the 1950s, indigenous Amungme have become Christian. Biblical notions of the relationship between wife and husband have had a dramatic impact on their marital lives. Take the notion of the relationship between husband and wife as written in the Bible at Ephesians 5:23-24. It says: "for the husband is the head of the wife, just as Christ is the head of the church, His body, of which He is a saviour. Now as the church submits to Christ, so also wives should submit to their husbands in everything". These verses are not interpreted to explain only the relationship between God and humanity, but they are often also used to emphasise the position of the man as head of the household and the submission of a wife to her husband. Such explanations do not only promote the position of the husband as having authority to control and dominate his wife, but also legitimise and perpetuate male power over women. This posits the relationship of husband and wife as hierarchical. Of course, it would affect the relationship between husband and wife, with the husband positioning himself as leader and the wife as led. As a

result, when the wife critiques her husband, he regards it as a form of rejection and disrespect of male authority and power in the institution of marriage.

Contemporary gender relations within indigenous Amungme families are also shaped by the Indonesian Marriage Law, specifically Article 31 Verse 3, which states: "the husband is the head of the household and the wife is the housewife" (Indonesian Marriage Law No.1, 1974). Departing from the law, it is clear that the husband is recognised as a leader within the family, and therefore has responsibility to maintain and meet the needs of his family**,** as well as be a decision-maker. The law indicates a hierarchy in gender relations within marriages. In relation to Jemima, I would argue that this legal article has reinforced a patriarchal regime that places the man as head of a household and breadwinner for the family. Article 3 Verse 3 of the Marriage Law strengthens this position by stipulating that the court can permit a husband to take another wife or more wives if it is agreed by all parties concerned.

The legal system represents a new culture that has entered the lives of indigenous Amungme people. However, they are still in a process of transculturation. In practice, Article 3 (2) does not apply in Yemima's case because she did not take it to court. This is the main reason for male impunity. Furthermore, I believe that if this new norm did become part of indigenous Amungme culture, Jemima would still not pursue justice in the Indonesian courts because she would find it too hard to articulate her problem in the Indonesian language. It could be argued that this is one reason she decided to remain silent and let her husband marry another woman. I also believe Yemima does not have a fixed income, so she cannot afford to pay a lawyer to help her sue her ex-

husband for financial support. Thus I find that the Indonesian Marriage Law is yet to provide justice for women, especially those who rely heavily on their husband's income. Gender relations described in the Bible and the law implicitly reveal that the husband is head of the household. In practice, the status of husband and wife as reflected in the Bible and the marriage law are taken for granted.

Under indigenous Amungme tradition, a marriage is declared valid when the bride-price is paid by the family of the groom to the family of the bride and her relatives. Most marriages take place without religious or legal recognition, which, in this case, is the State Institution of Marriage. Consequently, polygamy can occur as long as the man has enough money to marry another woman. However, statutory marriage, whether by the state or a religion such as Christianity, recognises only monogamous unions. According to Indonesian Marriage Law, a marriage is considered valid if it has been approved by the religion of the couple and recorded by state administration in the civil register. The purpose of civil registration is to ensure the rights of wife and husband over property and children. The law also provides a guarantee in case one of the parties, whether wife or husband, does not have a permanent job and depends on the other party who has the permanent job. Under legislation, the wife or husband who lacks a permanent job shall have rights to the property, such as the salary, of the husband or wife with the permanent job. Thus, if one member of the couple decides to divorce, or dies, the party who does not work can claim his/her rights to the properties, which in this case are assets such as children, salary, house and others (see Indonesian Marriage Law No. 1, 1974).

Among the indigenous Amungme community, customary law is more important than religious rules and state laws. If the husband leaves with another woman, for instance, the first wife cannot demand that he provide financial support. This is more so if the husband has paid the full bride-price. Consequently, most marital problems, as shared by Yemima and Jacoba, cannot be brought to the District Court (*Pengadilan Negri*), because the marriage has been authorised only by custom and not by the state. Yemima and Jacoba cannot demand that their husbands share property such as their salary with them.

Contemporary indigenous Amungme women live with patriarchal systems that have been shaped by biblical, legal and indigenous norms. The legal and cosmological order strengthens the status of men (husbands) both in the family and the community, and gives men power over women. As head of the household, a man can do anything he wants, regardless of its impact on his wife. If a wife criticises her husband, as in Yemima's case, she dishonours her husband.

In the past, polygamy was only practised by prominent men, but it is now increasingly popular among all indigenous Amungme men (see Muller & Omabak, 2008, p. 142). When I conducted my fieldwork, I had the opportunity to interview an indigenous Amungme polygamist. Markus, 42, a mining worker, has three wives. The first and second wives are indigenous Amungme women; the third wife is Javanese. Markus provides a house for each of his wives. Every month he shares his salary with them to meet his children's needs. Markus said: "As long as I have enough money to meet the needs of my families, I can take several women to be my wives" (Markus, Interview). This statement represents current

polygamy practices among indigenous Amungme men (see also Muller & Omabak, 2008, p. 55).

Engagement with modern work provides opportunities for anyone to live in sufficiency, so people do not need to rely on hunting and gardening. The shift from traditional to modern work is changing lives, which in the past were determined more by common interests than personal motives. In the past, people were not acquainted with money. Now, due to engagement in modern work, money has become important. As a result, personal interest drives relationships and marriages more than in the past. Such a change affects gender relations within marriages. The husband has more power to decide what he wants, including the decision to marry another woman. Until now, indigenous Amungme people recognised that men were head of the household and therefore had responsibility to meet the needs of the family. Consequently, most men are involved in modern work, while most women (wives) stay at home and support their husbands with modern housework as well as traditional subsistence tasks, including gardening and raising pigs. The wealth of a man is no longer measured only by the number of his pigs or the extent of his gardens, but by money too. Therefore, it is not surprising that polygamy, which in the past was only practised by prominent men, can now be practised by any man, as long as he has money.

The stories of Jacoba and Yemima provide evidence of the process of transculturation that indigenous Amungme people are experiencing, specifically with regard to gender relations in marital life. Their stories reveal that encounters with new norms and ideals have caused the deculturation of their traditional marriage system. Nowadays, the function of marriage as building

relationships between two parties is decreasing or being lost. In addition, the increasing opportunities for indigenous Amungme, especially men, to engage in modern work has strengthened androcentric transcultural practices, and as a result, it is difficult for a wife to argue with her husband. Interestingly, in such a situation, women can act as feminist transculturation agents who engage with wit, knowledge and intelligence to criticise male domination. This is examined in the following story.

Fora is an indigenous Amungme woman who has rejected not only domestic tasks that are regarded as women's responsibilities, but also the power of the man to make decisions by separating from her husband. Fora is an activist who works in the Amungme women's organisation in Timika. She is well known as an indigenous Amungme activist who fights for indigenous Amungme women's rights. She also volunteers to work with indigenous Amungme widows. Fora has a son who is about five years old and shared her story about separating from her husband. Physically, her body is slim and not very tall at about 150 centimetres. Her eyes are sharp, giving the impression of a smart, strong woman, and they flash when I ask her about her experience of gender relations in her family. Fora decided to separate from her husband because she did not want to live under pressure. In this regard, Fora said:

> "If we get married, we are very busy. We have to look after our husband and children. It is better not to marry. Life is easier and we can do a lot for our people" (Fora, Interview).

This story leads me to note that Fora is rejecting the domestic tasks that are recognised as women's responsibility at home, and transforming the roles of husband and wife. Fora sees women as being responsible not only for domestic tasks, but also for serving the community. As an indigenous Amungme activist, she considers work with people outside the home as more important than domestic tasks. Her views go contrary to the gendered division of labour represented in indigenous Amungme concepts (as explained in the Introduction of this study).

Fora believes women and men should have equality in marital life, especially in terms of sharing domestic tasks, and that women should be able to enjoy social activities outside the home as much as men, without being preoccupied by domestic tasks. Her decision to separate from her husband stemmed from the notion of personal rights: women should be free to leave marriages to liberate themselves from the oppression of men. Fora sees marriage as an institution in which women are oppressed by men; she therefore says with confidence: "it is better to get divorced because I can work and help my community freely without being burdened by a variety of domestic works" (Fora, Interview). Fora is doing critical work to deconstruct housework as a female, or wifely, duty. Interestingly, she dreams of liberating women from domestic tasks.

In the context of the rejection of the institution of marriage, Leslie Butt in her article '"An Epidemic of Runaway Wives in Highlands, Papua" (2001) highlights the impact of changes to the economic and political situations of people in the highlands that directly contribute to marital and sexual relations in the Dani community. Butt points out that "in the early times, Dani men used their power

and influence to try and regulate marital and sexual relations" (Butt, 2001, p. 55). However, with the influx of citizens from other regions of Indonesia, who then controlled the economy and politics of the area, the power and authority of Dani men over Dani women in terms of regulating marital and sexual relations gradually declined. "Runaway wives" (young Dani women) were no longer submissive to their tradition, which placed men as more important than women. They took opportunities to abandon marriage ceremonies and refuse men who had been chosen by their parents (Butt, 2001).

Fora's story reflects the rebellion of women where male power in the institution of marriage is concerned; an institution that has been recognised as the place where men colonise women. Her story also indicates a process of transculturation regarding domestic tasks that are considered to be women's duties. For Fora, such domestic tasks are a prison that limit women's activities outside the home. She resists the male view of women's responsibilities as being in the home and sees that household duties need not be the preserve of women's responsibility. Therefore, women need not feel guilty about spending more time on activities outside the home. Fora believes that women and men have the same abilities and opportunities to engage in the public sphere, which decades ago was seen as a male domain. She acts as an agent of feminist transculturation who is attempting to liberate women from male domination and domestic duties.

In the 1970s, the United Nations established the first decade of women's development. Its main focus was to increase the place of women in development programs. The decade was established under the assumption that women's resources were of lower quality than men's and needed to be improved. Women's

involvement in development programs was promoted, including decision-making roles. In 1975, the United Nations declared International Women's Year, with the theme of Equality, Development and Peace. During that year, the first Women's Conference was held in Mexico, with the goal of increasing women's involvement in development programs. Every country had to create an action plan to implement this policy, and Indonesia was no exception. In response, Indonesia inserted policies about women into the Indonesian Policy, as seen in GBHN 1978 in a chapter about women's role in nation building (Handayani & Sugiarti, 2002, Pp. 26-35). This was the first push for Indonesia to regard women's issues as a national problem that needed solutions. The notion of involving women in development programs resembles the notion of citizen equality contained in the 1945 Indonesian Constitution (UUD 1945), as well as Indonesia's Five Principles of Life (Pancasila). Such policies become agenda setters for Indonesia to involve all of its citizens, regardless of gender.

1.4 Feminists norms about marriage

The institution of marriage is seen in radical feminist perspectives as a place of women's oppression. They aver that, in the institution of marriage, colonisation is committed by men towards women. Consequently, women cannot express their capability within social life. Women are required to be good mothers by conducting such household tasks as caring for children, looking after the house, and serving the husband. These tasks are regarded as primary for women (mother/wife). Feminists have therefore rejected the institution of marriage

because they have seen it as the place where men (husbands) show their power over women (wives), through exploitation of women's unpaid labour and compulsory heterosexuality, as recognised by male domination of women's sexual favours. In short, marriage has been seen as a central source of women's oppression under patriarchy (Delphy, 1977; Rich, 1980).

Betty Friedan, for example, in her book *The Feminine Mystique* (1974), describes the frustration of white middle-class women locked into domesticity and unable to develop their careers at work. Friedan sees that women have traditionally been taught to glorify their own femininity. They have learnt and heard that in order to be a good wife or mother, they should not have a career, higher education, political rights, or the independence and opportunity to engage in social activities outside the home. Friedan finds that it is often difficult for a woman to handle her responsibilities at home as well as full-time work outside. Many women still struggle to choose whether they should work outside or stay at home and serve their husband and children. Many still consider domestic tasks at home as more important than public tasks, and domestic tasks as the duty of women, not men.

Friedan (1981) emphasises that women need to stop trying to be ideal housewives and mothers. She tries to support women who are at the crossroads of family life and work outside the home, pushing them to develop their careers in the workplace as men do because they have the capacity to work. She says they should free themselves from house tasks rather than assume that these are their responsibility. For Friedan, it is important that women and men work together to create the possibility for both sexes to engage in public as well as private domains.

Based on a feminist critique of the institution of marriage, I am convinced that Fora's involvement as an activist struggling to liberate Amungme women from male oppression strongly influenced her decision to part from her husband. She said: "If we get married, we are very busy" (see Fora, Interview). This indicates her rejection of the wife or mother role which, she said, would be akin to a prison, keeping her from activities outside the home.

Fora's story is similar to that of a famous indigenous Amungme woman, "Mama Yosepha Alomang", who is well known by most Papuans as a fighter for Papuan human rights, including women's rights. Alomang tells the story of her decision to divorce her husband. She explains, "I feel relaxed now because I can focus on my work. If I still lived with my husband, I cannot imagine whether I may remain fighting for my people? If I still live with my husband, then I cannot do many things for my people" (Giay & Kambay, 2003, p.24). Alomang's story shows a rejection of marriage, which is likened to a prison for women. These indigenous Amungme women speak up for their rights and confront indigenous Amungme men's power in marital life. Their stories show that gender equality is expected of many indigenous Amungme women who escape male domination.

1.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed the shift in gender relations from traditional to modern by looking at how the traditional marriage system was practised by indigenous Amungme in the past and how it is practised today. After engaging with the "new norms" transmitted by Christianity, Indonesian Marriage Law and

modernity regarding gender relations within the family, young indigenous Amungme have adopted and practised new ideas in their marital lives. Nonetheless, new norms, ideas and privileges are being tested and actively contested unevenly by young women and men within marriage. The practices suggest that the presence of foreign missionaries among indigenous Amungme has brought significant changes to their marriage traditions, including the purpose of marriage, the payment of a bride-price, the division of gender roles and gender relations within marriage.

On the one hand, Freeport Mining Company has brought opportunities for people to engage as employees. On the other hand, it has brought changes in marriage traditions. For indigenous Amungme people, marriage is crucial to establishing relations between two parties, and therefore, parents have an important role in choosing a partner for their daughter or son. However, "new ideas" brought by Western missionaries and people from outside the indigenous Amungme community have affected the attitudes of younger generations to assume the role of their parents in choosing a marriage partner. Consequently, younger Amungme have a greater chance of marrying a woman or man from outside the indigenous community. This change can also be seen in polygamous traditions that, in the past, were practised only by prominent people such as a big man or a rich man.

Today, each indigenous Amungme man can marry more than two women as long as he has enough money to meet the needs of his new wife. Sadly, a husband can leave his former wife without paying disgrace money, as was practised by indigenous Amungme people in the past. In addition, he can ignore

his responsibility to meet the needs of his children. As a result, the former wife must take on the responsibility of caring for and meeting the needs of their children. In doing so, she must seek a permanent job to support her children, even though she does not always succeed. While women struggle to find employment, indigenous Amungme men have more opportunities to engage with modern work in the local government and the mining company. Consequently, women are more dependent on men. Such a change shows that transculturation and neoculturation do not only create positive phenomena for people, in particular indigenous Amungme women, but they also perpetuate and aggravate gender inequality in marital life.

Interestingly, encounters between young indigenous Amungme women and alternative "new ideas" (feminism) have also opened up opportunities for women to celebrate their freedom from male domination. For young indigenous Amungme women, androcentric transculturation has created problems, and therefore, should be rejected. Some indigenous Amungme women (see Fora's story) resist androcentric and patriarchal perspectives and practices that have privileged men. Here, the indigenous Amungme women want to show that they also have the power to argue with and reject male domination in their lives. Women's rejection of androcentric transculturation is a form of feminism being carried out by indigenous Amungme today.

For indigenous Amungme women, the awareness of liberation from male domination in marital life is influential. The decision to divorce or split is no longer seen as in the male's interest only, but also in the female's interest. It is a

way for women to escape from domineering and patriarchal relationships that are considered as a trap, preventing their autonomy and freedom.

This chapter has shown that the encounter between the indigenous Amungme people and modernity does not "consist merely of acquiring another culture (acculturation) or of losing or uprooting a previous culture (deculturation), but it also creates a new cultural phenomenon (neoculturation)" (Ortiz, 1995, p. 102-103).

CHAPTER TWO

MODERN DREAMINGS

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the modern dreams of contemporary indigenous Amungme people that have arisen from contact with ideas brought by Christianity, feminism and development capitalism. It aims to show the influence of contact with these new ideas and how people articulate the ideas in their contemporary lives, with a direct implication for gender roles and relations between indigenous Amungme women and men. The chapter also explores the process of transculturation, which occurs in several spheres, including the garden, marketplace and workplace. It shows how indigenous Amungme women try to adapt to and establish ongoing relationships with others, taking a chance to engage in modern work as a means of gaining independence from men. I also illustrate the failure of development capitalism to help people achieve their dreams.

2.2 Cultural forces of transculturation

As mentioned in the introduction, changes in the indigenous Amungme community have arisen from encounters with ideas brought by Christianity,

feminism and development processes. Such encounters have had a direct impact on the lives of women and men, in both positive and negative ways.

Christianity, for instance, is one cultural force that is driving change among indigenous Amungme people. As mentioned in Chapter One, when foreign missionaries arrived in the highlands of Timika in the 1950s, they frowned on many aspects of indigenous Amungme tradition such as the system of marriage, traditional beliefs, the cleanliness of dwellings, their lack of clothing, and the roles of women and men within the family and the community (Muller & Omabak, 2008, p. 142). Foreign missionaries believed it was important to civilise the people by changing their traditions and ways of life that were considered incompatible with Christianity. This perspective forced missionaries to gradually change indigenous Amungme traditions according to the missionaries' perspectives. The ways Christian missionaries treated indigenous Amungme people were typical of missionaries throughout Pacific regions.

Many studies have shown how foreign missionaries to Pacific regions took part in changing gender roles and relations between women and men (Whiteman, 1983; Grimshaw, 1989; Ralston, 1989; Stearns, 2006; Wiesner-Hank, 2001). As pointed out by Stearns (2006) and Whiteman (1983), Papua New Guinean women and men were treated differently through the education offered to them. Men were trained to be heads of households and communities; women were restricted to training for "feminine" roles and deportment in accordance with Victorian values of cleanliness, obedience to men (husbands), attitudes and manners. Such treatment differed from indigenous ideas of gender roles and relations between women and men, which emphasised complementarity (see

Strathern, 1980, 1988; O'Brien & Tifanny, 1984; McDowell, 1984). Such different treatment of women and men moulded inequality between the sexes. This demonstrates the failure of Christianity to understand the gender role divisions and relations between women and men as practised by Melanesians according to Melanesian culture.

In contrast to the goal of many Christian missionaries operating in the Pacific, some feminist thinkers have sought to liberate women from oppression and male domination, which are said to have made women miserable. The emergence of the idea of equality between women and men brought about by feminism has had a significant impact on women, giving rise to a more critical view of gender roles and the inequality of gender relations within family and society. For feminism, the root of inequality in these gender relations is male domination and patriarchal thinking. Feminists believe that male domination and patriarchal thinking have obstructed women from demonstrating their abilities. The idea of liberating women is a foundation of feminism as a movement to end gender exploitation and oppression, or a struggle to end sexist oppression (hooks, 2000; hooks, 2000). Nevertheless, in efforts to liberate women from gender exploitation and oppression due to male domination and patriarchal thinking, Donna Haraway challenges feminist thinkers to resist making "one's own political tendencies to be the telos of the whole" (1990, p. 198). Hence feminist thinkers "can accept different accounts of female experience and also face ourselves as complex subjects who embody multiple locations" (hooks, 1992, p. 51). Here, Haraway is reminding feminist thinkers to avoid the danger of homogenising and universalising women's lives and problems.

The challenge from Haraway to feminist thinkers is similar to the idea of postcolonial feminism or Third World feminism, which has emerged in response to the Western feminist perspective that tended to homogenise and universalise women's lives and problems without considering the context in which women live (Lewis & Mills, 2003). Postcolonial feminists point out that most Western feminists remain primarily focused on gender issues related to sexuality, reproduction and male domination, but ignore economic and political issues that have an effect on Third World people's lives, including women's lives. Therefore, postcolonial feminists emphasise that oppression of women in the Third World cannot be analysed on the basis of their oppression as women *per se*, but must be related to issues such as economy, politics, race, class and so on. Chandra Mohanty (1991), for example, in her famous essay *Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourse*, demonstrates that Western feminist scholarship tends to construct women in the Third World as a monolithic and universal subject. As a result, Western feminists do not pay attention to the unique experiences of women residing in postcolonial nations. Mohanty disagrees with Western feminism's idea of all women as a homogenous group without differentiation according to the political and economic issues and geography in which they live (p. 56). According to Mohanty, Western feminists have failed to understand the situation of Third World women. They have tended to label Third World women as "powerless", "exploited", "sexually harassed", "uneducated", "poor" and "backward" (p. 57-60). The challenge from postcolonial feminism is to remind feminist thinkers to avoid the tendency of universalising women's problems.

In addition to the modern dream of feminism, which is to liberate women from male domination, the presumptive goal of development capitalism is to liberate people from poverty. Development aims at advancement, to ensure welfare and to improve the quality of people's lives as experienced in developed countries (World Bank, 1991). Since the idea of development comes from Western countries, the eradication of poverty is also solved according to Western concepts in which wellbeing is measured on the basis of economic growth and material improvement. The goal of development has created a new problem for people in developing countries, where they become more dependent on external sources of economic revenue and modern materials. Sachs mentions the idea of development as "perception which models reality, a myth which comforts societies, and a fantasy which unleashes passions" (1992a, p.1).

Arturo Escobar, in *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World* (1995), criticises the modern development paradigm that emphasises the acceleration of economic growth and has caused rapid changes in developing countries. Development planners have failed to understand the local context of many countries, and have failed to involve the people in making decisions and policies, he says. As a result, people are forced to adapt to the decisions and policies of more powerful nations (p. 20). Escobar (1995) and Ferguson (1994) point out that development is a discourse that forces people to change in accordance with the desire of development. Escobar also emphasises that reality has been colonised by the development discourse to such an extent that those who are dissatisfied with this state of affairs have to "struggle for bits and pieces of freedom without it, in the hope that in the process a different reality

could be constructed" (1995, p. 5). The desire of development is described by Howard in his book *Weasel Words* (1978) as a "slippery value word" (p. 18) used by "noisy persuaders" such as politicians "to herd people in the direction they want them to go" (p. 17).

Drawing from the critics of development capitalism highlighted by the thinkers above, it is clear that development capitalism's dreams, which emphasise the goal of improving the wellbeing of people in Third World countries through accelerating economic growth with the support of financial aid from developed countries, has failed to empower and strengthen the people in those countries. As a result, the people have become more dependent on developed countries, which are recognised as having the capacity to help people in Third World countries to achieve their modern dreams. In other words, the development discourse has poisoned people into being passive and merely awaiting aid from developed countries, which are seen as a Santa Claus bringing Christmas gifts (modernity) that have been long awaited. The failure of the promise of the development discourse can be described as a "waiting room" where people are stuck "waiting for outsiders (development) to bring peace, happiness and justice" (Benny Giay's words, as cited in Kirksey, 2012, p. 13).

2.3 Contact zone in several spheres

I start this section by recalling the term "contact zone" as defined by Mary Louise Pratt (2008): "the social space of colonial encounters, the space in which people geographically and historically separated come into contact with each

other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict" (p. 8). Here, Pratt shows that the process of encounter in contact zones will tend to influence, adapt and dominate. Negotiation and domination occur within a contact zone in a process described by Ortiz (1995) with the term "transculturation", in which encounters in the zone produce acculturation, deculturation and neoculturation (pp. 102-103). Drawing from the concept of transculturation, this section examines the process of transculturation in several spheres: the garden, the marketplace and the workplace.

2.3.1 The garden as a contact zone

The garden is a "contact zone" in which women and men have different responsibilities. In the garden, women and men work together and share their tasks with one another. Their different roles are based on the principle of complementarity. Women and men can negotiate these roles with each other if they are unable to do their tasks for any reason. The dynamic of such gender roles indicates that the actions of women and men in the garden are not rigid and dualistic; under particular circumstances, they can improvise their roles.

In this section, I present the complementary gender roles that appear in the division of labour in subsistence societies to show that, while women and men played different roles to meet their families' needs, they did not distinguish their tasks hierarchically, rather, tasks were valued equitably. In subsistence societies,

or foraging societies, the gender roles of women and men were clear. Women undertook pivotal tasks in child rearing, gathering, hunting small game, and home maintenance. Their tasks did not require much physical strength and could be performed close to home, while hunting of large game and dangerous deep-sea fishing were reserved for men. Men's tasks generally required vigorous physical activity, and sometimes the tasks – for instance, hunting – took place far from home (Murdock & Provost, 1973; Murdock, 1949; Brown, 1970). Although the division of labour between women and men was more gender-segregated, it was complementary and highly egalitarian because their gender roles were economically interdependent, with each woman and man playing an important role for the survival of the family and community (O'Kelly & Carney, 1986).

A recent study by Nguyen, et.al, (2016) in the Province of Siem Reap and Battambang in Cambodia examines the complementary roles of women and men in garden activities. It shows that although home gardens are traditionally viewed as a woman's domain, both women and men are involved in activities there. Land preparation, bed raising, trellising and fencing tend to be considered more as men's tasks because they require heavy lifting. Land preparation, in particular, is considered a man's task; it is seen as physically challenging and often involves mechanical tools such as hand tractors that are used for ploughing and which men typically operate. Meanwhile, planting, weeding, fertiliser application and other daily garden activities such as tending the garden are typically considered to be women's tasks. Although home gardens fall within women's traditional domain, the gender division of labour in garden activities is not rigid, static and dualistic; men or women can take over the other gender's task if the person, for

instance, is absent because of pregnancy, or the man is far from the village. This study shows that in contemporary subsistence societies, the idea of complementary gender roles in the division of labour is still practised.

The complementary gender roles described by these studies may be likened to the gender role divisions practised by indigenous Amungme in their gardening. To describe the principle of complementarity in their gardening practices, I will share the evidence I found when I conducted fieldwork among the indigenous Amungme community. Take Petrus and Dorkas, for example. Petrus and Dorkas live in the suburbs, about an hour from Timika town. I met them accidentally while chatting with one of my informants outside her house, and asked them to become informants too. Since they had just returned from their garden, I asked if I could visit them the following day. Dorkas spontaneously said: "Yes … sure … you can come to our house tomorrow", and Petrus added: "Yes … you can come. We welcome you". I replied: "Thank you very much *bapa* Petrus and *mama* Dorkas". One thing I noticed at the time was that Petrus had put a hand of bananas on his head while holding a long chopper in his right hand, and Dorkas carried a string bag of small sweet potatoes and a vegetable fern (*pakis*).

In the afternoon of the following day, I met Petrus and Dorkas at their house. I asked them to tell me about the division of their gender roles in gardening. Dorkas opened the conversation: "I usually take responsibility for planting the seeds, looking after, and harvesting, as well as selling the garden produce in the market, while my husband [Petrus] has the responsibility in the first stage of clearing the garden plot, such as cutting down trees in a plot of land used for gardening, collecting the dry branches and burning them, and digging the land for planting

the seeds". Petrus added: "We both work together in maintaining the garden, and harvesting, and also bringing the crops to the house, but for selling the crops in the market, my wife, Dorkas does that". Then Dorkas said: "Working in the garden is our responsibilities. We always go to the garden together, unless one of us is sick or doing another activity" (Dorkas & Petrus, Interview).

The story of Petrus and Dorkas shows that, although their gender roles are divided in the garden, the wife's tasks are no heavier than her husband's, and vice versa. Different tasks are not measured by the value of the work, but by the profits of the garden produce, which are used to meet the family's needs. Their story also shows that the different tasks of wife and husband are not fixed. They can change whenever one person is absent**.** This is similar to the principle of complementarity practised in ancient Israel, as described by Meyer above, in which men and women have equal responsibility in production (subsistence) areas. If the husband is absent to participate in warfare, the wife can take responsibility for subsistence activities alone.

As mentioned above, modern institutions are often seen as a vehicle for people to achieve their dreams, while gardening is considered as failing to guarantee the wealth and prosperity needed for people to enjoy modern life. However, others, especially women, see gardening and raising pigs as an important livelihood that can maintain family life. To demonstrate the importance of gardening and raising pigs, as practised by indigenous Amungme women to meet the needs of their families, I turn to a story of indigenous Amungme women.

Betty, 36, married Simon, a man she loves, 16 years ago. Their daily activities are gardening and raising pigs. They have a garden plot of about 50 metres on the land Simon inherited from his parents. Their gardens are about 100 metres from their house. They had five pigs ready for sale when I interviewed Betty. The time needed to raise pigs until they are ready for sale is about 1.5 to two years. I asked Betty why it took so long. She said she did not want to feed the pigs with food from the factory because it contained chemicals, which was not good for human health. "Since I need a long time to raise the pigs, I usually sell a pig for between twenty- to twenty-five million Rupiah (equivalent to $US2000 to $US2500), but sometimes it depends on the size of the pig". I then asked her who usually took responsibility for preparing food for the pigs. Betty said she always did it, but sometimes her husband helped if she was doing another domestic task.

In addition to raising pigs, Betty spends time looking after the garden. Every day from Monday to Friday she goes to the garden from 10am to 2pm, and sometimes from 10am to 4pm, to weed it, plant vegetables and fruit, and cut down the dried leaves of the banana trees. Betty's garden is a "contact zone" (Pratt, 2008). Although the garden is not very large, she can plant various types of plants such as sweet potatoes, pineapples, cassava, peanuts and tomatoes (these originally from South America); yellow pumpkin (native to North America); papaya (perhaps from Southern Mexico) and corn (originally from Mexico); taro (native to Southern India and south-east Asia) and bananas (originally from the rainforests of south-east Asia); *Setaria palmifolia* (literally, "candle vegetable") and *Abelmoschus manihot* (called *sayur gedi*, and native to temperate and tropical Asia); ginger and turmeric (from tropical rainforests in

Southern Asia), galangal (from South Asia and Indonesia) and chilli (indigenous to Nahuati). The variety of imported plants illustrates the process of transculturation that is ongoing in the garden (see. e.g. Pratt, 2008; Clifford, 1997).

By growing such a variety of plants in the garden, she can earn money from selling sweet potatoes, the staple plant, and from other imported plants. Betty said: "We are lucky because we have the land for gardening, though it is not as large as the land my parents and Simon's parents had. Even though we only have one garden plot and some pigs, we are able to buy modern electronic goods such as a television and a tape player, and even send our son to school" (Betty, Interview).

Figure 1: A woman plants a variety of species in her garden. *Photograph by Josina Wospakrik*

Two days after I interviewed Betty, I visited the village where she lives to interview another informant. On my arrival, Betty ran to me and said: "Look into my *noken* (a string bag). I have some sweet potatoes, papaya flowers and cassava leaves I took from my garden. Can you buy them?" I said: "Yes, of course. I love them. They look so fresh". I gave her 100,000 Rupiah ($US10) to pay for all the garden produce she had in the *noken*. When she held the money, she told me that last week she went to the market to sell her crops but they remained unsold, yet

she still had to pay the *ojek*[1], which was about 40,000 Rupiah ($US4) to return home. Betty looked happy because that day she did not have to go to the market. Also, finally, she had $US3 to pay her debt to the ojek driver.

Betty's story illustrates the importance of the garden in contemporary indigenous Amungme life for people who cannot get involved in modern work. It shows that the value of the garden is equal to the value of the modern workplace because, within both domains, people can earn money to meet the needs of themselves and their families. That is why she said: "Although we cannot earn a lot of money from the garden produce, we can still take some plants from the garden for our needs, and even sell them in the market to fill our daily family needs" (Betty, Interview). Here, she sees the garden as hope for the future to survive in a vulnerable situation due to rapid changes in the indigenous Amungme community. Furthermore, Betty sees the garden as an enjoyable place where she can live and manage her affairs without the pressure of others. Betty is an example of an indigenous Amungme woman who maintains her gardening activities as a livelihood that can help her to meet her family's needs. While others

[1] *Ojek* is a motorcycle and the main transportation of people in Timika, in preference to a taxi (public transportation provided by the government). The people, regardless of social status, age and gender, prefer ojek because it is available anywhere, in towns and villages, and it is cheaper than a taxi. People can ask the driver to take them to destinations such as markets, shops, offices and elsewhere, and they can negotiate the cost. The majority of ojek drivers are immigrants from Java and Makassar who are seeking business opportunities in Timika District. Ojek plays a pivotal role in bringing crops to markets in Timika town. Interestingly, ojek drivers know what time women usually take their crops to the market. Every afternoon, from Monday to Friday, about 12pm to 1pm, ojek drivers arrive at the villages to pick up the women and take them to the markets. Amungme women enjoy using ojek. They put their garden produce in their beautiful string bags, which are made from tree bark, and take it to the markets. Although the crops in the string bags are heavy, they do not complain. For the women, maintaining the viability of their families is important. Conversely, the women are important for ojek drivers. So, if the women cannot pay the ojek, the drivers do not get angry with them. They know the women will pay their debts when they get enough money.

tend to look for opportunities to engage in modern work, Betty challenges people to see that the garden also provides the possibility to preserve family's welfare.

Figure 2: A woman pays an ojek driver. *Photograph by Josina Wospakrik*

2.3.2 Contact zone in the marketplace

The market is important for indigenous Amungme women. They go to market to sell their garden produce and then use the money they earned to buy modern goods for their families. Previously, indigenous Amungme planted only sweet potatoes, which are a staple plant and food in the indigenous Amungme community. Not only did this meet the needs of the family, but the produce was also used at marriage ceremonies and community gatherings. Today, the market

provides an economic opportunity for women to earn money from selling their crops. At the market, an interaction between seller (an indigenous Amungme woman) and buyer occurs with the exchange of goods and money; an indigenous Amungme woman sells the crops to the buyer and the buyer gives her money in return. This relationship is based on mutual benefit.

There are two big markets in Timika town. These are provided by the local government for local people and Indonesian immigrants who want to sell goods. The markets are mostly occupied by Indonesian traders from such areas as Java and Makassar, who come to Timika regency for business opportunities. Inside the two markets, the relationships between Papuan women and immigrant traders are asymmetrical and hierarchical. The traders have access to capital as well as experience in diverse market economies. Papuan women have local garden products; Indonesian traders import a variety of modern goods and also supply fresh vegetables, fruits and spices from Makassar (South Sulawesi) and Manado (North Sulawesi). Because of their access to capital, the Indonesian traders can rent permanent spots to display their products and store their goods on site. Local Papuan women, without access to permanent spots, must take any unsold produce back home and return with it the next day. Thus, the market is more profitable for Indonesian traders than local people.

At the markets, the Indonesian traders sell manufactured goods such as coffee, tea, sugar, cooking oil and so forth. They also sell some garden produce as well as fish, chicken and other meats. Papuan women, including Amungme women, meanwhile mostly sell crops such as sweet potatoes, vegetables and fruit (papaya, bananas, red pandanus), peanuts, tomatoes, chilli and so forth. Apart

from these two big markets, there exists a small market in Timika town that attracts Amungme women who want to sell their crops. In the latter market, the majority of traders are Papuan women, including Amungme women. They sell the same crops as Papuan women sell in the larger two markets.

Figure 3: Women sell produce at the market of *mama-mama* Papua in Timika regency. *Photograph by Josina Wospakrik.*

Further to these markets, Amungme women use a location near the Amungme dwelling in Timika town called *Pasar mama-mama Amungme* ("The Amungme women's market"). This location is open for women to sell crops from Monday to Saturday, between 3pm and 5pm. Here, Amungme women lay their

garden produce on the ground, by the roadside, so that people can see as they pass the kinds of crops being sold. Most of the crops sold here are the same as those sold at the other markets. Interestingly, no Indonesian traders or other Papuan women sell their goods or crops here; it is only used by Amungme women.

Rebecca, 40, a married woman, brings her garden produce to sell at this market one to three times a week. She prefers selling the crops here because it is for Amungme women only; no immigrant merchants use this market. Rebecca sells sweet potatoes, cassava, cassava leaves, papaya flowers, chilli, lemongrass, tomatoes, bananas and pineapples, but the variety of crops depends on the season. She gives the price for each crop by saying: "A heap of sweet potatoes and cassava, I sell them for 20,000 Rupiahs ($US2), and a bunch of papaya flowers and cassava leaves is 5000 Rupiahs (US5 cents); it is the same price also for chilli, lemongrass and tomatoes. A bunch of bananas, I sell for 10,000 Rupiahs ($US1), or a hand of bananas for 50,000 Rupiahs ($US5), and a pineapple is 5000 Rupiahs (US5 cents) as well". I asked Rebecca: "What kind of crops do you usually sell in the market?" She replied: "Sweet potatoes, cassava leaves and papaya flowers are the crops I usually bring to the market. If all the crops are sold out, I can bring about fifteen to twenty thousand Rupiahs ($US1.50-2) back home, but if I am not lucky that day, I can only bring back about 5000 Rupiahs (US50 cents), and then I have nothing at all, because I must pay *ojek* "a motor-taxi" about 30,000 Rupiahs ($US3) to return home" (Rebecca, Interview).

During my observations at the markets I learnt that the Papuan women, including the Amungme women, mostly preferred to display their crops outside

the market building. They laid the crops on the ground and covered them with an empty rice sack and/or banana leaves to protect them from the heat of the sun. They usually sat in groups at a distance from the Indonesian merchants, while the Indonesian merchants mainly displayed their goods inside the market building in the spaces provided. Nonetheless, encounters between Amungme women and buyers, as well as Indonesian traders, within the markets influenced the women in deciding which crops to plant in their gardens. Therefore, the crops sold in the market exemplify how the women have adapted to market demands. Welmince, for example, said: "I usually bring enough money back home if I sell tomatoes, chilli, bananas, papaya flowers and cassava leaves instead of only selling sweet potatoes and taro." She added, "You know, people prefer buying these products to sweet potatoes and taro, so I should adapt to the demand of the buyers if I want to bring enough money back home" (Welmince, Interview).

Welmince's experience illustrates the process of transculturation that is taking place at the market, where buyer demand affects the type of crops that Amungme women grow and sell. Adaptation to buyer demand is important if Amungme women want to earn enough money from selling their garden produce at the market. In this regard, Amungme women embody the principle of "establishing relations" (Pratt, 1996) with the buyers, where buyers provide money and the Amungme women provide crops.

2.3.3 The workplace as a contact zone

The process of transculturation also occurs in the "contact zone" of the workplace. People from various backgrounds – in terms of education, culture, social status, religion and age – meet and influence each other at work. They try to adapt to one another by attempting to establish ongoing relations (Pratt, 2008). I examine transculturation in the workplace by citing stories of indigenous Amungme women who work as cleaners at Freeport Mining Company. Their stories show the impact that contact with others in the workplace has on indigenous Amungme women as they try to achieve their dreams in contemporary society.

Many studies have shown that the introduction of a large-scale mining project in Melanesia has had a negative impact on the communities where it operates (Banks & Ballard, 1997; Ballard, 2002; McKinnon, 2002). Other research found that among local communities, the adverse effects of the mining operation were felt more by women than by men (Robinson, 1986; Robinson, 2002; Byford, 2002; Oxfam, 2009). However, it should be acknowledged that large-scale mining projects do not altogether affect local women adversely. Robinson (2002), for example, says: "The changes for women have not been altogether negative. Women have experienced more freedom through increased access to education, and the associated change to travel outside of the village to pursue their studies" (p. 43). Byford (2002) adds: "The introduction of mining has provided opportunities for women to manage their businesses. The company has contributed significantly to providing infrastructure, such as roads and transportation, helping the women access new markets to sell produce and trade,

and start-up support for businesses, as well as provided training in small business management" (p.31).

Rika, 22, is a married woman with a one-year-old son. She works as a cleaner at the apartments provided by the Freeport copper and gold company in Tembagapura for those employed in middle to high positions in the company. After finishing high school, Rika stayed at home. She had no plan to continue her studies and began working at the company two years before I interviewed her. She married a highlander who works as a truck driver in Tembagapura. Rika's father is one of the landowners of the area in which the company operates. As a daughter of the landowner, she has the privilege of engaging with the company albeit as a cleaner only. Rika views her work at the company as not only an opportunity to achieve wealth and prosperity, but also as a way to show that women can achieve their dreams without relying on men. Rika is also fortunate in the sense that her husband also works at the company, as a driver.

Although Rika and her husband both work for the company, her husband rarely gives his salary to her. She feels angry with her husband about this. She said her husband did not care about their son. As a driver for the company, her husband earns enough money to help the family, but he spends it on drinking to excess with his friends in Timika on his days off. Rika told me she did not like her husband's habit. "For me," she said, "he should save the money for our future life, including the future of our son. But I think maybe my husband does not think about our future life, and he just thinks about himself. But I do not care. I should stand up and show my husband that my son and I can survive without him. If other women can survive, then I can as well". (Rika, Interview).

Selly is a married woman and cleaner who works in a modern dreamworld – at a supermarket in the shopping centre in Tembagapura. The supermarket co-operates with Freeport, and therefore, Selly is paid by the company as one of its employees. Selly has been a cleaner at the supermarket for three years. Although she is a cleaner, she comes into contact with people who buy modern goods at the supermarket. As a cleaner there, Selly is required to dress well and to be disciplined, diligent and polite to customers. Her daily uniform includes a light-blue shirt, dark-blue trousers and brown boots that the company provides for cleaners and laundresses. Selly does not complain about the requirements because they encourage her to do the job professionally. She says she used to be a lazy girl who did not care about dressing well or being diligent and polite. But after working at the company she has realised that all the requirements show others that she can do what others do. Several employees, mostly from other regions of Indonesia, work at the shopping centre along with Selly.

In addition to adapting to the requirements of their workplace, Selly and the Indonesian women dress up. Selly tries to dress up like the Indonesian women. She puts pink lipstick on her lips and a pair of earrings in her ears to make herself "beautiful". As far as I can tell, Selly is quick to build good relationships with other people who visit the shopping centre. Sometimes she briefly stops our conversation to say "hello" to her friends or people she knows. I, therefore, saw that contact with others has made a direct impact on her, leading Selly to adapt to the people around her. Selly considers adaptation to the company's requirements and the people around her as important to keeping her job. She told me: "I do not want to lose this job. I can earn enough money by

working here. This is an opportunity for me to save money for my future purposes. Therefore, I should do my tasks well so that my boss will appreciate me, and then I will continue to work at this place". Selly enjoys her job. As a cleaner, she yet recognises the importance of building and maintaining relationships with others in the "contact zone" of work and adapting to the people who work around her. When I interviewed her, she said she was lucky because she could work at the supermarket and earn money to pay for holidays to places outside Timika, taking airplanes as other people do.

Selly's dream of enjoying modern facilities had become a reality. When it's time for a holiday, she can spend her money on a plane ticket to fly beyond Timika. Selly's story shows that the Freeport Mining Company offers an opportunity to realise the dream of wealth. Before contact with the company, if people wanted to travel they had no access to modern transportation such as airplanes and instead usually walked from one area to another. Some did not even know about planes, and if they did, they had no opportunity to travel by them.

When Freeport arrived in Mimika regency in 1967, it opened an airport in Timika town for its business. The company provided a plane for its employees, not the public. Later, when Timika became a district in the 1980s, the local government joined with the company to fly public planes to the airport. Unfortunately, again, many indigenous Amungme had not been able to use public planes, or even the company's plane, to travel beyond the region because many still relied on traditional livelihoods, such as gardening and raising pigs. Using a plane was considered a luxury. When local people saw foreign

employees, Indonesian migrants or other Papuans arrive to the region by plane, they thought they would never be able to do the same. Since Freeport opened modern work opportunities to the local people, their dreams of enjoying modern transportation and other accoutrements of the modern lifestyle have become real. For those who become Freeport employees, travel by plane is possible. Selly is one example of a person who is now living the indigenous Amungme dream of prosperity that modernity offers.

Rika's and Selly's stories embody the modern dream of feminism to liberate women from male domination and the patriarchal thinking that manifests itself in culture and development capitalism. Critical thinking on patriarchal culture as the root of gender inequality in Indonesia has developed since the 1980s. Some forms of gender inequality are practised within patriarchal culture. For example, subordination, male domination, marginalisation, violence and a double work burden have been documented as part of women's experience (Fakih, 1997*)*.

Feminist thinking began to gain traction just before the Reform era, in the mid-1990s. To reduce gender inequality and eliminate discrimination against women, the Indonesian government issued Presidential Instruction Number 9/2000 on Gender Mainstreaming in National Development (Arivia & Subono, 2017). A 42-year-old Amungme woman activist, Dina, said: "The issue of gender equality began to be regularly introduced into the community in the Timika region around the 1990s by feminist activists and the government (the women's empowerment department in particular) from Java, Jakarta and also from Jayapura. Along with the local government, feminist activists invited local people,

especially women, to be involved in meetings or group discussions where they could talk about the gender inequality they experienced. This was intended to increase women's awareness of their rights. Therefore, many indigenous Amungme women, both old and young, started to question and confront male domination over themselves" (Dina, Interview).

During my fieldwork in the Timika region, I heard that many indigenous Amungme perceive gender relations between women and men as being worse now than earlier, when women and men worked together to meet their families' needs and lived with respect for each other. Cicilia, 50, points out:

> "In the past, our parents lived in mutual respect. Yet since the advent of the Freeport company in this region, this mutual respect has gradually been disrupted. The company talked more with men about transferring customary land rights, and even the benefits of the transferring of land rights were given to men considered by the company as the head of household and community. Now, the husband walks alone and the wife also walks alone (*sekarang suami jalan sendiri dan istri juga jalan sendiri*). Men see themselves as more important than women" (Cicilia, Interview).

The stories of Rika and Selly show that they face not only male domination and their culture, but also uneven impacts of modern development, whereby women experience more suffering than men. They hope, by engaging in modern work, to achieve modest modern dreams.

2.4 Endangered masculinity

In the past, indigenous Amungme men were raised into the role of protecting their families and community from enemies and meeting their family needs by hunting. These tasks began to disappear when the indigenous Amungme encountered modern development. Contact with modern development has had a direct impact on people's lives. To illustrate the impact of this encounter, I cite Betty's story of her husband, Simon, and Hilda's husband, Andreas. These two men appear to have been sedated by the promise of modern development.

Simon sits on the veranda of his home and smokes a cigarette. His wrinkled face and grey hair make him look older than his 42 years. Every day, he sits and smokes without sparing time for other activities. He is awaiting good news from the government or Freeport Mining Company. His wife, Betty, argues with him and urges him to help her in the garden, but he does not care about it. Betty is angry with him but she cannot do a thing. She appears to be sorry about her husband's attitude and shares this story:

> "I and my husband usually worked in the garden together, and he helped me to feed the pigs as well. But now my husband does not want to go to the garden because he prefers to work at a government office, or at the Freeport company. He said that we cannot rely on the garden because it cannot give us enough money, and that is why he has not been to the garden for almost a year. My husband said that working as a government employee, or a company employee, will give us much more money rather than gardening. Simon has applied to work at the local government and the company, but he has not received news from them. He is still waiting for it. Simon finished high school, but he could not continue to college because his parents did not have enough money to

> support him, because they only relied on their garden. Like Simon, I also could not finish my study at high school because my parents did not have enough money, even though my parents had a large garden in the highlands" (Betty, Interview).

Like Betty's husband Simon, Andreas, 28, hopes to work as a civil servant or an employee of the Freeport Mining Company. Andreas shares the story of his hopes for involvement in modern institutions, which he sees as a way of escaping poverty:

> "I did not finish my study at university in Manado, the capital city of the North Sulawesi province of Indonesia, because my parents could not continue to pay my tuition fee and living costs there. Therefore, I decided to withdraw from the university, and went back home. I married Hilda, an indigenous Amungme woman. My wife, Hilda, 26 years old, also did not finish her high school. We have two children. The first son is about three years old and the second son is about one-and-a-half years old. After I married and from when we had children, until now, I have not had a permanent job. I have spent almost three years waiting for the opportunity to be a civil servant. But my dream did not become reality. Last year, I decided to send my application to the Freeport company with the hope that the company would accept me to be its employee. But again, until now, I am still waiting for that. My wife, Hilda, always forces me to help her to do garden activities or do other activities such as *Ojek* driver that can bring in income, though not too much. But I do not want to do these activities. They cannot guarantee my family life. You know [Andreas stressed], we live in modern world. Everything needs money. Eating needs money (*makan butuh uang*), drinking needs money (*minum butuh uang*), and clothes need money *(pakaian butuh uang*). If we do not have enough money … then how can we survive? (*jika kita tidak punya uang … bagaimana*

> *kita bisa bertahan hidup?*). I need enough money to meet my family needs" (Andreas, Interview).

Betty's story about her husband, Simon, and Andreas's story about the hope of engaging in modern institutions, resemble that of another indigenous Amungme man, Hendrik, 58:

> "I have engaged in many conversations with our men, especially the young generations. Surprisingly, most of them prefer to work as civil servants, or employees of the company. Therefore, they can spend years doing nothing and just waiting for the news from these institutions" (Hendrik, Interview).

Simon and Andreas are an example of the many indigenous Amungme men who are waiting on the promise of modern development. Like other indigenous Amungme men, Simon hopes that by working at modern institutions such as the Freeport Mining Company or the government, he can earn as much as others earn. With enough money, he hopes to bring his family out of poverty to enjoy modern goods as others do. Here, he is trapped in the promises of modern development. Indigenous Amungme men like Simon are reluctant to do traditional work these days, such as gardening. They prefer to engage in modern work. Gardening cannot fulfil their dreams of escaping poverty or their desire to defend their status/prestige as head of the family and community leaders. They value modern work more highly than garden work because they hope it will allow them to enjoy luxury goods and adopt a modern lifestyle.

Betty's story also indicates that garden work today has become the responsibility of women more than men. A wife not only takes responsibility for

gardening work such as planting, nurturing and harvesting, but is also responsible for taking garden produce to market and selling it. In addition, she remains responsible for household chores. Meanwhile, the husband stays at home, chatting with friends, going to town and looking for opportunities to work in modern institutions. He waits and asks for the money his wife has earned from selling crops in the market. Benny, a man of 60 years, says:

> "Our men are now so lazy. They do not want to work hard in the garden. They do not want to get their hands dirty. They prefer to work in a comfortable place (modern work) rather than in the garden. Even if they have not got a job, they let their wives work in the garden alone. They spend too much time chatting with friends and do nothing at all. Now is so different from our past" (Benny, Interview).

As mentioned at the start of this section, the two activities still practised by indigenous Amungme women today are gardening and raising pigs. As long as they can earn money from these activities, they will do them for one reason: to maintain the viability of their families. Although land suited to gardening near the homes of indigenous Amungme has decreased in today's Timika regency due to the increasing influx of Indonesian migrants, indigenous Amungme women continue to seek garden plots, whether near their homes or farther afield.

During my ethnographic fieldwork among the Amungme community of Timika town, I saw that indigenous Amungme women mostly garden a plot of land around their homes, or plots nearby. For example, Tina, 50, a widow with two married daughters, has a small garden around her house. Although it is not large, she is satisfied with her garden because its produce earns her enough

money to support herself. When I arrived to interview Tina one afternoon, she was busy in her garden, so we met in her backyard. Tina was busy pulling out the grass that was growing in the garden and was not aware that I was standing behind her. I said hello gently and she responded by taking my hand and inviting me to sit on the veranda. While we were walking to her house, she tried to clean her dirty hands and sweaty face with a small black towel that she used to cover her head while working in the garden. Although she looked tired, she allowed me to interview her. Tina was happy when I said I had come to hear the story of her activities, especially her gardening. I opened the conversation by introducing myself and telling her what I would do with her story. I then asked her how many gardens she had. Tina began to speak about the gardening tradition of her people:

> "In the past, one family had two large gardens. One garden belonged to the husband and another to the wife. The husband's garden was far from the house and the wife's garden was close to the house. The husband's garden was merely for planting taro, while the wife's garden was for planting sweet potatoes, which is the staple plant and food for the highlanders in Papua, and other plants such as pumpkin and bananas. This is our tradition. Our parents used to practise shifting cultivation because there were not many people who came to our land. But now you can see many people in this region. The availability of land for gardening is getting less, so that is why we now do not have as large a garden as in the past, for example me. But you know, I am very grateful because I still have a plot of land in my backyard that I can use for gardening. Even though my garden is not as large as the one my parents had, I can plant sweet potatoes and a variety of short-term crops such as corn, cassava, pumpkin and banana, along with chilli, tomatoes and ginger" (Tina, Interview).

Tina's story indicates how indigenous Amungme women try to sustain family life amid the changes that are taking place. Betty's and Tina's stories illustrate a critique of development capitalism that in many ways has victimised local people, both women and men. They show that the promises of development are unrealistic, and that it is therefore necessary for people to think creatively about how to deal with the change upon them. Unfortunately, indigenous Amungme women do this differently to Amungme men. Indigenous Amungme men are stuck in "the waiting room", waiting on promises to be delivered by development even as women survive by taking advantage of all the opportunities around them.

Tina's story also illustrates a crucial problem for the indigenous Amungme community: a shortage of gardening land. Previously, before the arrival of Freeport Mining Company in Mimika regency, the indigenous Amungme had enough land to garden. In the years following the Freeport's arrival, many people flooded into Timika town. Unavoidably, the influx necessitated more housing, public facilities and office buildings – and the land to build this on. Negotiations for the transfer of land rights from the indigenous Amungme to immigrants were mostly conducted by indigenous Amungme men. The actions veered from the customary law of the indigenous Amungme, under which land could not be sold to others but only leased for certain periods of time depending on the negotiation between owner and buyer (Beanal 1997; Mampioper, 2000; Muller & Omabak, 2008). Due to a thirst for the kind of money that was needed to satisfy their desires for the immigrants' modern lifestyle, the Amungme people ignored their customary law. Useable land for gardening gradually decreased.

2.5 Patriarchal nightmares

As explained in the previous chapter, the involvement of indigenous Amungme men in modern work – with the Freeport Mining Company, for example – has had significant impacts on the gender relations between indigenous Amungme women and men. Earning a good salary from the company has empowered people to do whatever they want. For men, money is a vehicle to attain their dreams of enjoying modern goods. The situation is akin to that of the Wahgi people in the highlands of Papua New Guinea after the introduction of coffee plantations in the mid-1950s. Michael O'Hanlon shows the significant impacts on Wahgi men's behaviour. When earning a good income, the men can enjoy modern goods such as alcohol (O'Hanlon, 1993). In fact, alcohol became so popular among men that it even came to "symbolise modernity" (Marshall, 1982, p, 10, as cited in O'Hanlon, 1993, p. 41).

Kirksey (2012) offers a story from a West Papuan entrepreneur to illustrate how Freeport Mining Company, a modern capitalist institution, manipulates the idea of "freedom" and economic justice by offering opportunities that are favourable to some West Papuans, often men, enabling them to "find possibilities of 'freedom', of wealth and prosperity" (p.83). By providing programs for the indigenous Amungme community, such as healthcare and education programs, as well as grants for small businesses, Freeport appears to be trying to overcome community complaints. The company seeks to show that it has realised its social responsibility to the local people (Kirksey, 2012, p. 83). Engaging with the company is also seen as a chance for West Papuans to escape poverty. Leslie Butt, for example, in her article " 'Living in HIV-Land': Mobility and

Seropositivity among Highlands Papua Men" (2015), points out that Freeport Mining Company has drawn men from their homes in the highlands of West Papua to find work at the company. By working at the company and earning a good salary, the men hope to bring their families out of vulnerable situations. However, this opportunity has also created a new problem for the men. With a good income, they can enjoy a "modern" lifestyle, such as visiting prostitutes. Consequently, they contract HIV and, on returning home, transmit the virus to their wives.

These studies show that the introduction of modernity through a coffee plantation or Freeport Mining Company do not have only positive impacts on people – such as resolving their vulnerable situations – but also negative impacts from their encounters with modernity. A selection of the stories I heard from an indigenous Amungme woman and man who work at Freeport Mining Company illustrates the negative impact of modernity. Mince, 30, a married woman, has worked as a laundress at the company for five years. Her husband was also an employee of the company before he died with HIV/AIDS a year before I interviewed her in 2015. Their two children died tragically of anaemia. Although Mince now lives alone, she is responsible for her parents and two siblings who live in Banti village, near the mining area of Tembagapura. Her parents and siblings rely on their garden's production, but the income from selling crops is insufficient to provide for such daily needs as tea, sugar and cooking oil, or luxury goods such as clothes and shoes. Mince lives in her family's house, which was provided by the company in Tembagapura, so she can easily visit the employee barracks to do her laundry. Every fourth night, Mince visits her parents and

siblings in Banti village and gives them money to buy the goods they want. Mince is important to her family because she is the only member who is working at the company. She finished secondary school and spent time with her parents in the garden before joining the company. Mince said she was grateful for her job as a laundress. She did not want to quit the job because she knew it would be impossible for her to get another role due to her lack of a good education.

Mince's story embodies the nightmares of modernity that are affecting the indigenous Amungme community. Once again it shows that the presence of modernity, in the form of Freeport Mining Company, has shaped men's authority within the family. Opportunities to engage with Freeport have been used by men as a means of expressing their authority over women, and as offering them the freedom to enact their desires. The money they earn is not spent on family needs, but rather on a modern lifestyle, leaving women to take over the responsibility of caring for the family.

Thomas, 38, is a married man with three children who has worked at Freeport Mining Company for more than 10 years. He receives a good salary from the company. Thomas says:

> "My wife does not know how much I receive my salary every month. I never tell her". I took a breath and asked him: "Why?" He replied (looking very confident): "I am a man. I work from Monday to Friday and off on the weekend. I work hard for five days. I need another atmosphere on my day off. I have many friends. Sometimes I invite them to get drunk in bars in Timika town. My wife always complains to me. But I said to her: 'the money in my pocket is my right. So please, do not complain to me. If you always complain to me then I will not give you the money'." His statements really

> surprised me. I took a breath and asked him again: "Thomas, are you sure about what you just said?" He replied: "Yes, my money is my right. What I want to do with my money is my right. No one can argue with me, even my wife" (Thomas, Interview).

What Thomas said is verified by Yohanes, 60:

> "Our young men – not all [he adds with emphasis] – now are so chaotic (*kacau*). They have a good job and good salary, but they spend their money for bad things such as getting drunk, visiting brothels and bars. They only give a little of their salary to their wives. If the wife complains, the husband will hit her. I am so sad to see this situation. Money makes my people, especially men, crazy and chaotic" (Yohanes, Interview; see also Appendix 2).

Before the mining company arrived in the indigenous Amungme community, husbands and wives shared equal responsibility for meeting family needs. Gardening and hunting were important to sustaining the family. Unfortunately, since the introduction of modernity through the presence of a foreign company, money has become important to people for realising their modern dreams. Here, the huge company is like a monster that has created catastrophe and suffering for the indigenous Amungme, especially the women of the community. It has led to a breakdown of the traditions that governed gender roles and relations in the past. This situation was expressed most of all by the indigenous Amungme women I met during my fieldwork in Timika. Thea, for example, said: "Indeed it should be recognised that the presence of the company among us has helped us to improve our life, but it unfortunately creates

catastrophe for us" (Thea, Interview). Therefore, while modernity has had a positive impact on people, it has also created problems for them.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the modern dreamings of contemporary indigenous Amungme people in the wake of encounters with Christianity, feminism and capitalist development. Contact with these transcultural forces has significantly affected people's lives. Christianity, for example, has changed the gender role divisions and relations between women and men in accordance with Western perspectives, without taking into account the local cultural context. The failure of Christianity is akin to the failure of development in approaching people in Third World countries, including the indigenous Amungme. Capitalist development, in the case of the indigenous Amungme, has created a dependency on the promises of that development. However, one group of people, in this case indigenous Amungme women, still believe that development is not the only way out of poverty. Some indigenous Amungme women maintain the livelihoods transferred by their parents and ancestors to sustain family life. However, development has also opened up opportunities for women to engage with modern institutions, for example the Freeport Mining Company. Interestingly, when indigenous Amungme women take the chance to be involved with modern

institutions, it not only helps their families to escape from vulnerable situations but also helps them to achieve their dreams of securing independence from men.

In addition to the process of transculturation that has arisen from cultural forces such as Christianity, feminism and capitalist development, encounters with other people in spheres such as the workplace, the market and the garden show how indigenous Amungme women are trying to build and maintain relationships to achieve their dreams. This chapter has identified how transculturation is playing out among today's indigenous Amungme.

CHAPTER THREE

WOMEN IN THE WORKPLACE

3.1 Introduction

As discussed in the previous chapters, the indigenous Amungme people are in the midst of a transition from traditional ways of living to modernity. This transition has been triggered by their encounter with ideas brought by Christianity, capitalist development (through the presence of the Freeport Mining Company) and feminist ideas that challenge the establishment of patriarchal dominance. Such ideas have influenced gender relations and the roles of contemporary indigenous Amungme women and men. Based on the changes that are taking place among indigenous Amungme people, this chapter aims to show the dynamic of women's work as it shifts from the household to the workplace. I focus on women's participation in the workplace with the purpose of ascertaining how external pressures, at work, affect their roles in the workplace and at home. In addition, this chapter discusses gender and power dynamics at work, with a particular focus on one cultural organisation, to show how women struggle against the male domination of decision-making in their workplaces.

To address the main purpose of this chapter, I begin by looking at studies of the impact of global capitalism on women's lives in Third World countries. This chapter also presents some stories from professional indigenous Amungme women to show the shift in women's roles – from the domestic sphere to the

workplace – is a product of transculturation, itself due to the rapid socio-economic transformations that are happening in the indigenous Amungme community.

3.2 Capitalism and women in Third World countries

Many studies show that the penetration of global capitalism has had a negative impact on both women and men in Third World countries, and that women in these settings often suffer more than men. The introduction of capitalism into Third World countries has marginalised women's productive roles and often given more privilege to men. To identify the influence of global capitalism on women in these countries, I draw on the seminal works of Ester Boserup (1970) and Maria Mies (1986), which address gender and development.

Ester Boserup, in *Woman's Role in Economic Development* (1970), shows that modernisation assumed a trickle-down effect for economic development that did not bring equal benefits to women and men. She found that colonial rule and development capitalism changed the patterns of gender role division in communities in Third World countries. By studying communities in Latin American, Africa and Asia, she found that, before modern agricultural techniques were rolled out in societies where subsistence cultivation had been the order of the day, the gender roles and relations between women and men were more equal because women shared in, or even managed, production (while men hunted). Nowadays, women are not accorded equal opportunities in learning, for example, how to deploy modern agricultural techniques. As a result, women's

role in subsistence cultivation has been abolished and they have been pushed back into the domestic sphere. With the transition from subsistence to commercial agriculture, women have lost access to farming. The Western-inspired idea of modernisation may be to eradicate poverty in rural society, but it has caused environmental degradation and led to a diminution of women's status in the family and community, as well as increasing women's poverty.

The negative impacts of capitalism on women in Third World countries are also noted by Maria Mies (1986). She says capitalism has marginalised women from the development process and turned them into housewives, and adds that capitalism has contributed to the perpetuation of patriarchal dominance. Based on an analysis of the effect of capitalist development in India, she concludes that the penetration of economic development into Third World countries has not improved the situation of women in poor rural areas (e.g., in India), but has instead worsened their lives.

The advance of capitalism and its processes has also been documented in Asia, especially Indonesian and Melanesian societies. Colfer (2008), for instance, describes how the introduction of chainsaws and outboard motors into the Kenyah Dayak in East Kalimantan eroded the equality of women's and men's roles in subsistence agriculture, especially in rice production. She found that the arrival of chainsaws increased the efficiency of men's work because the chainsaws could only be operated by men, while women undertook their tasks using traditional technology. Likewise, the outboard motor further decreased women's autonomy because women could hardly travel alone with the heavy engines.

Tania Murray Li (2015), in her studies of the expansion of a large-scale palm oil plantation in Meliau (West Kalimantan), notes that before the advent of large-scale palm oil plantations, women and men were equally involved in subsistence farming for rice and vegetables (see also Robinson, 1986). Women and men also had equal rights in land ownership. Yet a large-scale palm oil company ignored local women's land ownership rights and privileged men. Consequently, women lost economic autonomy and decision-making power, and had limited access to the benefits of palm oil sales. With regard to the decision-making power of women, Elmhirst et. al. (2015) also note that while women were involved in formal meetings held by the palm oil company, their voices were ignored and they were expected by men to remain silent during meetings. Women have also been excluded from compensation for land rights transferred to the company and the distribution of benefits from the palm oil sales (see also Elmhirst & Darmastuti, 2014). A study conducted by Lahiri-Dutt and Mahy (2008) in Kalimantan found that palm oil plantations resulted in "decreased opportunities from land-based livelihoods", which "led to a lowering of women's status within the family and society whilst increasing their work burdens" (p.1). Besides these studies, OXFAM Australia (2009) investigated the impact of mining on gender roles in Papua New Guinean communities. It found that the transfer of land rights to mining companies was negotiated by men, while women were not involved. Compensation and royalties offered by mining companies went to men, ignoring women's rights to the financial benefits of mining. This created an economic dependence of women on men, and exacerbated inequality in gender relations (p.7; see also Macintyre, 2002).

These studies showed that large investments in palm oil production yielded gender inequality. The exclusion of women from public decision-making processes and land rights transfers are negative effects of capitalism on women. However, the penetration of capitalism into Third World countries has also had positive impacts on women, mainly due to educational opportunities, access to politics and roles in workplaces that were once dominated by men.

Deniz Kandiyoti, in her book *Women, Islam and the State* (1991), argues that capitalism does not have an entirely negative impact on women's lives in developing countries since it also opens up new opportunities for women to access public spheres such as politics, education and other fields that were dominated by men. According to Kandiyoti, the introduction of capitalism in the Muslim world has influenced how the state and the religion view Muslim women. Capitalism has shaken conservative views of women's status and role within the family and community. Muslim women who had been subject to religious and state rules now have the freedom to decide what is good for them. The emergence of Muslim women's movements that question the rights and roles of women are proof of the transformation that is occurring in Muslim countries due to the penetration of capitalism. Kandiyoti wants to show that women in Muslim countries, and other Third World countries, should not be seen merely as victims of capitalism, but also as having the ability to negotiate with, adapt to and take advantage of the penetration of capitalism for the sake of improving their lives.

Like Kandiyoti, Luise White (1990) in her book *The Comforts of Home: Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi* shows how women have taken advantage of prostitution to accumulate capital and power. She invites us to see why African

women chose to be prostitutes to survive in British colonial Africa. White brings readers to understand the politico-economic situation in Kenya that led African women to become prostitutes. She avoids approaching prostitution in colonial Nairobi from a moral perspective, choosing instead to regard prostitution as a labour process: "It is sex and money that interests me here" (p.12). White records extensive interviews with women who worked as prostitutes in Nairobi during the mid-1970s. From these interviews, she identifies three forms of prostitution in colonial Nairobi: *watembezi*, *malaya* and *wazi-wazi*. *Watembezi* women usually solicit men in public places such as bars, hotel lobbies and the street. *Malaya* women serve male migrant labourers living far from home through a range of domestic services such as "food, bathwater, conversation, and when a man spent the night, breakfast" (p. 15). The *wazi-wazi* sit outside the doors of their rooms and call out to men to approach them (p.19). By studying female prostitutes in Africa, White finds that whatever pressures prompted the women into prostitution, and whatever kind of prostitution they chose, their decision to become a prostitute was a form of independence – using their bodies to accumulate capital and power.

Like White, Lawrence Hammar (2008) in his article "Mobility, Violence and the Gendering of HIV in Papua New Guinea" notes that the presence of mining companies in Papua New Guinea not only opens up opportunities for men to gain greater access to financial benefits, but also provides a chance for women to sell sexual services to the men to attain money. Hammar (1999) records that several hundred local women in Papua New Guinea, especially in Kiwai and Suki, "engage in commercialised sexual relations to support themselves, children, families and

extended kin and friendship networks" (p. 77). Similarly, Petra Mahy (2011), in her article "Sex Work and Livelihoods: Beyond the 'Negative Impacts on Women' in Indonesia Mining", argues that the choices women make to be sex workers in Kaltim Prima Coal, a large-scale coal mine in Kalimantan-Indonesia, should be seen as a form of women's autonomy: acting in ways that ensure their own economic survival and personal satisfaction.

These studies demonstrate how the penetration of colonial rule and global capitalism into Third World countries has offered women the option of greater bargaining power within families and society. Capitalism has opened up opportunities for women to access education, politics and economic recourse that directly arise from awareness of their power to resist state, religious and cultural violence in their lives.

3.3 Shifting gender roles: From the domestic to the public sphere

Globally, societies have been experiencing transculturation (Ortiz, 1995) as a result of rapid socio-political and economic change. Such changes affect gender relations and the roles of women and men as governed by the cultural context in which they live, both in urban and in rural settings. Silvia Walby (1997) is one of many scholars to have pointed out that Western societies have experienced a massive transformation in gendered social relations. Changes in the lives of women and men have been caused by shifts in social values that have taken place in part because of social movements whose purpose was to create equality in areas of social life such as work and politics, as well as in personal

relations between women and men (Falk, 1998, ix). This transformation has shaken the social acceptance of traditional gender roles (Mac anGhaill & Haywood, 2007, p. 1). Anne Phillips cites as evidence of this great transformation in Western society the following: the feminisation of the workforce; increasing gender equalisation in education participation and qualifications; women's greater self-confidence and self-esteem, and the emergence of women's resistance movements (1998, p.1). Nickie Charles (1993, p.54) points out that even though gender roles and relations are shifting, inequalities in many Western families still exist between women and men. Within families, many still accept that women should be the primary housekeepers and men the primary breadwinners. Women may have more opportunities to be involved in paid work outside the home, but they are still expected to take on primary caring responsibilities for their children and husbands. Naturally, in various ways, this can serve as a barrier to career advancement.

Another study of gender and globalisation, conducted by Bahira Sherif Trask (2014), shows how the increasing number of women in the global labour force has had both a positive and negative impact on women's lives. On the one hand, women can earn an income, improve their skills and develop social relations with people outside the home, thereby bringing about greater equality within families and society at large. Having an income of their own (perhaps even working far from their home villages) can increase autonomy. On the other hand, such opportunities bring challenges in terms of managing domestic responsibilities and family relations. The opportunities and challenges vary depending on culture, education, class and religion, and whether the woman lives

in a developing or a modern industrial society. Often, however, the traditional power held over women by husbands and patrilineal families is not reinforced so much as shaken. Interestingly, Trask points out that while globalisation undeniably presents problems for women in developing countries, some women are also being afforded new opportunities. Gaining greater autonomy through an independent income can lead to a louder voice in family and community decision-making.

Although the study quoted above shows that domestic responsibilities are still often deemed a woman's duty, the involvement of women in the workplace should be celebrated. This indicates a shift in gender roles for women from the domestic to the public sphere. Such shifts have occurred among indigenous Amungme women. Rapid socio-economic changes among the indigenous Amungme community have greatly influenced Amungme women by changing their gender roles both in the family and in the community. Nowadays, many indigenous Amungme women have more opportunities to engage in the workplace.

However, it cannot be denied that the workplace is still seen as a man's realm. Workplaces are occupied mostly by men, while many women still function in their old roles – within the household. Nevertheless, I argue that a rise in women's participation in the workplace cannot be seen merely as a complementary task to domestic duties carried out to meet the family's financial needs; it also becomes important for women to actualise their abilities and become independent. To support these arguments, I present stories from

professional Amungme women who are working in several modern institutions: a foreign company and the government.

3.3.1 Working with Freeport Mining Company

Delila, a married woman, has two children. She spent her childhood in Agimuga district, her parents' village, until she completed her primary school education. Her father died when she was young, so Delila, her mother and her sister lived under her uncle's custody. Her uncle got a permanent job as a government employee in Timika town, and Delila decided to move with him to the city, expecting to continue her studies at the high school in Timika. Unfortunately, her expectations were not met because her uncle married two years after they moved to town. Delila instead spent her girlhood helping her aunty and constantly looking for opportunities to continue her studies. Fortunately, her uncle later sent her to high school. She graduated with good grades. Six years later, she met Demianus, an indigenous Amungme man. They married and have two children.

When Delila was 27, Freeport Mining Company opened up opportunities for indigenous people in Mimika regency, as well as Papuans throughout the province of Papua, to become involved in the Nemangkawi Mining Institute (NMI), which the company established to prepare local people and other Papuans who wanted to become employees. Delila applied to the NMI and spent three years in a training program. At NMI, Delila and other students were taught to become skilled and competent employees who could operate modern technological equipment. They were also taught to adapt to company demands for workplace discipline (PT Freeport Indonesia, 2013, p. 31). Delila considered the training to

be important in developing her personality and work skills so that she could take part in a modern workplace like Freeport. Since she received good results for her studies, NMI put her forward for an apprenticeship at the environmental division of Freeport.

> "The Apprenticeship program at Nemangkawi Mining Institute (NMI) is designed to provide opportunities for participants to develop knowledge, skills and attitudes required to obtain jobs which include trade and operator positions at PT Freeport Indonesia (PTFI) and contractors, but employment is not guaranteed. Apprenticeship involves a three-year program with three to four months of off-job instruction each year and around eight months on-job training. NMI administers and monitors both the off-job and on-job development of each student as they progress through the Apprenticeship Program modules. NMI apprenticeship program follows the Indonesian Mining and Manpower Department regulations" (PT Freeport Indonesia, 2013, p. 5).

Although Delila trained at NMI, working in the environmental division was a new experience for her. She made an effort to master the laboratory equipment, sometimes asking other employees for help. When I interviewed her in 2015, Delila was the only indigenous Amungme woman to be working in the environmental division.

Delila's main job is to observe and analyse the impact of mining waste on water and soil. As an environmental analyst in this division of the company, she must prove that tailings waste from the mining operations do not have a negative effect on the environment or people in the lowlands. As noted by Leith (2003): "Freeport argues that after extensive studies it found that the disposal of the

tailings in such a manner was the safest and best possible alternative given their nature and the difficulties of the site" (p.167). These studies contradict the experience of people who live downstream from the tailings dumps, where tailings waste has destroyed significant portions of the lowland environment (Leith, 2003, pp.166-167; WALHI, 2006, p.111). In addition to environmental damage from toxic waste, health issues are a problem for people in the lowlands, including infertility, womb problems and scabies. Although Delila is an indigenous Amungme woman who knows the impact of tailings waste on people in the lowlands, she cannot argue with the company because she is an employee. Her story shows that, while the presence of the mining company/capitalism benefits those who can get involved in modern work, it also brings misery to those with no access to the company's benefits.

Interestingly, Delila's involvement in the environmental division, which demands work discipline and an ability to organise on the job, affects her views of the relationship between herself and her husband. One thing I discovered in Delila was her independence in decision-making, especially in terms of her salary. Since Delila became an employee and started earning a good salary from the company, she has become less dependent on her husband's income. She does not have to seek his permission to spend her income. She can freely invest in the bank for her children's future education, send money to her mother in the village, or buy a motorcycle to drive the children to school or herself to the office. Delila is therefore changing a pattern of gender relationss as previously practised by indigenous Amungme people, where men made the decisions.

Sarah, 40, is a married woman whose parents strongly encouraged her to obtain a better education and so sent her to be educated in Jayapura, the capital of Papua. After finishing high school, Sarah continued her studies at the Cenderawasih State University in Jayapura for almost five years. Although there was an opportunity to work in Jayapura, she decided to go back home and applied to be an employee at Freeport. Sarah speaks and writes English well, and is an indigenous Amungme woman, so she was eligible to join the company. She works in the community development section of Freeport.

Sarah is a smart and polite woman. When I called her to enquire whether she was available for an interview, she responded positively and said she would be happy to share her experience with me. She invited me to conduct the interview in her office before lunch because there were to be meetings in the afternoon. Before I began, Sarah asked me: "Sister, what would you like to drink? Tea or coffee?" I said: "Water is good for me". She went to the kitchen and brought back a small bottle of ''Aqua'' water, putting it on the table near me. Her office was tidy, with one computer and some books on her desk, and two pictures of the company hanging on the wall. The office was also equipped with air-conditioning. Another employee, a non-Papuan male, also worked in the office.

As a member of staff in the community development division of Freeport, Sarah evaluates community development programs that she regards as unprofitable for local people. She tells me that she refused a company ban on the use of land by the local community. Some indigenous Amungme women would garden in forest areas around the company. According to Sarah, if the company forbade the Amungme from gardening in these areas, the women would have to

move further from their homes. Sarah said: “I will tell them again in the meeting today that we [the company] need to think again regarding such a ban, because it will create a problem for the local women”.

Although Sarah enjoys working for the company, she is bothered by the work discipline, especially the hours. She finds it difficult to adapt to the company’s demands that employees work eight hours, from 8am to 5pm:

> “I only have one son, and my husband is also a government employee. Every day, which is from Monday to Friday, my son goes to school at 7.15am, and my husband goes to his office at 8am, while I also should go to my office at 8am. I have no one to help to do such a task, and therefore, every morning I have to wake up earlier, preparing breakfast for my son and husband, and also for me. Sometimes I get to the office late, but I cannot complain because I think these are my duties as a wife and mother for my son. However, I am lucky because my husband sometimes, especially on the weekend, helps me to do laundry. But I actually feel uncomfortable letting my husband do such a task, although my husband enjoys it. Even my sisters always admonish me not to let my husband do those tasks. Therefore, I rarely involve him in such domestic tasks” (Sarah, interview).

Sarah regards domestic tasks as her duty. If her husband were to take over these tasks, she would consider herself less of a good wife and mother. Sarah tries to be a good wife and mother by doing household tasks well. For instance, she says that every morning before going to work she cooks rice in a rice cooker. This way the rice remains warm throughout the day. She usually cooks meat and vegetables at lunch time, or sometimes in the morning before leaving for the office: “So, once my son and husband get back home for lunch, while I am still at the office, they

just take the rice from the rice cooker without having to heat it up again." When I ask if she feels happy with these tasks, she says she feels happy when she serves her husband and son well.

3.3.2 Working as a civil servant

As discussed at the start of this chapter, transculturation is taking place around the world as a result of globalisation. Globalisation has had a positive impact on women by opening up educational opportunities to improve their knowledge, ability and skills. Educational opportunities have also emerged for indigenous Amungme women, who sometimes decide on getting a better education far from their homes. Today, some indigenous Amungme women work in the labour force and are even entrusted with leadership in their workplaces. The following stories illustrate how educated indigenous Amungme women use their involvement in the workplace to solve social problems within their home communities.

Regina, 42, is a single mother who has been a civil servant for almost 15 years. She has three children. Regina grew up in Timika with her siblings. She finished her elementary, primary and high schooling in Timika. After high school, she continued to study in Central Java. At university there, Regina was involved in a student organisation as well as a Papuan student organisation. Her involvement had a positive impact on her. She built relationships with students from various cultural and educational backgrounds, for example, developing her leadership skills in the process. After finishing her studies in Central Java, Regina went back

home to work with her people in Timika. While awaiting the result of an application to work as a civil servant with the local government, she joined the Catholic Church in Timika to help train people in the local town and villages in community empowerment. Her experiences with student organisations encouraged her to help her community solve family and other social problems.

Two years later, Regina received news from the local government in Timika that she had been accepted as a government employee. She started her career as an administrator responsible for organising documents. However, she did not enjoy her tasks because they did not relate to her educational background. Three years later, she moved to the community development division and worked there for more than 10 years. Due to her success in conducting community development and establishing community relationships, she was promoted to lead the community development division.

Regina considers leadership to be important because it gives her the opportunity and the power to make changes in the wider community. I ask: "Why do you think that by being a leader you have power to bring about change for the people?" She says:

> "I, personally, see that by being a leader I can solve social problems being faced by people, especially local people, in this region. By gaining power, I can also make policies that will be used to help local people in improving their lives to be better than before" (Regina, Interview).

Fransina is 40 years old and works as a nurse in the public hospital in Timika town. As a girl, Fransina had dreamt of becoming a nurse. She said: "Every

time I saw a woman wearing a nurse uniform, I always imagined that one day I would be like her – I would be wearing the nurse uniform also." This desire became stronger when she was in primary school. After primary school, she went to a nursing school in Kokonau district, which is part of Mimika regency. Fransina lived in a dormitory provided for students. After her studies, she applied to be a nurse at the public hospital in Timika. While awaiting the results of her application to the local government, she helped a neighbour's wife with the laundry. Fransina is an orphan. Her parents died when she was a child. Her father's brother took responsibility for her custody until she graduated from primary school. For young Fransina, laundry was not a tough task; she had done it when she stayed with her uncle. One day, while cooking in the kitchen, she heard her name called on the radio. She could not believe that she had finally been accepted as a nurse: "You know, when I heard that they called my name, I was so happy because finally my dream came true. This is my dream when I was a little girl. You know why I want to be a nurse? For me, being a nurse is a noble task. By being a nurse, I can help my people, especially women who are experiencing health problems related to their wombs and female genitalia."

These stories show the change in women's lives that may occur when the workplace (or public sphere) is no longer solely the domain of men. Rapid socio-political and economic changes have opened up opportunities for women to participate in work outside the home. In the past, gender roles for women and men were clearly distinguished among the indigenous Amungme community. Indigenous Amungme women focused on household tasks, gardening activities and raising pigs, while men played more roles outside the home. Encounters with

globalisation have affected the division of these traditional gender roles. Today, many indigenous Amungme women can gain a better education. They also have the chance to participate in workplaces that were once considered the preserve of men. Such shifts – from household to workplace – show that indigenous Amungme women are in the process of *acculturation* (see Ortiz, 1995). While they transition from traditional to modern work, indigenous Amungme women seek to adapt gradually to the demands of modern institutions by learning to accept working hours and organising their jobs well. Here, the workplace is a "contact zone" (see Pratt, 2008) that has had a significant impact on women's lives.

Furthermore, the involvement of women in the workforce cannot be seen solely as complementary to the fulfillment of family needs. Their participation is a way to actualise their capacity to serve people and change their communities. It is clear that capitalism, although exploitative, has had a direct impact on women by opening up opportunities for them to engage with modern work that was previously the preserve of men. This positive impact of capitalism is similar to feminism's goal of liberating women from male domination. By taking part in the workplace, women have gained the power to decide what is best for their personal lives.

3.4 Household tasks and the workplace: In between

As explained in the previous section, rapid socio-political and economic change has had a direct impact on the lives of women and men. Traditional roles have been renegotiated, and opportunities for women have opened up in the

workplace. However, many women and men still see the primary tasks of women as lying within the family household. Such views leave many women struggling to develop their careers, yet they cannot ignore domestic tasks that are considered to be a woman's responsibility. Stories from professional indigenous Amungme women reveal some of the conflicts that they face today as a result of working in and outside of the home.

The stories of Fransina and Delila illustrate the conflict that career women experience over household chores. These married women both agree that, although women have an opportunity to participate in the workplace, their domestic tasks should not be ignored. For them, the success of a woman is not determined solely by her career, but also by her ability to manage domestic duties, including childcare and the provision of services for her husband. "Such tasks are heavy, but these are our [women's] tasks, so we need to enjoy them" (Fransina, Interview).

While Fransina is busy with her career as a nurse in the public hospital, she always takes time out to go home and prepare lunch for her husband and children. She does not hire a woman to take over her domestic tasks because she prefers to handle these herself. Sometimes, if she is very busy, she asks a relative to do the laundry and clean the house. She tells me that sometimes, at night, while her husband and children are sleeping, she irons clothes or does the laundry until midnight. I ask: "Why do you do the tasks at night?" She says she does not have enough time to complete her tasks in the morning or afternoon because she has another job in the hospital. I ask further: "Why do you not ask your husband to

help you?" She responds: "I am reluctant to ask my husband to do laundry and/or iron the clothes because these are my responsibility".

Delila says:

> "Though my husband has not yet gotten a job, I am reluctant to ask my husband to take over my domestic duties. Therefore, before going to the office or doing other activities outside the home, I will clean up the house and prepare breakfast for my children and husband. Sometimes my husband helps me to take over the tasks, but I am not satisfied because he does not do it as I expected. Therefore, although I spend about 30 minutes to travel the distance from the office to the house, I always go back home to prepare lunch for my children. I feel guilty if I do not do the tasks" (Delila, Interview).

These stories demonstrate the balancing of workplace and domestic duties in women's lives. Women's reluctance to involve men in domestic tasks shows that women still view these tasks as female responsibilities. Annie McClintock, in her famous book *Imperial Leather* (1995), highlights the relationships between imperialism and gender. She argues that imperialism has positioned "women and men" as different power groups (p. 16). In terms of the relationship between imperialism and gender, McClintock shows that capitalism as a form of imperialism has perpetuated women's domestic roles. For example, it creates modern domestic appliances, such as the rice cooker and the washing machine, to help women accomplish domestic tasks so that they also have time for activities outside the home. Capitalism does not liberate women from their domestic duties. In this instance it has created a new problem: women are pushed to participate in the labour force, while receiving tools to make their domestic

tasks more comfortable. The upshot is that women's workloads have increased because they now act in two spheres – domestic and public.

Hochschild, in her book *The Second Shift: Working Families and the Revolution at Home* (2003), notes: "Women changed rapidly but the job they went out to and the men they came home to have not changed – or not so much" (xxi). Hochschild shows that while women in contemporary societies have become rapidly involved in the workplace (or shifted from the domestic to the public sphere), they still consider domestic tasks as their responsibility. Many women, therefore, feel guilty and reluctant to share domestic tasks with their husbands, and husbands still consider domestic tasks as women's responsibilities. Here, Hochschild says the opportunities that have opened up for women in the workplace have increased women's workloads because women are still expected to carry out domestic tasks. Women's reluctance to share domestic tasks with men also indicates the influence of the Christian division of gender roles that was introduced to the indigenous Amungme. Men were educated to be leaders of the household and the community; women were trained to take responsibility for domestic roles (as mentioned in the Introduction of this thesis and Chapter Two, section 2.2, pp. 80-81). This gendered division of tasks has influenced women's perceptions of their household roles, with wives saying they would be neglecting their duties and responsibilities (see women's stories above). It shows once more that Christianity has played a significant role in promoting gender subordination in the household, by deeming domestic tasks appropriate for women, but not for men.

3.5 Gender and power dynamics in the workplace

As explained previously, rapid socio-political and economic changes have had a positive impact on women by opening up roles for them in the workplace. Yet, women's involvement in decision-making at work is still limited, with men playing the dominant role. Such restrictions are strongly influenced by gender relations and the traditions that govern the roles of women and men. For instance, the gender division of labour was once clearly visible within the indigenous Amungme community. Women's roles focused on household tasks, childcare, garden activities and raising pigs. Men focused on hunting, leading community meetings and tribal war, as well as protecting their family and community from the enemy (Mampioper, 2000; Beanal, 1997). These different roles within the family and community were based on the differing status of women and men that had been embraced by the indigenous Amungme. That gender division of labour placed women as a group controlled by men. Consequently, the position of men has been recognised as more important than that of women.

Caroline, a married woman, is 30 years old and was born and raised in Agimuga, one of the districts on the south coast of Mimika regency. She has three siblings: two brothers and a sister. Her father used to be a teacher at the private secondary school owned by the Catholic Church in Agimuga district, while her mother is a housewife. Since her father was a teacher at the Catholic school, he sent his children to the primary and secondary Catholic schools in Agimuga. After Caroline finished her secondary education, her father sent her to continue studying at the public school in Timika town, along with her two brothers. With

funding support from Freeport's Partnership Fund for Community Development (LPMAK: community development program for the Amungme and Kamoro, indigenous people in Timika), Caroline completed a bachelor's degree in Java. Afterwards, she returned to Timika and joined a local organisation (LEMASA) that focuses on environmental disasters.

The organisation that Caroline joined sees how an environmental disaster due to mining waste has destroyed sources of livelihood for the indigenous people living around the mining area in both the highlands and downstream areas of Timika regency. It notes how the people are experiencing health problems due to mining waste. Such troubles have prompted younger generations to join forces and work in this organisation to save people from the long-term impacts of pollution arising from mining waste.

The impact of mining waste on the local people is a form of slow violence. Rob Nixon, in his book *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor* (2011, p.2), mentions that "slow violence is violence that occurs gradually and out of sight, a violence of delayed destruction that is dispersed across time and space, an attritional violence that is typically not viewed as violence at all". To emphasise what he means by slow violence, Nixon gives a detailed explanation, highlighting that "slow violence is often not just attritional but also exponential, operating as a major threat multiplier; it can fuel long-term, proliferating conflicts in situations where the conditions for sustaining life become increasingly but gradually degraded" (p.3).

The long-term impact of mining waste on the local Amungme people is one of the biggest issues they face. This organisation was established as a symbol of

the struggle to save the environment and the Amungme future from a catastrophe caused by mining waste. Unfortunately, to cover up toxic waste in the environment and local people's lives, the company recruits local people to work for it (see Delila's story). Since Caroline has experience in working with her community, she was recruited by LEMASA to be a member of its council.

LEMASA (the Amungme Tribal Council) was established in 1994. The main purpose of building this customary council was to show politically and culturally the existence of the indigenous Amungme as owners of customary land rights in the area covered by Freeport Mining Company. By establishing this cultural institution, "the indigenous Amungme would be able to unify and fight for their rights in the face of the massive power of the company and repression of the Indonesian military apparatus, and the gentler pressure of migration from inside as well as outside of Papua" (Widjojo, 2010, p. 74). In short, the main interest of LEMASA is to restore the rights of the indigenous Amungme people in the area covered by the Freeport mine (Heidbuchel, 2007, p. 104).

Since LEMASA is a customary council of the indigenous Amungme, it must fairly involve women and men. But LEMASA is representative of the traditional "men's house" (*Itorei*), so the gender balance of its membership is not a council concern. Accordingly, women are involved solely to show that the organisation is a "house", representing all members of the community.

Caroline says she feels uncomfortable working within the cultural council because most of its members are men. Even though she has been entrusted to lead a division of women's empowerment, she is not allowed to make decisions at meetings; she just sits and listens to what other members, namely men, decide.

Caroline is unhappy with a situation that assigns her such an unimportant role in decision-making:

> "Our men are not willing to listen to what is said by women. They always assume that we [women] do not know anything, and they even forbid us to talk much in a meeting. If we disagree with what they decide, then they will say: 'You sit and stop talking. You are only a woman, so you should listen and follow what we [men] said and decide'. For me, if the men want us [women] to work together with them in this organisation, they must respect us by allowing us to be actively involved in decision-making" (Caroline, Interview).

I witnessed what Caroline said of male domination in LEMASA when I interviewed her in 2015. At the time I contacted her for an interview, Caroline was in a meeting with other members of LEMASA. Since I had tried to meet her several times, I took the opportunity to meet her where the meeting was being held, and she permitted me to interview her there. When I arrived, the meeting was still in progress, so I sent Caroline a message by mobile phone saying that I was sitting in the lobby. Five minutes later, she appeared beside me. She looked unhappy. I asked: "Are you tired?" She said: "No … I am not tired, but I am so angry". I asked: "Why?" She responded: "I was just like a doll that only sat and listened to what they [the men] were talking about". I asked again: "Why?" She suddenly poured out her frustration: "Our men have not been prepared yet to accept us to work with them. They still consider that our [women's] tasks are only in the house. So, if they [men] listen to what women decide, that means they are subjected to women. That is why we [women] still struggle to co-operate with men" (Caroline, Interview).

Caroline was experiencing a traditional form of oppression and discrimination perpetrated by contemporary indigenous Amungme men to show their power over women. (In fact, women find it difficult to improve their careers in LEMASA because of such unfair behaviour). But her statement is an example of one woman's refusal to adhere to gender inequalities in the indigenous Amungme community today.

Men still occupy pivotal roles in decision-making while women are placed on the margins of social life because they are regarded as second-class citizens who do not have the power that men have. The involvement of women in this customary organisation is not yet fully seen to be important. Therefore, while women are invited to sit at the table alongside men, their voices are deemed as less important than men's voices. Caroline's statement also indicates that the way indigenous Amungme men marginalise indigenous Amungme women in decision-making is a form of slow violence; the men are practising violence against women by withholding their power as decision makers. Caroline is one indigenous Amungme women who is resisting the local patriarchy that ignores women's roles in decision-making. For Caroline, involvement in any meeting is not just about sitting at the table; it is about speaking and arguing with men in the decision-making process.

Caroline's rejection of inequality is similar to the experiences of women in Maimafu community, as noted by Paige West (2006). West describes in detail a woman's anger at being placed by men on the margin of a meeting (pp. 120-122). Such a placement – on the margins of meetings and social life – shows that men

still regard women as *alien* (or other). Positioning women as alien creates discomfort. Anzaldua (1987) writes of this situation as follows:

> "Living on borders and in margins, keeping intact one's shifting and multiple identity and integrity, is like trying to swim in a new element, an 'alien' element. There is an exhilaration in being a participant in the further evolution of humankind, in being 'worked on'. I have the sense that certain 'faculties' – not just in me but in every border resident, coloured or non-coloured – and dormant areas of consciousness are being activated, awakened. Strange, huh? And yes, the 'alien' element has become familiar – newer, comfortable, not with society's clamour to uphold the old, to rejoin the flock, to go with the herd. No, not comfortable but home" (p. 21).

Caroline's story also illustrates a form of male intimidation in the cultural organisation, whereby indigenous Amungme men see women as being under male control, and therefore as having to submit to men and follow what men decide without argument. Here, men use their power as leaders – of the family and the community – to control and force women to respect their decisions (Dahl, 1957; Weber, 1978). If women reject what men say in the meeting, or argue with them, the women have disrespected the men.

Yosepha Alomang has criticised the way LEMASA treats indigenous Amungme women. Alomang points out that in LEMASA, women's voices are less important than men's because LEMASA upholds the indigenous Amungme tradition of men as leaders of the community and women as a subordinated group led by men. For Alomang, this tradition underestimates and ignores the ability of indigenous Amungme women. Alomang establishsed another organisation, YAHAMAK (the Amungme-Kamoro Human Rights Foundation), on January 23,

2001, in Timika regency, with herself as leader (Giay & Kambay, 2003). As leader, she plays an important role in negotiations with Freeport Mining Company and the local government. Alomang's struggle is an example of the battle many indigenous Amungme women face as they try to shift from the margins to the centre of social life.

Today, indigenous Amungme women see their roles as more than reproductive. They also have responsibility for solving the socio-political and economic problems of the community. Yosepha Alomang's struggle to establish YAHAMAK shows that the role of women in decision-making is just as important as the role of men. Alomang uses the organisation to fight against the repression of the Indonesian military apparatus in Papua, as well as Freeport's arrogance in ignoring indigenous Amungme as owners of the area that the company occupies for mining operations and other interests (Giay & Kambay, 2003). She is therefore fighting three powers at once: indigenous Amungme men, the military, and Freeport Mining Company.

Caroline's experience of LEMASA and Alomang's critique of it show that women's involvement in the organisation is viewed as unimportant. Gender relations in the LEMASA workplace are still strongly influenced by the gender divisions embraced by indigenous Amungme people. Therefore, women's participation is merely a strategy to show that LEMASA is concerned about gender equality.

However, the involvement of women in LEMASA raises a new matter for indigenous Amungme men, because this cultural organisation is a symbol of the men's house. Since LEMASA was politically and culturally established as a

representative body to enable indigenous Amungme people – men and women – to negotiate with the government and Freeport Mining Company, LEMASA considers it necessary to open up opportunities for women. Unfortunately, the organisation has not entirely seen the importance of women's involvement in negotiating with the local government and the mining company.

Meanwhile, indigenous Amungme women are most vulnerable to policies set by the government and the company and the social problems that are arising from alcohol, HIV/AIDS and the environmental impacts of mining waste. For this reason, she says: "Women's voices need to be heard by men in decision-making" (Caroline, Interview).

Her experience also reveals that while LEMASA has opened opportunities for women, the gender gap and male domination in decision-making has not entirely changed within the organisation. Women's relegation to the margins and men's reluctance to collaborate with them, both in decision-making and negotiating with the government or the company, is reinforced by the approach taken by the government and the company. These institutions regard the male as the bearer of power in decision-making, in accordance with indigenous Amungme tradition. Therefore, in negotiating the transfer of land rights, Trust Fund disbursement from the company to the community, and social problems faced by the company, the government and the company have tended to place men in the position of power and granted them the right to make decisions. Modern institutions have thus, in this case, contributed to the gender gap between indigenous Amungme men and women.

Boserup (1970) and Mies (1986) have shown how modern institutions in developing countries treat women and men differently. Women are marginalised in decision-making, while men benefit from the approach of modern institutions. In Timika, the approaches of the government and the mining company have marginalised indigenous Amungme women who, in many cases, are victims of the institutions' policies.

Nancy Fraser (2003) shines a light on the struggle of indigenous Amungme women to obtain gender justice. She discusses the importance of social justice in the practice of democracy as well as the challenge to create social justice in society. According to Fraser, "recognition" and "redistribution" are the two kinds of justice that must be considered to create social justice. Social justice will only occur, she says, when different identities, such as gender, are recognised by society. But gender differences pose a problem for creating equality among community members. Social justice requires a fair redistribution of property and rights among community members regardless of the gender of the members. Yet the redistribution of property and rights is still dominated by certain groups (men) that have power within the society.

Male reluctance to include indigenous Amungme women in decision-making and negotiations with modern institutions indicates the social injustice that still exists for indigenous Amungme women in their community. Caroline's statement that "women's voices need to be heard by men in decision-making" indicates some resistance on her part to the domination and privilege of indigenous Amungme men. At the same time, she is struggling to gain recognition from indigenous Amungme men of the need to put women at the centre of

decision-making, where men sit. She is also negotiating with men over the just redistribution of rights and the involvement of men and women in decision-making, both in LEMASA and the wider community. In short, the recognition of women's status and roles, and a fair redistribution of rights and power to women and men, is important to create gender balance (gender justice) for women and men in the workplace.

3.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed how women's roles have shifted from the household to the workplace by looking at the experiences of professional women who participate in modern institutions, and how they manage domestic tasks. The chapter also examined how gender relations appear in the workplace, especially in customary institutions. The shift of women's gender roles shows that a process of transculturation is taking place among indigenous Amungme families and the community due to the influence of capitalism. It is clear that capitalism has brought new opportunities for indigenous Amungme women to become involved in the workplace. The previous chapter showed gender roles as practised by the indigenous Amungme people. Women's gender roles related more to household chores, childcare, gardening and raising pigs. Men's gender roles focused meanwhile on activities outside the home such as hunting, helping the wife to clear a new spot for gardening and leading tribal war. Indigenous Amungme men were also seen as leaders of the family and community, with decision-making in their hands.

Nowadays, traditional gender role divisions are shifting due to rapid socio-economic changes in the indigenous Amungme community. Many indigenous Amungme women have opportunities to obtain a better education, whether formal or informal. By gaining an education, they have a chance to participate in the workplace. Their involvement in the workplace has directly affected their views of gender relations in the home. Decision-making in the home is no longer solely for their husband. Other women try to retain some balance in gender relations at home by continuing to carry out domestic duties, even though they also have a role in the workplace.

This study found that the involvement of women in the customary council LEMASA is problematic and has not been fully recognised by men. Women's rights in decision-making are limited, a situation exacerbated by modern institutions (the government and the Freeport Mining Company) that negotiate with men. The participation of indigenous Amungme women in LEMASA is not solely about sitting and listening to what men decide; it is also about recognising their rights and capacity to be involved in decision-making, so that women's voices are considered as important as men's.

This chapter has shown that the shift of women's roles from the domestic sphere to public sphere (the workplace) is a product of acculturation arising from the rapid socio-economic changes that continue apace in the indigenous Amungme community.

CHAPTER FOUR

CARING FOR INDIGENOUS FUTURES

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter ("Modern Dreamings"), I showed how indigenous Amungme women use traditional livelihoods – gardening and raising pigs – to maintain the survival of their families, while men tend to ignore such livelihoods and wait for opportunities to work at modern institutions. Women thus play a pivotal role in caring for their families, especially their children, as mother and as wife. It can be said that the futures of Amungme generations, and of the tribe, are in women's hands. Yet, in many ways, indigenous Amungme women are still marginalised from decision-making. For instance, their involvement in transferring land rights to others has been obviated, and men have enjoyed the benefits of land transfers more than women. In an alternative indigenous Amungme future, benefits arising from land rights transfers would help community members, especially women who find themselves in vulnerable situations.

Some indigenous Amungme women who care for their own people note that many indigenous people no longer live in isolated places. Instead they now live in the modern era, alongside others. They travel far from their homes and meet people who hail from beyond their communities. Modern technology, such as TV and the internet, also offer indigenous Amungme people a glimpse of

modernity and a modern lifestyle. All these encounters affect them and encourage them to live like others. The changes taking place indicate a process of transculturation among the indigenous Amungme. The presence of a mining company and rapid development in the region have also influenced their livelihoods and environments. Such situations motivate some indigenous women to serve others, helping their people to achieve a better life by spreading notions of cleanliness and maternal and child health, or encouraging locals, especially indigenous Amungme women, to engage in modern markets as a way of improving their incomes. To achieve these goals, the women form organisations that facilitate, guide and motivate indigenous people. In this way, women play a pivotal role within their communities as agents of transculturation. As such agents, they do not seek only to create a better life for people today, but also work to sustain the life of the community into the future. They attempt to overcome community problems such as poor sanitation and health, as well as economic issues that they consider as threats to the future of the indigenous Amungme.

To illustrate how indigenous Amungme women act as agents of transculturation, I will first look at what has driven women to establish the indigenous women's organisation *Amungin Neinat Negel*, which works with local people to foster a better life. In subsequent sections, I will discuss three concerns of Amungin Neinat Negel and another women's group, the Ecumenical Christian Women's Fellowship. The groups consider cleanliness, maternal and child health, and women's income to be important as they attempt to create a better life for indigenous people in the present and into the future.

4.2 The emergence of an indigenous women's organisation in Timika

Amungin Neinat Negel ("We women are also owners of customary land rights") is an indigenous Amungme women's organisation. Most of its members are divorced women and widows. It emerged as a form of resistance to male domination, which has created problems for indigenous Amungme women. As noted above with respect to customary land, women have no right to transfer land to other parties. Only men are recognised as having this right. Therefore, in processing the transfer of customary lands to other parties, women cannot be involved. Indigenous Amungme women who are members of this organisation believe that women should have customary lands rights too, and that they should be involved in decisions about land transactions. Furthermore, they believe that women should receive benefits from land transfers.

According to Amungin Neinat Negel, the desire to involve women in decisions about transferring land rights to other parties is grounded in a desire for gender equality in decision-making. Hermina, a member of the organisation, says:

> "Now is time for us [women]. We [Amungme women] have to stand up and show to our men that we can do the same things that our men have done, and we can do even better than they did. We need to change this situation" (Hermina, Interview).

Here, I assume that Hermina is inviting other indigenous Amungme women to confront the male domination that they recognise as ignoring women's place in decisions on the transfer of customary land rights.

Nisa shares such thoughts on women's involvement in decision-making over the transfer of land rights:

> "So far, the benefits of the transfer of the customary lands is enjoyed by men, especially those who are recognised as the owners of the customary lands. We are just spectators in this game, though we are also the owners of the customary lands. We give birth to the next generation of our tribe. We feed them, care for them, and send them to school, but we are ignored. So, please, do not assume that we do not exist" (Nisa, Interview).

Yosepha Alomang reinforces Nisa's comments:

> "Men always get privileges for the benefits of transferring customary land rights to other parties" (Alomang, Interview).

These women see that being able to transfer land rights can privilege and advance men, while those who are structurally marginalised – women and children in particular – struggle to overcome poverty and limited access to healthcare and education. In an effort to help indigenous women overcome financial problems, Amungin Neinat Negel encourages them to improve their string bag weaving skills. This initiative aims at helping women (widows and divorced women) earn money that they can use to meet household needs, including their children's tuition.

Another issue the organisation addresses is maternal and child health. Amungin Neinat Negel collaborates with modern institutions, namely the local government and Freeport Mining Company, to help develop the community and awareness of these issues. Since Amungin Neinat Negel's members are local

women who rely on subsistence activities alone, collaborations with other institutions are important. According to Anna Tsing, "collaborations are the hopeful edge of a political project" (Tsing, p. 162). The organisation's collaboration with the government and Freeport Mining Company is a clever strategy to achieve its goals, which in this case include helping people to gain a better future. But collaborating with other parties who do not completely share the same interests can result in ongoing relationships of exploitation.

Collaboration with modern institutions is not restricted to obtaining funding. It also involves medical personnel to disseminate knowledge about cleanliness and maternal and infant health, in particular to indigenous Amungme women. Amungin Neinat Negel considers collaboration to be important as it attempts to help indigenous people develop a better life on their own land. Since Amungin Neinat Negel believes the future of the indigenous Amungme people is partly determined by the quality of women's and children's health, the organisation considers it important to help indigenous people, especially women, become aware of and care for their own health, as well as that of their children. Their actions to improve awareness of maternal and child health are a form of neoculturation, by which they improvise at the intersection of divided forces and try to create a better future for indigenous Amungme.

A desire to create a better life for the Amungme people is highlighted by Yosepha Alomang, who addresses Papuan human rights and environmental issues. In 2001, she received a Goldman Environment Prize for her struggle against Freeport Mining Company, which has been destroying lands and rivers – sources of life for indigenous Amungme. Alomang also led indigenous Amungme

women to protest against Freeport, which prefers to receive food supplies from beyond Timika, such as Macassar, Java and Australia, rather than buy the garden produce of indigenous Amungme women (Giay & Kambay, 2003). Alomang illustrates the situation that her people face when she says the indigenous Amungme people are now in "the margins" of their own land:

> "The indigenous Amungme are like strangers in their own 'home'. Most indigenous Amungme just sit and watch what is going on in their own land. Most of our young generations do not have good access to educational opportunities, and they do not know what they should do if they still want to exist in their own land. They are distracted and just copy the modern lifestyle brought by Indonesian migrants without selecting which pieces are good for them, and ignoring their traditions. Such rapid changes have directly impacted grassroots people, who are unfortunately mostly women. Many people die due to illness, malnutrition and hunger. This is so strange. Nowadays, we suffer a lot and we are always in trouble" (Alomang, interview).

These words show Alomang's anxiety over the situation that indigenous Amungme face. She seems to see no possibility for people to become masters of their own land. Natural resources, which in the past supported their lives, have been taken and enjoyed by others. Indigenous Amungme seem powerless, simply following the waves of change around them. They have become strangers in their own land. But Alomang is also pointing to a dream for a better future; a "*utopia*", or what the indigenous Amungme call "*Hai*". *Hai* refers to the hope of entering a beautiful and perfect place; the indigenous Amungme people dream of it and wait for it. In this place, according to their belief, all their necessities will be provided

forevermore. *Hai* is the indigenous Amungme belief in future prosperity. It is their final destination. In *Hai,* the indigenous Amungme no longer experience such vulnerabilities as starvation, poverty and sickness (Ellenberger, 1983, p. 104; Mampioper, 2000, p. 92). In relation to Alomang's dream, it can be said that she is imagining "the place" that will be enjoyed by her people because she is so frustrated with the chaotic situation that they are experiencing in the present.

For members of Amungin Neinat Negel, the wellbeing of the community is not merely about the future (*Hai*); they strive for it in the present. The way they interpret and try to manifest *Hai* in the here and now shows that Amungin Neinat Negel members are not trapped in the utopian version of *Hai* that indigenous Amungme people dream of and wait for, but rather they are optimistic that the vulnerable situation being experienced by indigenous Amungme now can be overcome by the community itself. Therefore, they invite the indigenous community to address cleanliness and health issues, and to take advantage of modern market opportunities to improve their incomes. By doing so, Amungin Neinat Negel members hope that *Hai* will become real in the present. In other words, members of Amungin Neinat Negel are trying to fill the gap between *Hai* as a utopia and *Hai* in the present. Esposito (2013, p. 86) writes: "The possibility arises of filling the gap in principle between the two extreme interpretations of biopolitics – between its deadly version and its euphoric version".

In helping their people to maintain health and income security, members of Amungin Neinat Negel place indigenous women at the centre of their activities to create an equal relationship between indigenous women and the women's groups. Here, members of the organisation see their role only as that of motivator,

facilitator and guide for indigenous people. The way they place indigenous women at the centre of their activities differs from approaches used by colonial officials and missionaries with indigenous populations in the highlands of Central Sulawesi, as described by Tania Murray Li (2007).

Li, in her book *The Will to Improve: Governmentality, Development and the Practice of Politics* (2007), carefully describes how colonial officials, missionaries and the Indonesian government exercise the notion of governmentality by controlling the natural resources, livelihoods and people of the Central Sulawesi highlands. Based on "the will to improve" community wellbeing in the highlands of Central Sulawesi, colonial officials educate local people to become experts in modern agriculture. As a result, they no longer practise shifting cultivation, which officials consider to be potentially harmful to environmental sustainability. In addition, missionaries, with the support of colonial officials, use their power to spread Christianity among the people and invite them to abandon their ancestral religions, which they consider to be backward. Governmentality continues through a resettlement program designed by colonial officials to move people to the lowland area of Palu valley, where they work as farm labourers in the fields under the control of colonial officials. Here, Li shows that in many ways local people are placed as "objects" to be governed and controlled by the authorities; the voices of the population (the local people) are considered unimportant.

The exercise of governmentality described by Li tends to refer to the preponderance of power held by groups that have "the will to dominate" other people and their natural resources. This approach differs from the affirmative biopolitics enacted by Amungin Neinat Negel in helping their people. Amungin

Neinat Negel's relationship with indigenous women is not based on the desire to control and dominate, as described by Li (2007). Rather, it is based on the will to help people "select which pieces are good for their own community" in the current situation (see Alomang's words above) and what the indigenous Amungme need to do to maintain the sustainability of their community life.

Nowadays, the indigenous Amungme people want to be modern, like others. Contact with outside influences, such as the lifestyles brought by Christianity and people from the Indonesian archipelago who have entered the region, have affected how indigenous Amungme people view themselves. "They want to enjoy advancement (*kemajuan*); they want to be modern. Therefore, our calling is to help our community to select modern pieces, such as hygiene practices and healthcare, in which not only to help them become modern, but also to help them keeping out from disease" (Laura, Interview). To achieve this goal, Amungin Neinat Negel also encourages people to find roles to help create a better future for the indigenous Amungme community. The organisation exercises affirmative governmentality by seeing the local women as individuals within a population who have the autonomy to control themselves in negotiations with other parties that work with them. As Foucault writes:

> "The contact point, where the individuals are driven by others is tied to the way they conduct themselves, is what we call, I think government. Governing people, in the broad meaning of the word, governing people is not a way to force people to do what the governors want; it is always a versatile equilibrium, with complementary and conflicts between techniques which assure coercion and processes through which the self is constructed or modified by himself" (Foucault, 1993, p. 204).

In doing so, this organisation does not view people as objects of its desire, but as subjects who have the power to decide what they need and want. In other words, these subjects do the work of neoculturation. Amungin Neinat Negel tries to position itself and the people in a relationship of equality. The organisation enacts governmentality and biopolitics in a different way. It puts indigenous women at the centre of decision-making and works with them. The organisation's members and local women appear to hold equal positions. By placing themselves in such a way, the members of this organisation exercise "affirmative biopolitics" (Campbell, 2008, p. xx), in which "the distinctions between material and immaterial labour, production and reproduction, work and leisure, human and machine are swept away by advanced technologies" (Tierney, 2016, p. 54).

4.3 Raising awareness of cleanliness

When I conducted my fieldwork among the indigenous Amungme people in Timika, I visited people who lived in the rural village of Banti, on the margins of Freeport's mining operation, in the highlands of Mimika regency. I spent seven days in a room within the barracks set up for Freeport company employees, which the company provided for me. During my stay, I had three occasions to visit, interview and observe people in Banti village. Visiting people in the village was a tremendous experience. Every morning and evening in Banti, the weather is cold, while in the afternoon it is pleasant. Rainfall is high and can occur throughout the day, even for a few days or weeks. Such weather leads people to prefer keeping warm and avoiding baths.

In the past, the houses of indigenous Amungme people in Banti village were made of wood, with thatched rooves. The houses of women and men were built in different places in accordance with tradition, while children lived with their mothers. Every night, in the women's and men's houses, a fire was built, and the women and men would respectively sit around it to warm their bodies while chatting and roasting sweet potatoes (*erom*) for dinner. Nowadays, these traditional houses have changed. Thatched-roofed houses have almost all disappeared. Since the village is located near Freeport's company area, which once belonged to the indigenous Amungme people, the company has built modern houses as a sign of its corporate social responsibility. In these modern houses, all members of the family – women, men and children – live together. Such a change has had an effect on traditional housing patterns that put women and men in separate homes. The shift to modern housing shows that transculturation is taking place in almost every aspect of indigenous Amungme community life.

Besides having a fireplace to warm their bodies, traditionally the villagers also smeared their bodies with lard. The lard stayed on their bodies for up to a week or two. By smearing themselves, they could survive outdoor activities despite the cold. If the lard began to wear thin, they would go to the river to clean it off; cleaning their bodies or bathing was not important to them. This was how people in the highlands of Papua would protect themselves from cold weather. The practice of smearing lard here is similar to practices in southern Africa. Timothy Burke (1996) describes the practice of "smearing" among people in southern Africa. There people identify the usefulness of the practice as follows:

> "First, the fundamental hygienic concept underlying smearing for most peoples seems to have been a belief that the best way to make the body safe from dirt and other menaces in the environment was to coat it with a protection layer. Second, smearing kept the skin from cracking or drying, a serious problem given the climate of the region. Third, the glossy sheen of the body and the sensuous feelings of smearing were widely regarded as fundamental components of an aesthetically pleasing appearance. It might also be noted that the prevalence of waterborne parasites, as well as predators like crocodiles, made bathing in some water sources dangerous by any standards" (p.25).

With regard to cleanliness, Burke offers fascinating information on "home demonstrators and educators", who were sent from village to village by colonial officials to introduce and instruct Africans on notions and practices of hygiene/cleanliness and sanitation. In their instructions, the demonstrators and educators used house-cleaning methods. Home life was key to changing African habits of cleanliness, they believed. Therefore, the target group to reach was wives. Children/pupils were also a target group. The latter were considered important for socialising the notion and practices of hygiene and sanitation. Burke notes that from the late 1920s, most African pupils attended mission and state schools. In the mission schools, African students were educated to favour "habits of cleanliness and discipline" in accordance with modern (Western) ways (Burke, 1996, p. 37). Prioritising cleanliness was considered part of modernising or civilising Africans from an early stage. And in order to instil the modern idea of cleanliness in children in colonial Rhodesia, students would have to sing as they marched to a stream: "We are dirty, we are dirty. We do not know how to wash

ourselves. We have not acquired education" (Burke, 1996, p. 41). Such singing indicates that mission schools treated African pupils as a group that did not know about the importance of cleanliness and healthy living. In order to change the dirty habits of the African community, the mission school considered it important to change the habits of the younger generation at an early age. Here Burke shows that women and pupils played a pivotal role in changing the African community. The mission school and the home demonstrators and educators considered cleanliness to be a yardstick for the modernisation of African people.

The approach taken by the mission school can be likened to the approach of Western missionaries in Papua. When Western missionaries arrived in the highlands of Papua in the 1950s, they taught people how to keep their bodies clean. They pressed for changes to the practice of body smearing and forced people to follow Western ways of cleanliness. First, the missionaries tried to change smearing practices by educating children in the concept of cleanliness. They showed children how to clean their bodies using soap, and how to take off their dirty clothes and put on clean ones. To keep children clean every day, the missionaries distributed second-hand clothes in the hope that the children would replace their dirty clothes with fresh ones. The missionaries also distributed second-hand clothes to adults and encouraged them to take off their traditional dress, such as the penis gourd (*koteka*) and grass skirt (*sali*).

Figure 4: Indigenous Amungme people dressed in traditional clothes: the koteka and Sali. *Source: printerest.com*

Martina, 40, recalled her mother's story about missionaries teaching people to bathe. Her mother said that every Saturday, after school, a missionary wife invited her to go down to the river to bathe. Martina recounts her mother's story:

> "The missionary wife always brought two bars of soap every time we went down to the river. One for the missionary wife and another for mother. She showed my mother how to clean her body properly by using soap, and also taught my mother how to wash the clothes that she gave to my mother" (Martina, Interview).

Martina continued:

> "My mother was so happy with what the missionary wife taught her. I still remember what my mother said to her children: that we should take a bath before going to school and bed. We [children]

> did not complain because we knew that this was good for us" (Martina, Interview).

Some indigenous people, including Martina and her mother, considered the new way of cleanliness to be a good way to advance (*memajukan*). But the missionaries' education methods did not work as well with indigenous people in the highlands, especially those living in isolated places who still wear the *koteka* and grass skirt and smear their bodies with lard. Nevertheless, the notion of cleanliness that the missionaries brought to indigenous people during that first colonial contact is still followed today. People gradually replaced the traditional practice of smearing lard with the soap and water technique of washing their bodies instead. Martina says: "Me and my people now are living in the modern world. So I think that we need to keep our bodies clean and dress well, so that others will respect us" (Martina, Interview).

Marina, an indigenous Amungme woman and nurse, works with her people in the highlands. She joins the wives of company employees to serve the indigenous Amungme people who live in the highlands of Mimika regency. They call their group Ecumenical Christian Women's Fellowship because most of the members are Christians. Most of them are also the wives of Freeport company employees and care about indigenous people. In addition to Marina, medical professionals from Freeport accompany this group. Every month they visit people who live in highland villages such as Banti, Tsinga, Arwanop and Waa. Their mission is to educate people about the importance of maintaining cleanliness, both of body and house (see. e.g. Giay, 1995). As an Amungme woman, Marina

plays a role in approaching and teaching indigenous communities about cleanliness of the body, house and environment. Marina and the women's group teach indigenous women and children how to brush their teeth, to wash their hands before eating, to use soap to cleanse their bodies, and to exchange their dirty clothes with clean ones and wash the dirty ones so that they can be re-used. The group also suggests that indigenous women manage and keep their houses clean and keep pigs and chickens in cages rather than allow them to roam around the houses of villagers. To pupils in particular, Marina and the group teach discipline, which is considered important for the future of indigenous Amungme generations (Marina, Interview).

Such hygiene practices are important for indigenous people, particularly given that some diseases, such as tapeworm and dysentery, are still prevalent in West Papua. Certain hygiene practices, such as handwashing and boiling water before drinking it, as well as keeping the environment clean, are considered by the women's group as important ways of keeping indigenous people healthy. Other practices, such as washing off smeared lard and cleaning teeth and clothes, as well as disciplining indigenous children, entail re-creating indigenous people as modern subjects.

In addition to educating indigenous women about cleaning the body, house and environment, the group teaches mothers and girls to pay attention to food hygiene. Dora shares her experience of working with local women in the villages. She says that each time people gather at community meetings, they usually cook food using a traditional method called "burned stones" (*bakar batu*). Women and girls collect vegetables – sweet potatoes, cassava, sweet corn – and

add them, without cleaning them, to pork that has been chopped up by men. They put all the items together on the stones, which have been heated, and cover them with banana leaves or other wild leaves for three to four hours. The food is then shared between the people at the meeting. Such traditional ways of cooking are not considered modern. Now the group's members invite the women and girls to clean the food before putting it onto the "burned stones" (Dora, Interview).

Figure 5: Cooking food (burned stones). *Photograph by Josina Wospakrik*

The women's group are trying to modernise the daily lives of indigenous people by introducing notions and practices of cleanliness to them. Marina and the group see cleanliness as a way to distinguish advancement (*kemajuan*) and modernity from the backwardness of underdevelopment. Marina and the group consider that the indigenous Amungme people no longer live in isolation, but

rather side by side with people from various cultural and social backgrounds. The indigenous Amungme people can go wherever they want and meet others outside their community. Marina thinks it is important for indigenous communities to consider hygiene of body and environment as well as food. She and the group see cleanliness as a yardstick for modernity; in other words, cleanliness is "one of the characteristics of high civilisation" (Hoy, 1995, p. 88). As they attempt to transform and modernise the lives of indigenous people, the group engages with indigenous women and children. These groups are vital to their project and are therefore instructed in cleanliness practices. In effect, Marina and the Christian wives' group from Freeport are preparing young generations of indigenous people to enter the modern workplace as civil servants or corporate employees. Their dream is shared by most young indigenous Amungme people. Marina and the women's group teach indigenous Amungme pupils from an early age the habits of personal and environmental cleanliness as well as discipline. Marina says: "This is important because, to change the habits of cleanliness and discipline of local people, we also need to start from the bottom, namely from the indigenous Amungme pupils" (Marina, Interview).

Burke (1996) explains how Westerners see "images of disease, dirt and pollution" as important problems in colonial Zimbabwe that must be solved to improve the quality of life in African communities. From the Western perspective, it is important to share the notion of cleanliness with people in order to maintain the health and wellbeing of the nation. It is a way of civilising people (p. 35). Western colonial agents thus see Zimbabwe's people as uncivilised. To civilise people, they believe they should spread the notion of cleanliness and educate

people about hygiene. The way Western colonialists treated Zimbabwe's people resembles the way Marina and the women's group treat indigenous Amungme women and pupils: not only are they trying to modernise the indigenous people, but at the same time, they are trying to maintain the health of the people.

Although Marina and the group have tried to help local people pay attention to cleanliness, human development disparities remain throughout Papua's regions. The UN Indonesia Human Development Index Report of 2016 found Papua and West Papua ranked poorly for Indonesian human development compared with other Indonesian provinces. It is estimated that the Human Development Index in West Papua is 0,622 and in Papua about 0,581, while Jakarta had the highest rank, with an approximate score of 0,796. The second highest ranking went to Yogyakarta, which was estimated at 0,784, and East Kalimantan (Indonesian Statistic Centre, 2016). The difference in the human development ranking between provinces of West Papua/Papua and other Indonesian regions indicates inequality. It appears that the Indonesian government pays more attention to regions close to the centre of the Indonesian government in Jakarta, while resource-rich regions with gold and timber resources, such as Papua and West Papua, are ignored. Here, the Indonesian government exercises its power in an unbalanced manner. The low rank of these two regions makes visible broad disparities in human development.

4.4 Rejecting modern foods

Encounters with modern foods have affected the diet of indigenous Amungme people. Nowadays, the indigenous people are more likely to consume factory foods than native foods. Since Freeport Mining Company began operating in Timika in the 1970s, and following an influx of migrant traders from other regions of Indonesia to the region, Timika has become a bustling city. Almost all parts in Timika town are used for business, such as markets, supermarkets, small shops and restaurants. As a result, people can easily find factory foods. The availability of factory foods has attracted indigenous Amungme people, and even they are becoming more likely to consume factory foods than locally produced foods. Such dietary changes attracted the attention of Amungin Neinat Negel members, who invited indigenous people to consume their local foods. Sweet potatoes and wild vegetables are known to contain better nutrition and to be healthier than industrial foods. The women's group encourages indigenous women to consume their native foods as an important way to attain health and avoid malnutrition, which can interfere with the body's resistance to disease.

On an evening of the fifth month, during my fieldwork among the indigenous Amungme in Timika, I interview Teresa, a member of Amungin Neinat Negel, at her house. As is standard practice before I conduct an interview, I introduce myself and the purpose of the interview. While introducing myself, Teresa interrupts me and asks: "What would you like to drink?" I answer: "I like tea". She says: "OK … give me 10 minutes". She walks into the kitchen and leaves me alone in the living room. About 10 minutes later she comes back with hot tea and steaming sweet potatoes and places them on the mat that we sit on. She asks:

"Do you like sweet potatoes steam?" I say: "Yes … I really like it." She says: "This is our local foods," and continues: "eating our local foods (*makanan tanah*) make our bodies strong and healthy" (Teresa, Interview). Teresa's conversation reveals the rejection of industrial foods, which can create serious diseases. Her words also indicate that she is trying to protect traditional foods (e.g, sweet potatoes), which have a place in the cultural heritage of the indigenous Amungme, their cultivation having been passed down from generation to generation.

Many scholars have researched the way that technology and industrialisation have changed what foods are available to Americans and their eating habits (Horowitz, 2006; Hamilton, 2008). Shane Hamilton, in *Trucking Country* (2008), shows that urbanisation, technological change and infrastructure technologies have forced potential farmers off the land and changed food production to agricultural technologies that can produce foods in large quantities and varieties. Catherine Price, in her book *Vitamania: How Vitamins Revolutionised the Way We Think About Food* (2016), describes the tendency of Americans to take multivitamin supplements each day to maintain their stamina and body health. But Price notes that most Americans consume vitamins without considering whether they are good for their bodies. Fruits and vegetables contain many vitamins. Through her books, Price tells people that what we eat might affect our offspring for generations to come.

The indigenous Amungme, like other indigenous people around the world, no longer live in isolated places. Encounters with modern life, reduced gardening spots and opportunities for hunting, environmental pollution due to mining waste, and the availability of instant foods such as instant noodles (*supermie*),

canned foods and rice at stores and markets, have affected the native diet, and as a result, people are more susceptible to illness arising from malnutrition. Yosepha Alomang reinforces this by saying: "We are now eating unhealthy foods because our native foods are diminishing". Alomang indicates that malnutrition among local people is caused by dietary changes.

I remember interviewing a woman who was selling her garden produce at a local market and asking her: "What kind of family supplies will you buy if your garden produce sells out?" The woman said: "I will buy rice, noodles and canned fish (*sardens*)." Her answer prompted me to consider that the presence of industrial foods have led local people to replace native food, such as sweet potatoes, taro, cassava, papaya leaves and other wild vegetables as well as fresh fish, with modern food. Such native foods contain nutrients that aid the body's resistance to disease.

4.5 Concerning maternal and infant health

In addition to encouraging local women to consume native foods during pregnancy, and encouraging them to keep their children away from instant foods, Amungin Neinat Negel and the women's group are concerned with mother and infant health. According to a study conducted by the health department of the Indonesian government on the delivery culture of the Amungme and Kamoro tribes in Timika, nearly half of all mothers in the two tribes give birth at home – in the bathroom, in the kitchen – or in places far from their homes such as the forest or near the river. Giving birth is generally done alone or assisted by female

family members or traditional birth attendants. Such delivery processes can endanger mothers and babies (Alwi, *et al.,* 2004). The study also notes that most local mothers are reluctant to deliver their babies in front of people they have never met because it is considered "taboo" (p. 146). Such traditions are still practised today. Local women choose to deliver their babies at home, or in other places they consider to be safe, because they do not have enough money to go to the hospital or fertility clinics (p.145). The study findings are reflected in what Fince, the head of Women and Children's Empowerment of Timika regency, expresses:

> "There are two main obstacles faced by local women. First, most local women choose to give birth at home because they do not have enough money to pay medical staff, doctors or nurses. For example, if a mother wants to deliver her baby in a government hospital, her family should provide about three million rupiahs [$300], while in a private hospital the family should pay more than five million rupiahs [more than $500]. If there is a complication during childbirth, the family will be charged even more than these amounts. In addition, traditional influences are still strong. Most local women feel safe to deliver their babies at home or other places such as the bush, the forest, or their backyard. These places are considered safe because no one can see the woman when she delivers her baby, except her mother, or sister, or aunty, or grandmother" (Fince, Interview).

In conjunction with the reluctance of local women to deliver their babies at hospitals or fertility clinics, a study conducted by Charis Cussins can help us understand why women are not interested in giving birth in hospitals and fertility clinics. Cussins, in *Ontological Choreography* (1996), describes the interaction

between patients and medical technology in fertility clinics. By using ethnographic data to question the humanist argument regarding technological objectification, she argues that "objectification is only sometimes a reductive state in opposition to the presence of goals of a subject" (p. 575). Cussins sees that patients in fertility clinics, both patients' selves and their bodies, are objectified in various ways by authorities and other experts (p. 576).

Papua, especially its poor and marginalised communities, is home to Indonesia's highest levels of maternal and infant mortality (BPS, 2012). Maternal mortality rates in Papua are estimated at 362 per 100,000 live births, compared with a national average of 220 per 100,000 live births (IPPA, 2013). This indicates that health services – medical professionals and health facilities – are not equally available; there are disparities between rural and urban areas. The lack of health facilities and medical personnel in rural areas/villages, combined with their distance from villages to towns, as well as the cost of medical services at hospitals in town, contributes to maternal and infant mortality.

As mentioned above, although Papua has vast natural resources, human development and health standards for the province are lower than other Indonesian regions. The highest levels of Indonesia's maternal and infant mortality rates show that the Indonesian government (Indonesian Health Department) does not yet handle health in Papua seriously at either the local or central level. In addition to having the lowest health standards in the region, Papua's disparity with other regions of Indonesia in terms of human development contributes to its high maternal and infant mortality rates.

Nancy Sheper-Hughes, in her book *Death Without Weeping: The Violence of Everyday Life in Brazil* (1992), offers a comparative perspective on health problems that occur in Timika. In the book, Sheper-Hughes records the impact of economic and political oppression on people's lives in Pernambuco slum, Alto do Cruzeiro, Brazil. From her observations, Sheper-Hughes concludes that people view death and violence as part of the panorama of daily life because they live in such a vulnerable situation. Furthermore, poor Alto mothers consider the death of their infants as a good way (a "blessing") to save their children and themselves from the suffering of poverty. Sheper-Hughes shows that in order to understand infant death and maternal emotions among the women of Alto, we (the readers) cannot stand outside the culture of the suffering. "They [Alto women] cannot be understood outside of cultures (situations) that produce them" (1992, p. 431).

In an effort to reduce maternal and infant mortality among the indigenous Amungme people, health workers, whether indigenous or non-indigenous, come into villages to serve expectant and prospective mothers and teach them to consider their own health as well as the health of their children. The workers try to reduce the gap ("closing the gap") in health services between villages and town. By doing so, they hope that threats to maternal and infant health can be overcome, and thus, maternal and infant death can be reduced.

When I conducted observations and interviews among indigenous Amungme people in Banti, I had a chance to join monthly information-sharing meetings for indigenous mothers and children that were conducted by the Christian Ecumenical women's group. Banti is located in the highlands of Timika regency, close to the mining operations of the Freeport company in

Tembagapura. It takes about 15 minutes to travel from the Freeport area to the village. The information-sharing meetings take place regularly to offer pregnant women, mothers and children primary health services. The group also immunises children and distributes mosquito nets to prevent children from contracting malaria. It asks local women to avoid industrial foods containing chemicals that might affect their pregnancies. Thus, the women's group hopes to spread knowledge of maternal and children's health and to raise the quality of life of mothers and children. By doing so, the group hopes that mortality rates for mothers and children will fall. They are trying to "close the gap" in health disparities between urban and rural/village areas (Kowal, 2015).

Emma Kowal, in *Trapped in the Gap: Doing Good in Indigenous Australia (2015)*, paints a detailed picture of how Westerners, named "white-anti-racists", tried to "close the gap" between indigenous and non-indigenous health outcomes among Australians. She shows how white health staff sought to help Aboriginal people without harming them, by trying to understand what the people wanted. This reveals the importance of asking people what they need before offering help (p. 128). Kowal shows that in order to "close the gap" between indigenous and white Australians, white-anti-racists struggle to "do good" in indigenous Australia, hoping Aboriginal people will see them as "good whites" (pp. 244-245). Kowal sees that the way white-anti-racists act can be "interpreted as manoeuvres to stay within the bounds of the space of recognition or to negotiate its boundaries" (p. 111).

A desire to "close the gap" between indigenous Amungme health outcomes and those of other Indonesians is practised by indigenous Amungme women who

care about their community's health. Juliana, 38, an indigenous Amungme nurse, has served her people in rural and urban areas of the Timika regency for 15 years. In the first five years of her career as a nurse, she served indigenous Amungme people who lived in the highland villages of Waa and Tsinga. At the end of her fifth year of work, she moved to the Agimuga district in the lowlands of Timika. She worked with people in Agimuga for three years, then moved to the public hospital in Timika. Juliana shared her experiences about the challenges she encountered while serving her people in these three districts. She said that during the eight years she served people in the districts, she found that maternal and infant death was still high due to a shortage of medical personnel, especially midwives, who were willing to work in remote areas. Furthermore, medical equipment was limited, and so it was difficult to help mothers with complications during childbirth. Ironically, the death of a mother or child was often regarded as the fault of the midwife. Therefore, approval from the husband and wife was very important before a midwife helped the mother in the birth process. In addition to such problems, most mothers preferred to deliver their babies at home with the help of female family members, or by themselves. They usually asked for help if they encountered a problem while giving birth, but most tried to cope on their own.

Although Juliana encountered many problems during her work with indigenous people in the villages, she told me that her concern for the health of mothers and children was important to her. She now works in the public hospital in Timika town, but Juliana still cares about women and children in the villages. Every two or three months, she joins medical teams from the hospital to provide

health education to indigenous Amungme women in highland villages, and to women in the suburbs who do not have good access to hospitals due to financial problems.

4.6 Net string bags: maintaining culture and income for women

As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, indigenous Amungme women (e.g. divorced and widowed women) face the problem of economic security, especially when they rely on limited garden products and financial support from their extended families. To help women surmount these financial problems, the members of Amungin Neinat Negel promote net string bags as a source of income.

Like other women in the highlands of New Guinea, Amungme women consider net string bags, or "*noken"*, to be part of their indigenous culture. The net string bags are made from tree bark and orchid tree bark. Women make various bags to carry babies, garden produce, piglets and other things (West, 2006). They usually use the bags for such purposes, while men use them to save "sacred or special objects" (Mackenzie, 1991). Women and net string bags are interconnected. Every indigenous Amungme woman has several net string bags for carrying items. Wherever she goes, she hangs one or two string bags on her back for practical conveyance. Since net string bags are important, every woman (mother and adult) teaches young girls how to weave bags in various sizes for various purposes. Adult women think that teaching young girls to weave string

bags is part of preparing them to become good wives. If a woman cannot weave a string bag, she is not a good mother and wife (Laura, Interview).

Nowadays, net string bags are not only made from tree bark or orchid tree bark, but also from trade-store string, due to the increasingly limited availability of original materials. Bags today also come in new designs, including different colours, pictures and sizes. Nor are net string bags used solely for practical purposes as in the past, but they have become popular and fashionable throughout Papua – even outside Papua. String bags provide women with income, and the price of a bag depends on its design and size.

West (2006) shows the shifting value and utility of string bags in Maimafu, in the highlands of Papua New Guinea. She describes how conservation programs present in the community have influenced the traditional value and usefulness of net string bags (*billum*). In the past, billums were valued for their practical role in exchanging objects. However, encounters with conservation programs have changed their value. Billum have become a commodity in themselves. As West says, "It seems to have value because it is something to be bought and sold and consumed" (p. 212). Meanwhile, Nestor Garcia Canclini, in *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity* (2005), writes that although "indigenous producers of folk arts appear to live in traditional society, their products enter modern marketplaces through a series of intermediate steps, some modern, some traditional" (xiv). Indigenous arts have moved "from its old centre toward the contemporary margin" (2005, p. 4).

The entry of indigenous products into modern marketplaces also occurs among the indigenous Amungme community. Indigenous Amungme women

make net string bags, *noken*, in various styles according to modern market demands. Although their products attract foreign and national tourists, and are displayed in local, national and international exhibitions and museums, women continue to live in their traditional communities. This shows that indigenous Amungme women are trying to formulate their net string bags in response to social and technological changes (Canclini, 2005). Through their products, the women are generating income while introducing their community, culture and intellectual property through art to people far beyond. In short, through net string bags, the women maintain their culture for future generations while gaining income to meet family needs.

Laura, a leader of Amungin Neinat Negel, says the purpose of the organisation is to empower indigenous Amungme women, especially at the grassroots level, to improve their income through traditional products. She echoes the aspirational hopes of development economics. Naila Kabeer (2005) highlights that "empowerment refers to the processes by which those who have been denied the ability to make choices acquire such an ability. In other words, empowerment entails change" (p.13). Kabeer shows that empowerment needs "power" for action (the power within) and "power" to control (the power struggle). Laura sees that indigenous Amungme women have a special skill in weaving net string bags (*noken*), and therefore her organisation needs to encourage them to develop their skills in weaving *noken*. By doing so, the organisation helps women to overcome financial problems.

Every two weeks, or sometimes once a month, the women gather in Laura's house to make several string bags. The net string bags they produce are

sold in markets in Timika town, although some are displayed in the living room of Laura's house. One string bag can be sold for between 100 and 50,000 rupiah ($US15) and 500,000 rupiah ($US50), depending on size, colour and model. String bags made from original materials can be sold for between 500,000 ($US50) and two million rupiah ($US200), or more. I asked Laura why they sewed string bags and not clothes? Laura said: "Net string bags (*noken)* are our culture. So we must protect our culture. We weave string bags not just for income, but also to maintain our culture for our future generations" (Laura, Interview).

In June 2015, I attended an exhibition held by the environmental division of Freeport Mining Company in Timika town. There was a spot in the exhibition reserved for indigenous women's arts such as grass skirts (*sali*) and net string bags (*noken*). This spot was guarded by three indigenous Amungme women. Two of them were conversing with visitors who wanted to know more about a grass skirt, while one sat in a chair showing a curious Indonesian woman how to sew a *noken*. A few minutes later, the Indonesian woman walked away and headed to another spot. I walked over to the woman (Agatha) and asked: "Are indigenous women usually invited to take part in exhibitions like this?" She said, "Yes, we are always invited to be involved in exhibitions held by the company, or the government, to introduce our culture to others" (Personal conversation with Agatha).

When I conducted my fieldwork, I had an opportunity to learn how to sew a net string bag from an indigenous Amungme woman (named *Mama* Eta). While she was teaching me how to sew the bag, I asked: "How many string bags can you produce in a month?" She said: "It could be two or three". I said: "Do you usually

do this activity yourself?" She replied: "Yes. But sometimes I ask my daughter to help me if there are many orders". I said spontaneously: "Wow … that is good because you can earn a lot of money." *Mama* Eta just smiled (*Mama* Eta, Interview). The expressions indicate that the three indigenous Amungme women regarded *noken* not only as sources of income but as important for (re)producing indigenous culture (see Canclini, 2005).

By mid to early 2015, the governor of Papua had officially instructed that all government employees in Papua Province use string bags every Monday of the working week. This instruction aimed to recognise net string bags as a Papuan cultural treasure, and to give Papuan women opportunities to generate income. As a result of the decision, indigenous women throughout Papua, including Timika, began to weave various kinds of net string bags.

The time that it takes to make a net string bag depends on the time available, whether in the morning, afternoon or evening. Women often weave a string bag while selling their garden produce at the market, or after completing their regular duties at home. They sell their products in markets, on the roadside, and even in front of their homes. Some local women ask relatives who work in government offices and/or the Freeport company office to sell their net string bags to their fellow employees. They use the income from net string bags to meet their daily needs and to pay the tuition fees of their children. The net string bags produced by indigenous Amungme women also preserve their cultural heritage from global impacts that are destroying traditional products. By producing net string bags and selling them at markets, indigenous Amungme women are holding on, "adapting and re-combining the remnants of an interrupted way of

life" (Clifford, 2013, p. 7). In short, the craft of indigenous Amungme women contributes to the maintenance of their cultural heritage.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed how indigenous Amungme women who work for two local women's organisations care about the future of the indigenous Amungme in Timika regency. Encounters with outside influences brought by Christianity, the presence of the mining company and people from beyond the indigenous community have affected the way they see themselves in a modern context. For indigenous women who join these local women's organisations, the future of their indigenous community is in their hands and those of the indigenous community. They come to their community to invite their own people to be concerned about hygiene, health and income security, which are considered important in sustaining indigenous Amungme ways of life. Their concerns are based on the fact that rapid socio-economic and political transformations around them have greatly affected indigenous people's lives, in positive and negative ways.

In light of this, some indigenous leaders are hoping for the arrival of a utopian future (*Hai*). But some indigenous Amungme women are optimistic about overcoming problems pertaining to health and income, for example, and are taking action to help people escape from them. They are educating indigenous people in hygiene practices and inviting them to consume local foods that are considered healthier than industrial foods.

To achieve the goal of helping their own people achieve a better life in the present and the future, the two women's groups have adopted affirmative biopolitics. However, in educating indigenous Amungme people about hygiene, the women are enacting neoculturation among the indigenous Amungme by introducing new habits of cleanliness. The indigenous women are also practising acculturation among their own communities by attempting to replace old habits with new habits of cleanliness in order that indigenous people avoid diseases such as tapeworm and dysentery, which can lead to death. They are also trying to modernise their own people.

With respect to the income security of indigenous Amungme women, those who join the organisations find that markets offer options for indigenous women to generate income. Indigenous women are encouraged to improve their skills in weaving net string bags and to adjust their work to market demands so that their products are sold not only in local markets but also modern markets. Furthermore, their bags serve as a project to preserve their cultural heritage, introducing it to people outside the community.

This chapter has, above all, discussed how indigenous Amungme who take part in local women's organisations hope that by educating their own people – in cleanliness, mother and infant health, and in how to take advantage of market opportunities to generate income – they can find solutions to their health and income problems. Responses from their own people are important to these women in the creation of a better future for the indigenous Amungme. These women put indigenous women at the centre of their activities, acting only as facilitators, guides and motivators. Their mission to increase wellbeing in their

community can only be achieved if indigenous Amungme women respond positively to them.

CONCLUSION

The central aim of this study was to understand how gender relations and women's roles have been changing among the contemporary indigenous Amungme people of Mimika, West Papua. To achieve this aim, I explored the complexity of transculturation as shaped by intersecting forces: Christianity, capitalism, patriarchy, and feminism. I employed *transculturation* (Ortiz, 1995) as a conceptual tool to explore how indigenous Amungme women and men have tested and contested norms, values and ideas inherited from abroad. The work of Ortiz and subsequent studies of transculturation by Pratt (2008) and Clifford (1997) have considered the complex historical, socio-cultural, economic and political dynamics that influence cultural change. This study applied the framework of *transculturation* in a new way: to understand traditional gender relations in an indigenous society. Ortiz (1995) first introduced the idea of *transculturation* to encompass different phases of cultural transition. For Ortiz, transculturation "does not consist merely in acquiring another culture (acculturation), or in losing or uprooting a previous culture (deculturation), but rather, it carries also the idea of creating a new cultural phenomena (neoculturation)" (pp. 102-103).

Transculturation is a process that occurs in "contact zones", where people separated by geography and history interact (Pratt, 2008). In these spaces of encounter, people and communities adopt new values, ideas and cultural norms. Some of these ideas are adopted from a dominant culture and then reworked into

indigenous cultures. By using transculturation as a conceptual tool, this study also sought to build on the arguments of postcolonial feminist scholars who have argued that the problems of women in Third-World countries cannot be merely understood in relation to male domination (Schech & Haggis, 2000; Mohanty, 1991; Spivak, 1990); it is also important to understand how capitalism and religion have contributed to the creation of androcentric transculturations. At the same time, indigenous feminists are doing the work of transculturation and neoculturation to counter male hegemony. This study suggests that transculturation is not a uniform process. Different values, ethical sensibilities and situated perspectives also play a role in transculturation.

Transcultural forces have created new gender relations within the indigenous Amungme community. Christianity and capitalism have contributed significantly to the construction of androcentric transculturations, in which male domination of women is becoming stronger (see, e.g. Munro, 2017). Within the contemporary androcentric transculturation that is apparent from this study, polygamy and divorce have become more widespread among indigenous Amungme men, producing precarious situations for women. This study has revealed that male involvement in the modern work force – be it Freeport Mining Company or the government – has strengthened androcentric and patriarchal norms among indigenous Amungme. A consequence of earning a good salary from the mining company or as civil servants is that Amungme men have the economic freedom to have sex with more than one woman (see. e.g. Butt, 2015), and some of these men abandon their wives and children without providing financial support.

The arrival of Christianity among the indigenous Amungme, and the presence of a mining company, have contributed to deculturation of the traditional marriage system. In the traditional system, marriage involved relations between two extended kinship networks, and therefore, parents played an important role in choosing partners for their daughters or sons. Such marriages were recognised legally when a bride-price payment was given by the groom's family to the family of the bride. The payment of such a bride-price had the function of legitimising the marriage, integrating the two parties, and establishing affinal relations between two parties. But this traditional system has been gradually lost in a process of deculturation since the community has come into contact with new norms, ideas and values transmitted by Christianity, capitalism and popular culture. Nowadays, marriage is becoming a relationship negotiated between two individuals.

In the past, polygamy was practised exclusively by prominent, rich men. Now it is popular among working-class indigenous Amungme men. The involvement of men in wage labour has opened up opportunities for relations with several women, even in situations where all parties do not consent. Deculturation has eroded a husband's obligations to his wife and children. In contemporary situations involving androcentric transculturations, abandoning one's wife and children – leaving them without financial support – is considered acceptable. Interestingly, indigenous Amungme women also act as agents of transculturation. They challenge androcentric transculturations and the patriarchal norms that have created injustice for women. Encounters with feminism have driven some indigenous Amungme women to act as feminist

agents of transculturation, rejecting male domination in their lives and attempting to do the critical work of challenging the identification of domestic tasks as female responsibilities. For these women, domestic work is a prison constructed by men to restrict women's involvement in activities beyond the home. Many women desire to be free of domestic tasks. The rejection of male domination within marriage has also affected some Amungme women who choose divorce to free themselves from male domination.

The findings of this study also indicate that while capitalism has opened up opportunities for indigenous Amungme women to engage in wage labour, they are still expected to maintain their responsibilities at home. Therefore, some indigenous Amungme women occupy a liminal space – in between the home and the workplace (see. e.g. Trask, 2014). Furthermore, although indigenous Amungme women now have the chance to engage in paid work, their involvement in community decision-making is still limited. Indigenous Amungme women are usually marginalised from domestic and community decision-making (Giay & Kambay, 2003). Christianity and capitalism have reinforced patriarchal norms held by indigenous Amungme, with men recognised as leaders of the family and community, and women expected to submit to them (see Munro, 2017). Here, I have interpreted the role of Christianity as a form of "slow violence" (Nixon, 2011) that is rendering women powerless and imposing gender subordination on households and the community. A man is still recognised as head of the family, with responsibility to protect family members; he also holds decision-making power in the family and the community. Three things – polygamy, the reluctance of a wife to share her domestic tasks with her husband, and the neglect of women

in decision-making in, for example, the LEMASA organisation – all demonstrate Christianity's role in promoting the slow violence of gender subordination within families and the broader community. These cases exhibit the normalisation of male power in ways that slowly erode women's control and influence and exacerbate their vulnerability, although women's commitment to domestic chores may be interpreted as an attempt to maintain some power in the household. The influence of Christianity on men's positioning as leader of the family has also affected complementary gender roles in families. This study has found that contemporary indigenous Amungme men prefer to engage in modern work (e.g. for the government or Freeport Mining Company) rather than garden activities that are considered incapable of guaranteeing economic stability. When a husband does not hold a permanent job, for instance with the government or Freeport, he has appeared miserable because he is not meeting his family's needs. Yet when he has been engaged by modern institutions and is earning enough money, he has become more independent and less committed to family obligations. This indicates that gender subordination in both the family and the community is a form of gendered slow violence that has been promoted by Christianity and the capitalist form of labour.

Although indigenous Amungme women are estranged from decision-making processes, they still consider indigenous futures to be in their hands. Some indigenous Amungme women therefore attempt to conduct the creative and generative work of neoculturation. Organic intellectuals in this community promote gardening and indigenous subsistence practices while adopting new medical technologies. They care for future generations with affirmative

biopolitical practices (see. e.g. Haraway, 2008; Esposito, 2013; Li, 2015). Women are thus preparing young people for life with modernity, amidst the failed promises of development capitalism. Despite the tattered hopes of modern dreamings, indigenous women are working at new articulations of the market economy. Economic transculturations are taking place at markets where indigenous Amungme women sell garden produce. The markets offer them an option to generate income from outside patriarchal structures (see. e.g. Macintyre, 2011). In addition to selling garden produce, indigenous Amungme women are weaving string bags and selling these crafts at market.

Acknowledgment of limitations of the study

There are two aspects in which this study is limited. First, my research was focused on the urban areas of Timika. Future research could explore the stories and experiences of indigenous Amungme who live in several parts of the highlands of Mimika regency to gain a fuller picture and better understanding of gender relations in this indigenous society. With limited funding, I was able to visit only Banti village, near the mining area in Tembagapura district, which is situated in the highlands of Mimika regency.

Furthermore, this study has not systematically compared gender relations between younger and older generations. This would be important for identifying how the process of transculturation takes place across time.

Recommendations for future research

This research makes a valuable contribution to women's and gender studies, especially by looking at how contact with external modern values have affected gender relations and the roles of women in today's indigenous Amungme society. As stated in the Introduction, previous studies about the indigenous Amungme community have mostly focused on the impact of mining waste on the environment, violations of indigenous human rights, and socio-cultural and religious aspects of the indigenous Amungme. This research intended to look at contemporary gender relations and women's roles within the indigenous Amungme community. Nevertheless, I realise that despite presenting stories and experiences of Amungme women and men about gender relations in today's Amungme, this study retains some limitations. For further research I would like to recommend the following matters that have regard to gender issues in the indigenous Amungme society.

First, violence against women is increasing among contemporary indigenous Amungme families. Women and men of the younger Amungme generations, especially educated young people, are trying to reduce this. My study did not engage with this subject because domestic violence against women is a sensitive matter that requires a long lead time in terms of approaching victims and perpetrators to share their stories. It would be useful to understand how contact with economic development and modernisation are affecting gender relations in families, especially with regard to this sensitive subject. Future studies could address: What factors have contributed to gendered violence within families? What do families think of customary sanctions for perpetrators? Do

customary sanctions and Indonesian marriage rules protect women from domestic violence?

Second, and because most of the indigenous Amungme society is Christian, it is important to understand the role of religious institutions, Christianity in particular, in eradicating violence against women, even as it appears to be increasing among indigenous Amungme. Researchers could study pastoral counselling approaches that focus on educating congregations and their success at eradicating violence against women. For instance, researchers could question religious institutions about the role that counselling could play in establishing more equitable gender relations at home and in an organisation such as LEMASA. Are there cultural values that can be adopted to help counsel the indigenous Amungme?

Reflections as a transcultural agent

I would like to end this thesis with my thoughts as an indigenous Papuan woman who has had the opportunity to obtain a higher education. As demonstrated here, the transculturation process that is being experienced by indigenous Amungme people due to their encounters with transcultural forces – Christianity, a transnational mining company, capitalism, and feminism – has affected gender relations among contemporary indigenous Amungme.

It was important for me to hear the stories and life experiences of indigenous Amungme women to understand how outside influences have affected gender relations within their families and the community. I prioritised

indigenous Amungme women as key informants. As such, they exercised the right to decide what stories and experiences they shared with me (see Stapele, 2014). I tried to minimise power relations between themselves and me (see Nazneen & Sultan, 2014), first by introducing myself to them and then explaining why I needed to hear their stories before I started to interview them. I told them that their stories were important to the understanding of gender relations. By doing this, I hoped that the participants felt I had not come to use them as objects of my research, but to consider us as equal partners in the production of knowledge; participants could decide whether they wanted to share their stories. In conducting the interviews, I used "Papua dialect" not only to assist the participants to understand the questions, but also to dilute the differences between participant and researcher (such as educational and cultural backgrounds). If a participant felt uncomfortable about sharing her experience, I did not pressure her. To minimise the power relations between us, I tried to conduct the interviews in a relaxed atmosphere; for instance, I asked participants to converse on the veranda, on the grass, or under a tree while eating betel nuts. I also sought permission to record our conversations. My aim was to "hear what the women had to say, in their own terms" (Reinharz, 1992), and to share women's stories. These efforts helped me to establish positive relationships with the participants and to reduce power imbalances.

From the stories and experiences of indigenous Amungme women, I learnt that new feminist ideas and values – in this instance, women's freedom from male domination – have inspired indigenous Amungme women to contest androcentric and patriarchal norms that have created misery for women.

However, I also realised that not all indigenous Amungme women have the power to reject male domination in their lives.

My encounters with Amungme women – and my attempts to learn from their stories and insights – is in line with my stated aim of applying Haraway's (1988) principle for feminist objectivity: concentrating on a "limited location and situated knowledge, not … transcendence and splitting of the subject and object (p. 583)". Through this principle, Haraway emphasises the importance of engaging oneself in a particular social location to gain insight and knowledge from a community. In my context, Haraway's assertion functioned as a reminder that, while I had a good education, I still needed to learn about the struggle of indigenous Amungme women to combat androcentric and patriarchal norms that have created injustice for them. From their stories and experiences, I also learnt that it is not easy for these women to live under male domination. My interaction with indigenous Amungme women formed a building block in my objectivity about problems faced by other women. It was also important in helping me to find ways to encourage and assist women as they seek to overcome problems based on their cultural context.

It is important to state that the process of writing this thesis has not been merely about studying how contact with outside influences has affected gender relations. It has also been a process of self-reflection: learning from other indigenous women's stories and experiences has encouraged me to redouble my efforts as an agent of transculturation within the indigenous Amungme community, and wider indigenous Papuan communities, who aims to help eradicate the gender inequality that still exists to this day. This study has

challenged me, as an indigenous feminist, to sharpen my mission of encouraging Papuan women and men to collaborate with each other for a better future – a future that has no place for gender hierarchy.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Research Methodology

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

A INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I present my research methodology for collecting qualitative and ethnographic data for this study, as well as reflections on my methods and comments on the ethical considerations of my fieldwork. For research purposes, I undertook collaborative fieldwork with indigenous Amungme people in Timika town, which is part of the Mimika regency of Papua.

In early 2013, before I began my doctoral studies, I visited Timika to meet Papuan women activists with the aim of gleaning preliminary information about gender issues. I spent five days there on that first visit. In 2014, I returned to Timika for three days to gain permission to carry out my fieldwork. I accessed the community after first obtaining permission from relevant stakeholders (see Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, pp. 41-62). Collaborative fieldwork took place on my third visit to Timika, over a period of six months, from February to mid-August of 2015. This was the most extensive time I had spent in the region, and I stayed there to conduct interviews.

Although my earlier visits had been short, they proved invaluable in establishing this project as well as ensuring the efficacy of my ethnographic fieldwork. In particular, they assisted me in establishing open communication

and rapport with members of the indigenous Amungme community. Reflexive understandings and dispositions were also essential to the background of this study, enriching my fieldwork and increasing the reflective capacity of this thesis. I will return to these points throughout this chapter.

During my fieldwork in Timika, I stayed in town with a Papuan minister's family. This minister had worked in Timika for more than twenty eight years. He had also once lived in a suburban area called Kwamki Lama for five years, where indigenous Amungme live in groups. I gained background information from the minister on both the present and past situations of Timika. I was told, for instance, of the social relations between indigenous Amungme and migrants, and of the tribal wars that often occurred in the region. The minister shared his past experience of life with his family in the suburban area that is predominantly home to indigenous Amungme. It has to be explained that my staying at the parsonage had no negative effect on my relationship with the participants. Since the indigenous Amungme generally trust their pastors, being a guest of the minister actually opens the doors so that the participants did not feel uncomfortable disclosing their personal stories and experiences to me (this may be quite different in western society).

The minister encouraged me to use the local language to establish social connections. He said, for example, that the greeting word *Amole* [hello] was a powerful tool for greeting indigenous people. And he said it was important to build good relations with the people. When strangers used the indigenous language, the people welcomed them, he said. Here, language is such a large part of a culture that it can create social chemistry between people; it became a tool

for establishing a sense of mutual belonging between the indigenous Amungme and me.

I also had an opportunity to visit indigenous people in Banti village, which is situated in the highlands of Mimika regency. Access to the village is either by foot (about 30 minutes) or by car (10 minutes). The village is near Tembagapura town, where Freeport Mining Company operates. I spent seven days in Tembagapura, staying in a visitors' barracks provided by the company. An advantage of staying there was the opportunity it presented to meet indigenous Amungme women and men who worked for Freeport.

I was drawn to this region for my research because the indigenous Amungme people have, over the past 40 years, experienced rapid socio-cultural and economic changes. These changes have been triggered by the presence of Freeport Mining Company, which signed a contract with the Indonesian government in 1967. Changes that have come as a consequence of the mine's presence have had direct impacts on the cultural values[2] of the indigenous Amungme.

[2] To indigenous Amungme, land is life; it is more than a mere source of livelihood and is strongly associated with their concept of *Land as Mother*. *Land as Mother* refers to their traditional territorial claim and identity. Unfortunately, the presence of the gold mining company has had direct impact on their *land,* not only their livelihood but also to their traditional territorial claim and identity (see Amiruddin & de Soares, 2003; Mampioper, 2000; Beanal, 1997; Giyai, 2013). The presence of the mining company in the region has also attracted many people from other regions in Papua and outside Papua, as well as foreigners to come to the region seeking work in the mining company and/ or conducting business activities in Timika . As a result, by the 1990s, the population in Timika had exploded to more than 60,000 people, and it makes the faster growing economic in the region (https://www.culturalsurvival.org). Such things have directly affected the indigenous Amungme cultural values such as gender division of labour.

B A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN TIMIKA, MIMIKA REGENCY

Timika is a mining town and the capital of Mimika regency. The arrival of Freeport Mining Company attracted Papuans from outside the region, migrants from other parts of the Indonesian archipelago, and foreigners from various countries. Most of these people came to seek opportunities for work at the company, but some, especially migrants from Java, Sulawesi (i.e., Makassarese and Manadonese) and East Nusa Tenggara, have undertaken associated business activities. As a result of people flooding into the region on the back of the mining industry, the population has grown rapidly, and Timika has become a heterogeneous city. Since migrants have brought with them good business acumen and solid educational backgrounds, they have quickly taken advantage of the opportunities available for business in Timika. They have kept mainly to urban areas of the region, although some can be found scattered through rural areas. They control virtually all of the business activities in the region, and therefore, they constitute an economically powerful section of the Timika population. Village-based indigenous people, meanwhile, rely still on traditional economic lifestyles such as garden activities and raising pigs. Non-indigenous migrants are more likely to be employed by Freeport than indigenous people, in part because they have had relatives working at the company and been able to negotiate with them for a job. Many indigenous people, by comparison, struggle to gain work at the company because their educational backgrounds are inadequate and they lack the skills that are required. Likewise in the government

sector, non-indigenous migrants have a large presence, while few indigenous people find employment.

Air transportation at Moses Kilangin airport is smooth. Every day – morning and afternoon – various airlines carry not only passengers from other parts of Indonesia to Timika but also people (migrants and some indigenous people) to places outside the region. Inside and outside the airport building one meets people from a variety of backgrounds (cultures, religions, genders, ages and social status), including indigenous people who come to the airport to watch the migrants arrive. In fact, Timika is now known by people in the region as a small metropolis.

When I conducted my fieldwork in Timika region, I felt like I was not in Papua. Almost everywhere, I met migrants. As one of my participants said: "we are like strangers in our own land". This social disparity has triggered conflict between indigenous people and non-indigenous migrants. Unlike the migrants, most indigenous people prefer to live in groups in suburban areas rather than in town. On the fringes of Timika town, people use their own land to garden, even if they have to travel far from their homes. Some plant plots of land close to the house with short-term crops (e.g. tomatoes, cayenne pepper, lemongrass, galangal, corn, sweet potatoes, bananas, and papaya) and raise pigs there. Sweet potatoes and corn are typical crops, and their presence can distinguish between the houses of indigenous people and those of migrants. The migrants mostly use their own houses as small shops, where they sell daily necessities such as bath and washing soaps, sugar, salt, rice and cooking oil.

As a whole, security in the Timika region is stable. However, unforeseen conflicts between indigenous people and migrants often occur. Likewise, tribal wars between highland ethnic groups in Timika can take place without warning. Common triggers for tribal warfare are the violation of land rights or the impregnating of a girl or woman. While tribal wars occur often, they usually take place in certain areas agreed upon by the two parties. These outbreaks occasionally affected my interview schedules, and I would have to move to a safe location where indigenous Amungme lived in groups, waiting for the warfare to end in order to meet my participants. Other difficulties I encountered included reaching the indigenous Amungme who lived in the highlands of Timika region: travel there was expensive. However, I also had the opportunity to interview indigenous Amungme who lived in Banti village, which is near Tembagapura town, home to the Freeport Mining Company. Although I spent only seven days conducting interviews with people there, I interviewed indigenous Amungme women and men who worked at the company.

Of my interviews with indigenous Amungme people, I found speaking to women easiest. Most of the women participants were more relaxed and friendly. Those who were younger than me usually called me “big sister”, and reciprocally I addressed them as “small sister”. Those who were older than me and already had children usually called me “daughter”, and I called them “mama”. Such a familiar exchange helped to create a good atmosphere and social bond between the indigenous Amungme women and me, and perhaps aided the free sharing of their stories. Men tended to be more formal and more careful in sharing their stories and opinions.

C METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

In order to gain a clearer understanding of changes in gender relations and women's roles in indigenous Amungme families and the wider community, I used a qualitative methodology and feminist ethnography. According to Bogdan and Biklen (1992), a qualitative methodology aims to produce descriptive data that documents people's behaviour. It seeks to produce in-depth descriptions of the words, writings and behaviours of individuals or groups as observed in a particular context and analysed in a comprehensive manner. It also aims to yield an understanding of social reality from the participant's perspective, not one determined before the research (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992, pp. 21-22). In order to produce descriptive data that documents the behaviour of the individuals or communities observed, "the qualitative researcher uses a wide range of interconnected interpretative practices to get a better understanding of the subject matter at hand" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p.4).

This qualitative methodology aims at comprehending the meaning of social actions within the social and cultural contexts in which people live, drawing on specific data-generation methods such as semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions and observational methods (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). Methodologically, "qualitative researchers have tended to place emphasis on the human interpretative aspects of knowing about the social world and the significance of the investigator's own interpretations and understanding of the phenomenon being studied" (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003, p. 7). In an effort to answer the question of how social experience is created and given meaning,

qualitative researchers use ethnography to understand the meaning of the phenomenon being researched (Spradley, 1980; Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Creswell, 2007). My study employed semi-structured interviews rather than ethnographic participant observation as the main method of data collection. Such interviews were intended to empower participants to speak and to give them space to share freely their stories, experiences and reactions. I conducted ethnographic participant observation, but it was only for background purposes – to inform my understanding and interpretations.

In collaborative fieldwork, an ethnographer should stay in the field of research for a specified period. An ethnographer should participate in the daily routines of his or her setting and develop relationships with people in the field, as well as observe the daily activities of the people being researched (Emerson, et al, 1995). In ethnography, this is called participant-observation. With the aid of participant-observation, the ethnographer can draw a fuller picture of the phenomena under investigation, from an insider's point of view (Hirschauer, 2006). An ethnographer should observe what is being said by people, for example, or what is happening and what is seen, as well as what it feels like for the researcher to be there. The result of these observations, written down in field notes while the researcher is conducting his or her research in the field (see Clifford 1990, Emerson, et al, 1995; Hirschauer, 2006; Sanjek, 1990), is known as "thick description" (Geertz, 1973). Field notes are important for the researcher; not only do they support the data obtained from interviews and observations, but they also assist him or her to interpret the data.

Because ethnographic research requires the researcher to stay among people for extended periods of time within the context of their everyday lives, the researcher should consider the impact of his or her research on the participants and the social context in which they live.

Ethnography has proved a powerful methodological practice for feminist researchers as they have documented and understood the lived experiences of women (Sarantakos, 2005, p.54, 208). Craven and Davis, in their book *Feminist Activist Ethnography: Counterpoints to Neoliberalism in North America*, define feminist ethnography as "a project committed to documenting lived experience as it is impacted by gender, race, class, sexuality and other aspects of participants' lives" (Craven & Davis, 2013, p.1). Feminist ethnography as a methodology is committed to women and their lived experiences, ideas and feelings within their own social-cultural contexts. Women's experiences, ideas and feelings play an important role in understanding how gender operates within communities (Davis & Srinivasan, 1995; Pillow & Mayo, 2007; Holloway & Wheeler, 2010).

Since the focus of feminist ethnography is on the lived experiences of women, I chose to employ it in an attempt to understand the lived experience of indigenous Amungme women.

Concerning the methods used in this research, I endeavoured through my research methods to come to participants without biased assumptions. However, as an educated woman pastor from a coastal region of Papua, it was inevitable that I carried assumptions, both conscious and unconscious, as I constructed and carried out my research. Regarding behaviours and norms, I assumed that indigenous Amungme people, like other peoples of the world, had customs that

governed their social lives, including gender relations between women and men. Regarding marriage, I was raised to assume that relations between a woman and man in marriage should flow from the principles of equality and mutual respect. I am also aware that in Papua, as elsewhere, gender relations between husband and wife are changing. In indigenous Amungme society, male domination of women seems to have always existed, and such gender inequality has continued in the transitional situation that Timika finds itself; the research participants said they had experienced it. Indigenous Amungme men generally adhere to patriarchal principles, including adultery and womanising. But women can now be found using divorce to liberate themselves, empowered by education and the rising awareness led by women's rights activists. Regarding hygiene, as a modern woman brought up in the capital of Papua, I assumed that indigenous Amungme in Timika would have a relatively low concept of hygiene compared with modern standards. This is not to say that the indigenous Amungme are dirty, but that their traditional standards of cleanliness are not compatible with the hygienic standards of a modern urban society. For example, in the villages it seems to be no problem for pigs to roam freely. In urban Timika, however, such behaviour can cause serious health problems. These assumptions shaped my decision to employ open-ended questions. By this method, my interviews nurtured a creative dynamic in which fresh, impartial questions that I had not considered earlier could arise.

My approach to each interview was as follows: first, I introduced myself and spent some time chatting, sharing betel nut and cigarettes casually before explaining my project to the potential participants. When everybody seemed

comfortable, I asked whether they wanted to be involved in my research. Where people agreed to be interviewed, I let them know they were within their rights to refuse to answer any question they did not like. An interview was then carried out quite flexibly, taking into account – and giving space to – issues raised by the participants. The length of each interview therefore varied, according to the respective participant.

During interviews with indigenous Amungme women, I found that they were willing to open their hearts to me. Most importantly, I believe, it was because I am a woman who took serious interest in their everyday plights and struggles. The fact that I am a fellow Papuan woman – despite coming from a different tribe and region – probably made it easier for them to relate to me. Additionally, the overall trust that Papuans have in their pastors may have motivated the women to share their stories. For instance, they were very responsive to questions pertaining to gender relations within marriage. When I asked about the role of women in the family, most of the participants said they followed the traditional pattern of caring for children, tending to gardens and pigs, cooking food, washing clothes, and doing other household chores. They also disclosed that they were disappointed by particular behaviours of their husbands, who often did not help them in the gardens or in raising the pigs, but rather chose to sit around or meet their friends in the city. This behaviour became especially annoying in cases where the husband did not find a job (e.g. at Freeport Mining Company) or, if employed, failed to bring home some of their wages. Some participants told me of their husbands committing adultery or practising polygamy, which is often the reason for a married woman to demand divorce.

Such sensitive internal family matters were openly discussed during my interviews, indicating a high level of trust between researcher and participants.

Feminist ethnography commits to women with three main goals: "to document the lives and activities of women, to understand the experience of women from their own point of view, and to conceptualise women's behaviour as the expression of social context" (Reinharz, 1992, p.51). These three overriding goals are driven by the feminist's desire to change the status of women in modern societies, including the particular cultural contexts in which they live.

Feminist ethnography, like feminist research, emerges to correct male bias in social research. Understanding the lived experiences of women from their own perspectives is essential to correcting a major bias of non-feminist participant-observation that arises as a result of "the interpretation of women from the standpoint of men in the society or of the male researcher" (Reinharz, 1992, 52). As stated by Fiona Bowie (2000):

> "Women were never absent from the ethnographic record, but their lives were filtered through and interpreted by men. The devaluation of women in Western cultures and empirical bias toward the study of structures and institutions meant that women were considered less important than men as informants. Ethnographers who speak mainly or only to men will often find that a similar bias exists in the host culture. In this way women's representations of the world are doubly marginalised." (Bowie, 2000, p. 93).

Henrietta Moore highlights that although "women have always been present in ethnographic account, primarily because of the traditional

anthropological concern with kinship and marriage" (Moore, 1988, p.1), women's presence in traditional anthropological studies has been expressed through the representations of male researchers. This is because, for a large part of the discipline's history, male anthropologists have sought the contributions of male informants and have overlooked the contributions of women across cultures. As a result, women's voices have been marginalised in traditional anthropological research (Moore, 1988, p.1). Edwin Ardener (1975b) seeks to account for the forsaking of women's voices with the theory of "muted groups". He says that muted groups are silenced by the dominant structure, and therefore, if the muted groups want to express themselves, they must do so in accordance with the expression of the dominant groups. This does not mean that muted groups (women) are neglected in empirical research. Ardener further claims that in traditional anthropological research, the ethnographer may have observed women's activities and their responsibilities within the cultural context in which they lived, but they remained "muted" because they (women) were not able to express their views of the world as men expressed them. According to Ardener, this was because traditional anthropologists were educated in a male-oriented discipline. As a result, they were led to imagine that the male view was also society's view. That is why Ardener concludes that a male bias exists in anthropology, not just because the majority of ethnographers and informants are male, but also because anthropologists – women and men – use male models, drawn from their own culture, to explain the male models present in other cultures (Ardener, 1975a).

With feminist ethnography, it is crucial that women be positioned as both key informants in the research and as active agents in the production of knowledge about their cultural lives. In turn, feminist ethnographers may be called upon to observe the lives of both men and women, and to undertake interviews with women as well as men (Reinharz, 1992, Pp.53-54). This doctoral research is a case in point, where, in order to answer the research questions of this inquiry, I sought to better understand the lives of both married women and men. It is women and men who have become key participants for the purpose of understanding the gender relations and women's roles among indigenous Amungme people.

D PROCESS OF THE RESEARCH

D.1 Embarking on my fieldwork

Before I conducted fieldwork in Timika, the capital of Mimika regency, I consulted a range of advisors: the Amungme Customary Institution (LEMASA); the Amungme-Kamoro Human Rights Foundation (YAHAMAK); local church leaders (the Catholic Church and the Gospel Tabernacle Church KINGMI), as well as a local government and a Papuan Women's Solidarity group. Upon arriving in Timika, I contacted each advisor to ask when and where I could meet them. It was not hard to contact them because these organisations had supported me through the early phases of my research: each had provided letters of support, endorsing my commencement of fieldwork in the region. The organisations had worked

with people in Mimika regency, including the indigenous Amungme, so they had sufficient experience in building communication channels with the people as well as building trust between the people and outsiders. For those reasons, it was important for me to consult them before I started my fieldwork, and their experiences helped me to develop a strategy for approaching the community.

Gaining access to the community, and building relationships between myself as a researcher and the people, developed in three stages. In the first stage, I held separate meetings with the local agencies and organisations: LEMASA, YAHAMAK, church leaders and the local government. The purpose of these meetings was to obtain preliminary information regarding: the situation of the people, such as where the indigenous Amungme lived and what their daily activities consisted of; matters of safety when conducting interviews for both the participants and myself, and issues of ethical performance practice when interviewing the participants. The preliminary information I obtained from these meetings was invaluable in establishing dialogue and building trust and relationships with participants. To help me access the community, LEMASA (a key representative for the indigenous Amungme community in Mimika regency) wrote a formal letter to the village leaders with whom I conducted interviews and within whose communities I undertook observations. In my fieldwork, LEMASA served as a liaison between me and the indigenous Amungme. It also advised me on how to choose potential participants for my study, although the decision to involve a participant was mine. The organisation, therefore, did not influence my study or research sample, even though it provided useful background information. LEMASA said the results of this study would help it to review

traditions, in particular those related to male domination of women, which takes place in the organisation and the wider indigenous Amungme community. A spokesperson for LEMASA said: "I am aware that gender inequality still influences the management of this organisation, since this cultural organisation is seen as a representative of the men's house (*Itorei*) in our tradition". Apart from participants recommended by LEMASA, I also contacted others through a participant-observation strategy during my stay and the recommendation of participants I had already interviewed. Some of participants share same stories, and other different. This helped me to understand that each woman has different story and experience that influenced by her social and educational background.

In the second stage of the project's development, and in building relationships between myself and the indigenous Amungme community, I conducted preliminary observations at several locations across the suburbs of Timika city, where indigenous Amungme lived in groups. These suburbs[3] included Kwamki Lama, Kwamki Baru, Mile 32, Jalan Baru, SP 1, SP 2 and SP 5.

[3] Kwamki Lama is a suburb built by Freeport Mining Company in 1970 for the indigenous Amungme people living near the town of Tembagapura, in the highlands of Mimika regency. This suburb is now not only inhabited by indigenous Amungme people, however, but other highlanders: the Dani and the Mee. Kwamki Lama is close to the airport, Moses Kilangin. Apart from locals, traders from Sulawesi and Java live there for business purposes. Most of the local people rely on sifting cultivation, with only a few of them Freeport or government employees. Kwamki Baru is another housing site where indigenous Amungme live in groups. It is located near Timika town and was built by the Timika local government in 1979 for the indigenous Amungme for community training, specifically in agriculture and raising pigs. Later, it was inhabited not only by indigenous Amungme people but also by people from Sulawesi, Java, South Sumatra, Moluccas, Key, and Papuans from other regions. Although this location is near the town of Timika, some of the families still rely on shifting cultivation because they do not have permanent jobs. Few of them work as Freeport employees and government employees. Mile 32, SP1, SP3 and SP5 are locations built by the local government for the indigenous Amungme. Mostly, the people who live in these locations rely on shifting cultivation, while only a few work at Freeport or in the government sector. Overall, the indigenous Amungme who live in these suburbs still depend on shifting cultivation.

These locations were all suggested by LEMASA. The reason LEMASA suggested them was to ease me in to a process of recruiting participants and to help me build relationships with both individual participants and the communities in which they lived. I was also able to observe the division of gender roles in the daily activities of families and the community. Preliminary observations helped me to build a sense of security and to obtain a clearer concept of the locations at which I would conduct interviews and carry out direct observations. Fortunately, I had already experienced the welcoming nature of the indigenous Amungme people, finding them to be open and easy to communicate with. I also conducted interviews with some Amungme married couples who lived in areas other than those suggested by LEMASA. In this second stage of my field-based research, I explained the purposes of my study to village leaders and asked them to introduce me to potential participants.

In the third stage, I began to interview people and make observations in the suburbs of Timika town and areas such as Banti, a small village near Tembagapura (the mining town). Before I began conducting my research within the indigenous Amungme community, I was aware that building relationships with the participants was crucial. Establishing rapport before carrying out field research melts the gap between researcher and participant. Because the researcher is the main instrument of the research, she or he should consider how best to approach a participant for the purpose of engaging in the project. In the next section, I describe how I built rapport with the participants.

D.2 Building rapport with participants

In the early stages of data collection, before any interviews or observations take place, the reseacher must establish good relationships with the participants. Establishing such relationships acknowledges that relations with others cannot just happen but must be initiated. The researcher needs to share the nature of his or her research with the participants so that they can decide whether they want to be involved. At this stage of the process, a shared understanding between researcher and participant is crucial (Finlay, 2003; Anderson, 2008, p. 468). Before conducting interviews and observations, I introduced myself to the participants and shared the purpose of my research project. This was done in order to avoid uncomfortable feelings arising among the participants.

Connecting with people in the ethnographic context is important to understanding what participants think of and want in regard to the research. According to Gerger and Gerger (2000, p. 1035), research is often seen as a researcher/participant co-production of knowledge in which the division between researcher and subject is blurred and control over representation is increasingly shared. The researcher's role is to reduce the boundaries that usually arise in encounters between researcher and participant.

Reflexivity is also needed to evaluate any imbalances of power between the researcher and the participant. I was aware that participants may initially be struck by the differences between themselves and an "outsider" such as myself: an academic researcher. I considered that this could lead to feelings of

discomfort, given the nature of my research and my interest in their personal lives. In an effort to bridge any such gap and to increase the possibility of intersubjective understanding, I introduced myself to participants by speaking of my professional background and previous experience in Mimika regency, as well as carefully explaining the nature and purpose of my study. I soon found that, partly due to our shared gender and perhaps also due to a greater readiness to discuss "personal" issues, establishing rapport with women was easier than with men. Although the women knew I was "a newcomer" or "outsider", they tended to be enthusiastic about sharing their experiences and feelings with me. Men, on the other hand, tended to be more cautious and formal when I first met them, although they were more welcoming and prepared to share their perspectives once I had explained the aims of my research.

No doubt the cultural background I share with the indigenous Amungme helped to facilitate easy communication; as did my ability to adapt quickly to living in their environment. We do, after all, share a language, and I was not new to this region of West Papua. However, if some were distrustful or more cautious about communicating with me than others, it might have been partly due to our educational and/or professional disparities. Fortunately, one of my local consultants was an indigenous Amungme woman (who was also a participant in my study). She helped me by introducing me to people who were more cautious about communicating with me in our early contact. This woman played a crucial role as a cultural broker, connecting me with participants. In general, cultural brokers are pivotal to building interactions between two parts of a large cultural system. They are usually members of the local or ethnic group involved and play

the role of mediator and innovator (Willigen, 2002). In this research project, with her status as a trusted member of the indigenous Amungme people, this woman acted as a mediator between me and those who felt awkward about communicating with me in the early stages of the project.

D.3 Recruitment of participants

The main participants in this study were married indigenous Amungme women and men of various ages and occupations. In addition to the key participant groups, I recruited people through local agencies and organisations. In order to recruit groups for my research, I sought the advice of local organisations such as LEMASA and YAHAMAK, as well as church leaders. As noted, they advised me on where to conduct my fieldwork, and helped me to recruit participants.

My research focused on indigenous Amungme married couples, where either both had paid employment (waged) or both were unemployed (with only an informal income), or where one partner had paid employment and the other partner was unemployed. Those with paid employment were government or Freeport Mining Company employees, or workers for private institutions. The unemployed depended for their income on casual trading in sessional crops, raising pigs and selling woven bags. These distinctions were important in understanding how gender relations applied to people of various backgrounds. The age range of the selected participants – from 25 to 60 – was intended to capture a variety of experiences, ideas and knowledge about gender relations.

In addition, complementary participants were recruited from the heads of various institutions such as local church leaders and government officials, as well as Papuan women activists. These participants already had work experience within the community and some understanding of gender issues among the indigenous Amungme. Given that the topic of gender relations could be sensitive for some participants, I asked recruiters to ensure that their participation was entirely voluntary, without any pressure or coercion. This was crucial to building trust between myself as researcher and the participants.

E METHODS USED DURING FIELDWORK

The ethnographic methods adopted over the course of my fieldwork included semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions and observations. My research employed feminist ethnography. These methods empower a researcher to record, describe and reveal the meaning of women's lives, experiences, perceptions and attitudes (Moore, 1988). They were used not only to record women's lives and experiences, but also to help the researcher produce knowledge for developing a feminist theory (Anderson et.al. 1990). In this section, I will discuss the methods used during fieldwork.

E.1 Semi-structured interviews

For the purpose of gathering information to answer my research questions, I undertook semi-structured interviews with 60 participants, including key participants that comprised 35 indigenous Amungme women and

20 indigenous Amungme men, and five relevant participants, namely; a government official, two church leaders, and two Papuan feminist activists. For each group (key and complementary participants), I prepared (in advance) an interview guideline. This helped me to keep the interviews on a certain track.

I opted for semi-structured interviews because they are suited to exploring the perceptions, opinions and lived experiences of participants. In semi-structured interviews, the person being interviewed has a degree of freedom over what they say, how much they say and how they say it. Interviews were therefore conducted in an informal manner. Through semi-structured interviews, I was able to gather information about gender relations and women's roles in Amungme families and the wider community, based on the experiences and perspectives of the participants. The characteristics of semi-structured interviews align with the feminist ethnography approach that I chose for this research. As stated by Shulamit Reinharz:

> "Interviewing offers researchers access to people's ideas, thoughts, and memories in their own words rather than in the words of the researcher. This asset is particularly important in the study of women because in this way learning from women is an antidote to centuries of ignoring women's ideas altogether or having men speak for women." (Reinharz, 1992, p.19).

The semi-structured interview guidelines enabled me to conduct flexible interviews in which participants were given the opportunity to choose which questions they answered and to indicate which questioned interested them less. I asked open-ended questions, and discussions would diverge from the answers

to enrich my data. Furthermore, by using semi-structured interviews, I was able to develop interview guidelines in advance.

Although the length of each interview was between 45 and 90 minutes, participants sometimes spoke well beyond this timeframe. This encouraged me because their experiences, ideas and feelings were important to generating the data I gained from observation. In cases when interviews went beyond the allotted time, I did not interrupt the participant; sometimes I found the answer to my question at the end of his or her response. At other times, however, as a researcher I did interrupt the participant so as to return to the question and prevent the interview from extending beyond two hours.

In the interviews, I always sought to keep the participant comfortable so that he or she could be flexible in sharing his or her experiences, feelings and knowledge, free from pressure and worry. As Thompson said, in-depth interviewing, such as semi-structured interviews, requires the interviewer to show an interest in and respect for interviewees as individuals (Thompson, 2000).

Furthermore, in ethnographic fieldwork the ethnographer needs to pay attention to his or her emotions and emotional disposition, which may be shaped during fieldwork. Emotions may be triggered and bear some influence on how the ethnographer understands situations in the field. They may also make an impact on his or her interactions with participants. Davies and Spencer say: “the certain emotions evoked during fieldwork can be used to inform how we understand the situations, people, communities, and interactions comprising the lifeworlds we enter. The certain emotions, reactions, and experiences that are consistently

evoked in a fieldworker can more assist to understand the lifeworlds being investigated" (Davies & Spencer, 2010, p.1).

In order to ensure that participants felt comfortable during interviews, I explained to them beforehand that they had the option of withdrawing at any point without consequence, and that they could request the disposal of any data I collected about them. I also explained that personal information such as names would not be revealed and that pseudonyms would be used. After introducing myself, as well as the purpose of the research and the informed consent sheet, I asked participants a few questions about their personal background, such as their name, age, number of children and occupation. Because all the participants could speak Indonesian, interviews were conducted in Indonesian using a Papuan dialect (*logat Papua*).

In semi-structured interviews with some indigenous Amungme couples, I found that the wives tended to be quieter than the husbands. It was vastly different when I interviewed the wives and husbands separately; wives were then more responsive, even enthusiastic, in answering questions. During my fieldwork, I mostly interviewed wives and husbands separately in the knowledge that the women would feel more comfortable and freer to share their experiences in such a context. Sociologist Lilian Rubin (Rubin 1976, as cited in Reinharz, 1992, p. 41) encountered a similar situation. She said she "interview[ed] husbands and wives separately because women tend to discuss their feelings about their lives, their roles, and their marriages more freely when men are not present. This is important because the views the researcher hears expressed separately may rarely be expressed when the couple is together".

E.2 Focus group discussions

In addition to interviews, I conducted focus group discussions (FGD). Jenny Kitzinger (Kitzinger, 1995) points out that focus group interviews are often used as a quick and convenient way to collect data from several informants simultaneously. A characteristic of this method is the ability to observe the interactions between the people of a group. The researcher is called on to act as a mediator. Not only does he or she ask each person to respond to a question, but also encourages "people to talk to one another such as asking questions, exchanging anecdotes and commenting on each other's experiences and points of view" (Kitzinger, 1995, p.311).

I used focus group discussions to clarify and complement data I collected in semi-structured interviews about changes in gender relations and women's roles among the indigenous Amungme, and how these changes affected women at home and in the community. A small focus group discussion was held with three married Amungme women in Tembagapura, where Freeport Mining Company operates; another took place with six married Amungme men, facilitated by LEMASA. The participants of the two focus group discussions were also interviewed individually. These focus group discussions revealed a difference in the expressions of the three married Amungme women and the six married Amungme men regarding gender relations in today's indigenous Amungme community. Discussion with the three married women was good: they were vocal and enthusiastic in responding to my questions about their experience of gender relations and women's roles within the family and the community.

The focus groups also elicited feelings and expressions of anger, sadness, happiness and anxiety as participants reflected on their experiences of married life. This was particularly the case among the women who took part. But such expressions were not forthcoming in a focus group of married indigenous Amungme men. They were more enthusiastic about responding to questions of gender relations within the Amungme community than within family life.

E.3 Observation

Observation was another method I used to gather information about the gender roles and relations among indigenous Amungme families and the wider community. Atkinson and Hammersley (1994, p. 248) say that "observation is carried out when the researcher is playing an established participant role in the scene studied". Observations helped me to become familiar with the daily activities of participants without directly intervening in their private and public lives. I used the method of qualitative observation to support data I collected from interviews. For instance, some participants said that indigenous Amungme women have equal rights when it comes to taking part in decision-making. So I attended a public protest against environmental damage from mining waste. Such an event can reveal socially defined gender roles by highlighting how individuals live in public. Of the nine representatives who spoke on behalf of the Amungme people at the protest, one was an indigenous woman.

Apart from that event, I was invited to attend a ceremony for building a church by two of the key participants (both women). This helped me to observe people taking a managing role in serving the community. I also visited a traditional market in a suburb where indigenous Amungme live and the traditional market in Timika town. I used the latter opportunities to talk to some women (called "mama", or mother) and bought some sweet potatoes sold by the "mama". Another opportunity was learning how to sew a bag made from tree bark off an indigenous Amungme woman. I did not find it easy to sew the bag because I had no skills for doing so. Some other participants taught me how to greet someone in their language. I recorded these events, activities and opportunities in my field notes along with my thoughts and feelings about the people. Robert M. Emerson, et.al (2001, p.355) says "field notes are an expression of the ethnographer's deepening local knowledge, emerging sensitivities and evolving substantive concerns and theoretical insights". "Field notes are therefore unruly or messy" (Marcus, 1994).

During my interviews and observations, I was assisted by four Papuan women with experience in working in or with the indigenous Amungme community. They were: a Papuan woman priest from the Evangelical Christian Church, a Papuan woman activist, an indigenous Amungme woman activist, and a Papuan woman who works as a government employee. They helped me during my fieldwork by taking on the role of cultural broker, contact person, consultant and by accompanying me to places in Timika where I conducted interviews.

Living in Timika city is costly, and contacts from the Evangelical Christian Church sometimes helped by lending me a car to get to and from interviews. This

freed up more of my funds to spend on betelnut, cigarettes, cookies and soft drinks that I would take to the interviews and use to create an informal environment: they served an "ice breaking" function before the interviews began.

F ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethical considerations are essential to social research. This is because social research involves relationships between "researcher and participants, researcher and gatekeepers, researcher and sponsors, and also between researcher and the community in which research is conducted" (Davies, 1999, 46). It is undeniable that such relationships may contain a conflict of interest. Therefore, the relationships between individuals and collectives must be safe (Davies, 1999, 45). As noted by Murphy and Dingwall (2001, p. 340), "ethnographers can harm the individuals or groups they study. Research participants may experience anxiety, stress, guilt and damage to self-esteem during data collection".

Before conducting fieldwork, a researcher should take into account any negative effects on participants that could arise before, during or after the interviews and observation period. To protect participants and avoid such negative effects, the researcher should adhere to ethical considerations that ensure the participants are not harmed as a result of taking part in the research project.

Before conducting my interviews and observations, I explained the purpose of my research to the participants and obtained informed consent sheets

from those who agreed to be interviewed. I explained that they could withdraw from the research at any time. These preliminary acts were done to give participants a chance to choose whether they wanted to be involved in the research. There were no inducements; no coercive pressure was applied, and the researcher and participants had no prior connection. For those who could not read the consent sheet due to a language barrier or illiteracy, I took the responsibility of slowly reading the consent sheet and explaining the purpose of it. I also made clear to the participants who signed the consent form that the results of the research project would be published in academic journals and conferences, as well as in my dissertation. I also made it clear that I would not identify participants by name, and that pseudonyms would protect the identity of vulnerable people.

I was aware that participants would most likely be concerned above all about the inconvenience and time their participation involved. This was particularly the case for participants who had daily domestic and agricultural duties, but also for those who worked as government and private employees. Therefore, participants were given the freedom to decide when and where interviews and focus group discussions took place. It was hoped that this would foster the comfort of the informants, and minimise interruptions that the research would have on their daily activities.

I was also aware that in the process of discussing gender relations between women and men in family and community life, there was a risk that participants might feel anxious and distressed or uncomfortable due to their position as a wife or husband. For this reason, before the interviews I asked

participants whether I could use a recording device. I said they had a right to refuse the recording if they felt uncomfortable with it.

In conducting interviews, I was also aware that a researcher should consider the cultural values of the people under observation. Even though I had spoken to local organisations about how to conduct my research according to indigenous Amungme culture, I discussed this again before conducting interviews to ensure that I would not be ignoring the culture and the privilege of the participant.

During my interviews, I faced such obstacles as weather constraints and delays to my interview schedule. It rained in Timika almost every day, so I sometimes had to postpone my interviews. Rescheduling was not easy, partly due to the inclement weather. Sometimes I rescheduled participants; at other times I found replacement participants with the help of my local advisors. In some cases, interviews had to be rescheduled around participants' activities or work commitments outside their homes. This happened with regard to key informants and complementary participants. In these cases, I had to check again with the informant that the participant was still willing to take part before rescheduling the interview. Fortunately, none of the participants refused to reschedule interviews.

G CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have explained in close detail the methodological orientation of this research, namely feminist ethnography. I have also detailed the

methods employed in my ethnographic fieldwork. Feminist ethnography was identified as the most suitable methodology for pursuing knowledge of the lived experiences of indigenous Amungme women and men. Through feminist ethnography, women's voices have been audible. This is important. In traditional anthropology, women's voices remain muted and they are known as a group who cannot express their views on an equal basis with men.

Furthermore, feminist ethnography helped me to encourage women as active agents to create social change in the indigenous Amungme community. As Reinharz (1992) said, the goal of feminist research is to commit to social change. In order to achieve its goal, feminist ethnography requires a certain quality of relationship between researcher and researched, and a quality of understanding what has been said and left unsaid. Feminist ethnography demands that the feminist ethnographer not place the participant as an object of the research, but as a person who will create knowledge that will transform the wider society. Therefore, through reflexivity, the researcher is better able to build mutual understanding and connection with participants.

Although feminist ethnography, like feminist research, focuses on the lived experiences of women as its core, this research also involved indigenous Amungme men. The reason for their inclusion was the desire for a holistic awareness of views in order to gain a richer understanding of gender roles and relations within the indigenous Amungme community. In an effort to gain insight into the everyday lives of the participants, I used several strategies, including semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions and observation.

The use of feminist ethnography enabled me to understand the lived experiences of the participants through the stories they told during our encounters. Thus, feminist ethnography proved to be a powerful methodology that helped the researcher to dive deep and engage with the people she wanted to understand.

Appendix 2: Selected transcriptions of interviews

This appendix provides selected transcriptions of interviews that can be used by readers who are interested in doing further research on indigenous Amungme in Mimika regency of West Papua with regards to gender issues. The following transcriptions of interviews are compiled into several themes;

1 Women's involvement in decision-making

Interviews below provide experiences and views of the informants about women's involvement in decision making, both in family and community. They show that male domination in decision-making still exists today within these two institutions.

1.1 *Pengambilan keputusan dalam keluarga*

Interviewer: Dalam keluarga, siapa yang bertanggung jawab sebagai pengambil keputusan?

Interviewee: *(Husband/ a civil servant)*

Saya sebagai laki-laki punya tanggung jawab untuk memutuskan segala sesuatu menyangkut hidup keluarga saya. Saya memang bertanya kepada istri jika saya akan mengambil keputusan untuk hal tertentu. Tapi itu hanya jika saya butuhkan. Istri saya hanya ikut apa yang saya putuskan. Kalau istri saya merasa bahwa keputusan yang saya ambil itu salah, dia akan nasehat saya. Tapi kalau saya tahu bahwa apa yang saya putuskan itu benar, maka saya tetap pada pendirian. Yah…karena saya laki-laki toh…dan saya kepala keluarga, dan karena itu, keputusan menyangkut hal-hal dalam keluarga adalah tanggung-jawab saya.

Interviewee: *(A housewife)*

Bapa itu kepala keluarga. Sebagai istri, saya harus dengar apa yang bapa putuskan. Itu kitong pu adat. Walaupun bapa juga minta saya pu pendapat, tetapi kalau bapa putuskan lain…yah…saya harus ikut toh…!. Saya harus hargai apa yang bapa putuskan. Misalnya, waktu kitong pu anak mo pi sekolah ke Jawa. Saya bilang" jangan…kitong *tarada* (tidak) punya uang". Tapi bapa putuskan untuk kitong pu anak *pi* (pergi) sekolah di Jawa, yah…saya ikut saja keputusan bapa. Jadi dia yang memutuskan bagaimana kitong pu hidup keluarga ini kedepan. Daripada melawan dan nanti *bakalai* (konflik), lebih baik saya diam saja. Bapa (laki-laki) dalam kitong pu adat itu nomor satu. Sebagai istri saya harus tahu itu.

1.2 *Keterlibatan Perempuan Amungme dalam pengambilan keputusan di LEMASA (Lembaga Masyarakat Adat Amungme)*

Interviewer: Apakah LEMASA sudah melibatkan perempuan dalam pengambilan keputusan?

Interviewee: *(A civil servant/Amungme woman activist)*

Memang kami punya adat bahwa ada *honai* (rumah) laki-laki. LEMASA adalah rumah laki-laki. Namun dalam rumah laki-laki, kami (perempuan) juga bicara tentang manusia dan tempat (negri) dimana manusia itu hidup, bagaimana manusia-manusia itu harus hidup dan bagaimana supaya mereka tetap hidup.
Kitong tahu bahwa tugas perempuan pada jaman dulu adalah masak, antar makanan dan minuman untuk para laki-laki yang ada dalam *honai.* Kitong tahu bahwa itu kitong pu adat. Tetapi sekarang sudah saatnya kitong perempuan su harus dilibatkan untuk duduk dan berbicara bersama dengan laki-laki. Kitong (perempuan) sedang berusaha untuk merubah cara lama yang tidak mengijinkan kitong (perempuan) untuk terlibat dalam pengambilan keputusan dirumah adat. Harus ada bagian dalam rumah adat untuk kitong perempuan, sehingga kitong (perempuan) dapat memutuskan apa yang baik dan tepat bagi *tong* (kami) (perempuan).

Contoh: dalam kitong pu masyarakat pada waktu lalu, biasanya sebelum perang, perempuan yang dong kirim untuk cari tahu kekuatan musuh. Setelah itu, dia akan kembali dan lapor kepada laki-laki dong tentang bagaimana kekuatan musuh. Ini bukti bahwa peran kitong perempuan begitu penting dan beresiko karena dia harus hati-hati saat mengintai (*spy*) kekuatan musuh. Dia mempertaruhkan nyawanya untuk menjadi mata-mata (*spy*). De *tara* (tidak) pikir de pu keamanan diri dan juga bagaimana dengan de pu suami dan anak-anak pu keamanan. Yang de pikirkan adalah bagaimana supaya de bisa dapat informasi yang baik tentang kekuatan musuh dan melapor kembali kepada laki-laki dong sehingga dong dapat menyusun strategi perang secara tepat.

Perempuan juga punya peran penting untuk mencari tahu informasi mengenai tempat mana yang aman bagi laki-laki dong untuk berburuh. Ini kan membukti toh… bahwa pada jaman dulu, perempuan sudah memainkan peran penting dalam kitong pu suku.

Berdasarkan pengalaman ini, maka kitong (perempuan) berjuang untuk harus ada perempuan yang duduk dalam LEMASA. Dengan begitu, masalah-masalah menyangkut perempuan, kitong (perempuan) bisa bicara dan menanganinya. Bukan laki-laki yang harus bicara tentang kitong perempuan pu masalah. Laki-laki dong tahu apa tentang masalah-masalah yang dihadapi oleh kitong perempuan. Jadi sudah saatnya perempuan harus terlibat dalam LEMASA dan bersama-sama dengan laki-laki untuk memutuskan apa yang baik bagi masyarakat kami (Amungme). Dan juga sudah saatnya kitong perempuan harus jadi pemimpin dalam LEMASA, walaupun LEMASA itu adalah *Honai* (rumah) laki-laki.

Perubahan ini harus ada. Mengapa ditempat lain perempuan bisa dilibatkan dalam pengambilan keputusan, dan bahkan jadi pemimpin, tetapi di tong pu masyarakat kitong perempuan *tara* (tidak) bisa dilibatkan. Oleh karena itu, menurut saya, aturan adat yang tidak menguntungkan bagi kitong perempuan sudah harus ditinggalkan. Tetapi aturan adat yang melindungi kitong perempuan harus dijaga dan diperbaharui.

2 Women's status within family and community

The outcome of this interview is to show the struggle of Amungme women to sue male domination in decision-making. This is an example of Amungme women who still struggle to be equal with men in decision-making.

Interviewer: Bagaimana status perempuan dalam aturan adat masyarakat Amungme?

Interviewee: *(A civil servant /Amungme woman's activist)*

Kami (perempuan) dalam suku Amungme betul-betul tidak dihargai oleh laki-laki. Yah…pada intinya, perempuan itu tidak dihargai. Walaupun dalam kenyataannya, perempuan yang selalu berjuang untuk keluarga. Mengapa? Karena kitong mengandung dan melahirkan anak untuk meneruskan kitong pu suku. Kitong perempuan juga harus berkebun dan cari makanan dihutan untuk tong pu anak-anak. Kitong (perempuan) pu tugas sangat berat. Kitong kerja keras untuk anak-anak pu hidup kedepan.

Kitong (perempuan) pikul tiga (3) noken diatas tong pu kepala. Noken yang pertama itu isi petatas dan keladi. Noken yang kedua isi sayur, tebu, ketimun dan jagung. Noken yang ketiga isi anak bayi. Ini berat. Laki-laki dong hanya pegang anak panah dan parang. Dong jalan santai saja dan *tara* (tidak) bantu perempuan untuk pikul noken yang lain. Sampai di rumah, laki-laki langsung menuju *honai* laki-laki, sementara perempuan harus taruh anak bayi yang ada dalam noken itu dengan hati-hati ditempat yang aman. Dia keluarkan betatas, keladi dan sayur-sayur dari noken untuk dimasak. Sesudah makanan de masak, perempuan ke honai laki-laki untuk panggil de pu suami makan. Selain itu, perempuan juga harus masak makanan untuk babi. Ini bukti bahwa perempuan Amungme adalah pekerja keras dan kuat. Dia mampu menyelesaikan pekerjaan-pekerjaan berat. Hal ini menunjukkan bahwa sejak lalu, perempuan Amungme sudah melakukan pekerjaan-pekerjaan berat. Ini kan bentuk dari kekuatan perempuan yang harus dihargai. Karena itu, jika kitong (perempuan) mampu melakukan pekerjaan-pekerjaan berat, maka laki-laki juga harus menghargai kitong. Kerja keras bukan hal baru bagi kitong, karena tong sudah terbiasa melakukan hal-hal itu. Tong sama dengan laki-laki. Karena itu, kitong mau laki-

laki Amungme menghargai kitong (perempuan Amungme). Kitong mau sama dengan perempuan papua dari daerah lain di Papua dan perempuan Indonesia. Tong mau maju.

3 Relasi gender dalam keluarga Amungme

This interview presents stories from Amungme women about the effect of the presence of the Freeport mining company on gender relations within family. This interview also shows that male involvement in paid work has strengthened male domination on women. Gaining a good salary, on one side, men have a chance to do poligami and do anything with their salary. On the other side, women (wives) cannot complaint to their husbands because the husband is the breadwinner of the family.

Interviewer: Bagaimana relasi suami-istri dalam keluarga saat ini?

Interviewee 1: *(A housewife)*

Bagi saya, kehadiran perusahaan Freeport ditengah tong masyarakat Amungme su bikin banyak masalah untuk kitong. Memang betul, bahwa Freeport sudah buka peluang untuk kitong orang Amungme kerja sebagai karyawan. Tapi itu kan kebanyakan hanya laki-laki yang bekerja. Kitong, istri-istri, hanya bergantung pada tong pu suami pu gaji. Hanay sayang karna, saat ini banyak suami yang pi kas tinggal dong pu istri dan pergi kawin dengan perempuan lain.

Suami-suami punya uang banyak tetapi dong jadi kacau. Malam minggu dong tidak pulang kerumah. Dong pergi ke bar dan tempat-tempat prostitusi. Istri-istri (mama-mama) sudah tahu, jadi biasanya mama dong pergi tunggu di terminal bus dimana para suami diantar dari Tembagapura pulang ke Timika dan sebaliknya. Tapi masih saja para suami tipu dong pu istri-istri. Kadang bapa-bapa bilang…."mama…nanti bapa tidak bisa pulang ke Timika karena masih ada kerja di Tembagapura". Padahal, dorang tipu. Dong sudah ada di Timika dan malam minggu dengan perempuan-perempuan jalanan dan juga di bar-bar, dan tempat

prostitusi. Dong pulang dari tempat pelacuran, dong mulai banding-bandingkan pelayanan seks istri dengan perempuan-perempuan di tempat prostitusi. Trus kalo istri tanya tentang gaji, suami akan bilang: "eh…ko yang kerjakan? Ko (istri) tidak punya hak tanya saya tentang sapu gaji. Ko (istri) pergi bikin kebun". Kitong pu mama-mama ini hanya diam saja dan ikut apa yang dong pu suami bilang. Karena kalau tanya trus dapat pukul dari suami. Ini kitong pu adat yang tidak baik.

Dalam kitong pu adat, jika keluarga laki-laki dong sudah memberi harta mas-kawin kepada pihak perempuan, maka istri harus tunduk kepada suami. Sehingga kalau suami punya gaji, kitong (istri) tidak berhak mengatur dia. Bagi kitong, suami itu yang bertanggung jawab pergi cari uang. Jadi dia punya hak untuk menggunakan uangnya, termasuk untuk kawin dengan perempuan lain. Kitong (perempuan) hanya bisa terima saja. Ini sudah tradisi dalam tong pu masyarakat sampai saat ini.

Yang menakutkan itu suami bawa pulang penyakit HIV/AIDS dan sebarkan kepada kami (istri). Ini bahaya karena banyak suami-istri yang mati dan tinggalkan dong pu anak-anak sendiri. Kalau begini trus….yah… kitong (orang Amungme) akan habis karena dibunuh oleh penyakit HIV/AIDS.

Interviewee 2: *(A housewife)*

Masalah dalam rumah tangga yang paling banyak dialami oleh kitong (orang Amungme) jaman modern ini adalah masalah perempuan dan minuman keras (MiRas). Orang Amungme yang su kenal uang, khususnya kitong pu laki-laki dong yang kerja di Freeport kah atau jadi pejabat di Pemerintah kah, dorang kacau skali. Gaji itu dong tara kasih ke istri tapi dong beli minuman dan bawa perempuan-perempuan. Pergi ke hotel dan bar-bar. Istri tidak bisa tegur karena nanti dapat pukul. Laki-laki dorang rental mobil dan didalam mobil itu ada perempuan-perempuan lain. Padahal dong sudah punya istri dan anak. Trus kalo suami de mo kawin lagi dengan perempuan lain, istri hanya diam saja dan ikut apa yang suami putuskan.

Banyak juga istri-istri yang diceraikan oleh suami begitu saja dan membiarkan anak-anak mereka diasuh oleh istri tanpa ada uang dari suami. Hal ini sangat menyedihkan. Budaya seperti ini membuat kitong (istri-istri) sulit melarang suami untuk kawin lagi dengan perempuan lain. Karena kitong *(masyarakat Amungme)* pu kebiasaan itu, kalau suami kerja dan dia punya cukup uang, maka dia berhak untuk memutuskan kawin lagi dengan perempuan lain. Kitong (istri) hanya ikut saja keputusan suami. Tetapi, kitong (perempuan) tidak menyerah. Kitong cari cara lain untuk bisa dapat uang dan kasih makan anak-anak kami. Kitong jual noken dan jual hasil kebun untuk makan dan kasih sekolah anak-anak kami.

Interviewee 3: *(A wife/ teacher)*

Banyak keluarga-keluarga Amungme saat ini sudah kacau. Orang luar datang ke Timika dan bikin kitong punya anak-anak jadi kacau. Mereka minum dan nonton film porno. Orang dewasa juga sudah terpengaruh dengan barang-barang (pengaruh) dari luar. Kami (orang Amungme) sekarang hidup kacau. Jadi kami minta Pemerintah dan Gereja harus memperhatikan hal ini supaya kami jangan hancur.

4 Konflik peran gender perempuan

The interviews demonstrate the gender roles in practice. Most of Amungme men still see that domestic chores are women's task. Therefore, men (husbands) are reluctant to take over dmomestic tasks. Interestingly, some Amungme women still consider that the domestic tasks are in women's hands, while other assume that domestic tasks are a shared responsibility of both women and men.

Interviewer: Bagaimana dengan pembagian peran laki-laki dan perempuan dalam keluarga pada masa sekarang?

Interviewee *(A housewife)*

Dulu…laki-laki dan perempuan masing-masing punya tugas. Laki-laki (bapa) punya tugas berburu untuk makanan keluarga, dan melindungi keluarga dari musuh. Perempuan (mama) punya tugas merawat anak-anak, kebun, masak, dan jaga rumah. Mereka kerja sama-sama untuk kasih makan keluarga. Bapa dan mama hidup baku sayang (harmonis).

Sekarang pembagian tugas ini sudah berbeda. Kitong (perempuan) masih tetap lakukan tugas yang sama, tetapi laki-laki sudah tidak ada lagi tempat berburu, jadi hanya duduk-duduk saja dirumah atau jalan-jalan kekota ketemu teman-temannya dan minum-minum. Kitong yang kerja keras cari uang. Kitong bikin kebun dan jual hasil kebun dipasar. Uang dari jualan hasil kebun kitong pakai untuk beli makanan dan kebutuhan keluarga.

Interviewer: Apakah bapa dan mama saling membantu untuk melakukan pekerjaan didalam rumah?

Interviewee: *(A husband*)

Ah…itu saya punya maitua (istri) yang punya tanggung jawab. Dia yang cuci, masak dan bersihkan dalam rumah. Itu pekerjaan perempuan, bukan pekerjaan laki-laki. Istri saya juga punya kebun. Dia ke kebun pagi dan siang pulang siapkan makanan untuk kami makan. Kalau dia tidak kerja pekerjaan dirumah, saya marah dia dan pukul kalau dia melawan. Pekerjaan dalam rumah itukan perempuan punya. Saya tidak mau melakukan pekerjaan itu terus-terus. Saya bisa bantu istri untuk masak, tetapi kalau terus-terus itu tidak baik. Itu kan pekejaan perempuan toh?

Interviewer: Menurut ibu, apakah pekerjaan dalam rumah adalah tugas istri?

Interviewee: *(A wife/ a civil servant)*

Saya bekerja sebagai pegawai kesehatan. Senin sampai Jumat dari jam 9 pagi sampai jam 4 sore saya dikantor. Istirahat jam 12 sampai jam 1 siang.

Walaupun saya sibuk tetapi tugas masak dan cuci serta mengasuh anak-anak adalah tugas saya. Saya melakukan tugas ini dengan senang hati, karena ini tugas penting dan utama dari seorang istri. Kalau kita (istri) lalai melakukan tugas kita dirumah, anak-anak tidak akan makan dengan baik. Mereka tidak akan sekolah dengan baik. Tugas kita (istri) adalah memberi anak-anak makanan yang sehat dan menolong mereka untuk bertumbuh secara baik. Ini tanggung-jawab perempuan (istri) yang sangat penting. Oleh karena itu, walaupun saya sibuk, saya tetap melakukan tugas dirumah dengan baik. Saya akan bangga jika kehidupan rumah tangga saya baik.

Interviewer: Apakah ada perubahan peran perempuan didalam keluarga?
Interviewee: *(A wife/ a civil servant)*

Jaman sekarang relasi suami-istri dalam keluarga sangat berbeda. Perempuan Amungme sekarang juga bisa berburu (artinya: punya kesempatan untuk sekolah dan bekerja di kantor). Kami (perempuan Amungme) juga bisa cari uang sendiri. Tetapi yang jadi masalah adalah suami kami belum bisa melepaskan kami dari tanggung jawab menjaga anak, masak dan cuci. Jika kami kerja dikantor dan pulang terlambat kerumah, suami marah-marah dan menuduh bahwa kami ada *selingkuh* (hubungan gelap dengan laki-laki lain diluar rumah) dengan laki-laki lain. Apalagi kalau suami pulang kerja dan makanan belum siap dimeja makan. Suami akan marah kepada istri dan bahkan bisa pukul istri. Ini hal-hal yang memicu konflik dalam keluarga. Saya tidak setuju kalau tugas dalam rumah itu adalah tugas perempuan saja. Ini tugas kita bersama.

5 Kesetaraan gender masih bermasalah

The below interviews show that gender relations in Amungme community is still problematic. For the participants, Amungme men prefer working with Indonesian women (female immigrant) to working with Amungme women. Here, the participants want to show that in many ways the Amungme men still see Amungme women as a second class in community. On the other sides, the

participants also show that Amungme men have not yet be prepared to consider Amungme women equal with them.

Interviewer: Bagaimana relasi gender didalam masyarakat Amungme?

Interviewee: *(A wife/ woman activist)*

Perempuan dalam kitong pu adat itu ada dalam kekuasaan laki-laki. Perempuan selalu dinomor duakan. Sekarang pun perempuan walaupun sudah berpendidikan dan bekerja di Pemerintah kah atau perusahaan Freeport kah, tetap laki-laki dong anggap kitong tidak bisa bikin apa-apa seperti dong. Tapi kitong perempuan Amungme sedang berjuang untuk merubah cara pikir laki-laki Amungme yang masih anggap remeh kitong perempuan.

Tapi saya sangat heran. Kalau perempuan lain (diluar suku Amungme), terutama perempuan pendatang (Indonesia) dong, kitong pu laki-laki sangat hormat dan dengar apa yang dong perempuan-perempuan pendatang dong katakan kepada mereka. Laki-laki dong macam lebih menghargai perempuan pendatang yang bekerja bersama dong (laki-laki Amungme). Tapi kalau perempuan Amungme, walaupun kitong sudah berpendidikan, laki-laki dong tetap tidak mau kitong (perempuan) atur dorang.

Interviewer: Mengapa kesetaraan gender masih bermasalah?

Interviewee: *(A wife/ woman activist)*

Kitong (orang Amungme) masih sangat kuat dengan tong pu budaya yang menempatkan laki-laki lebih penting daripada tong perempuan. Faktor budaya ini menyebabkan kitong perempuan agak sulit berkembang karena kitong tidak boleh melebihi laki-laki.

Begitu pula kalau istri mandul atau tidak melahirkan anak laki-laki, maka suami akan menikah lagi dengan perempuan lain yang dapat memberikan anak, teristimewa anak laki-laki. Makanya banyak perempuan Amungme yang ditinggalkan oleh suaminya tanpa proses perceraian secara hukum ataupun

secara adat. Kitong punya laki-laki sekarang lebih suka kawin dengan perempuan pendatang (Oyame). Pokoknya, pendatang dong su bawa kitong pu semua barang (kekayaan alam dan manusia).

6 Perceraian

This interview provides information about the main cause of divorce experienced by most of Amungme families. In particular, when there was a contact between the mining company and the Amungme community.

Interviewer: Menurut bapa, apa penyebab perceraian dalam kehidupan keluarga Amungme masa kini.

Interviewee: *(Husband/ unemployment)*

Masalah utama adalah uang. Sekarang banyak laki-laki Amungme yang bekerja di Freeport. Dong punya banyak uang, sehingga dong lupa kalau sudah menikah dan punya anak. Dengan uang, laki-laki Amungme cari perempuan Oyame (pendatang) dan dong kawin. Dong macam *tara* (tidak) sayang dengan perempuan Amungme kalau su punya banyak uang. Dong pergi ke tempat pelacur dan bawa pulang penyakit ke Istri. Jadi…yah…kitong ini su mo punah hanya gara-gara penyakit. Sekarang ini, banyak yang kawin istri lebih dari satu. Dan hal ini dianggap biasa saja. Orang *tara* (tidak malu). Istri yang asli (Amungme) dong kas tinggal begitu saja dan lebih sayang perempuan Oyame.

7 Jualan hasil kebun untuk membeli kebutuhan hidup keluarga dan Pendidikan anak.

This interview provides an experience from a housewife who still sees gardening activities as an option in maintaining family sustainability.

Interviewer: Ibu biasa jualan hasil kebun dipasar?

Interviewee: *(A housewife)*

Iya. Sa jualan dipasar dan hasilnya sa beli minyak goreng, beras, gula dan kebutuhan hidup yang lain. Dari hasil jualan, sa juga simpan untuk anak-anak pu biaya sekolah. Sa ingin anak-anak sekolah yang benar supaya dong punya masa depan lebih baik.

Interviewer: Kalau hasil kebun tidak terjual habis dipasar bagaimana?

Interviewee: (*A housewife*)

Sa bawa pulang dan masak untuk kitong makan. Nanti besok cari lagi toh…! Ada kebun jadi tidak lapar.

Interviewer: hasil jualan kebun digunakan untuk apa?

8 Hidup sehat dengan makan makanan lokal

The below interview shows a change in the dietary habit of Amungme community, and the rejection of factory food which is considered threatening the resilience of human body.

Interviewer: Apakah ada perubahan dalam hal makanan bagi orang Amungme saat ini dibandingkan dengan pada masa lalu?

Interviewee: (*Woman activist*)

Hidup orang Amungme pada masa lalu dan sekarang sangat berbeda. Laki-laki Amungme masa lalu hanya pake koteka dan perempuan hanya pake sali. Masyarakat dulu makan juga sederhana. Hanya makan petatas dan keladi. Tapi dong hidup sehat dan tidak sakit-sakit seperti orang modern saat ini. Dong hidup sangat sederhana.

Interviewee: (*A housewife*)

Sekarang tong punya banyak pilihan untuk makan. Ada beras, ada indomie, dan lain-lain. Kitong makan nasi dan indomie bikin badan lemah. Kitong su terbiasa makan petatas dan keladi, jadi kalo makan nasi tidak cepat lapar dan badan lemah. Itu sebabnya, walaupun saya masak nasi untuk kitong makan setiap hari, tapi saya juga masak petatas atau keladi.

9 Perlu sosialisasi kesehatan ibu dan anak serta kebersihan kepada perempuan Amungme

This interview presents an overview of the efforts on the improvement of maternal and child health and the cleanliness being carried out by the Amungme women's organisation and the local government, which is the Women's empowerment department, for the wellbeing of the Amungme women.

Interviewer: Menurut ibu apakah perlu sosialisasi kesehatan kepada ibu-ibu?

Interviewee: (*A nurse*)

Saya seorang suster. Menurut saya, penyuluhan kesehatan kepada ibu-ibu Amungme sangat penting. Masalah yang saya alami dalam pelayanan kesehatan kepada ibu-ibu kami (Amungme) adalah masalah kebersihan dan kurangnya pemahaman mengenai pentingnya menjaga kesehatan saat hamil.

Itu sebabnya, saya bersama dengan tim kesehatan dari rumah sakit kami mengunjungi masyarakat kami untuk memberi pemahaman kepada mereka mengenai pentingnya menjaga kesehatan selama hamil. Kami punya Posyandu (Pusat Pelayanan Masyarakat Terpadu) di beberapa kampung. Posyandu penting untuk menolong mama-mama yang butuh bantuan kesehatan selama hamil. Di Posyandu, biasanya ada suster yang berasal dari kampung setempat yang bertugas membantu mama-mama yang membutuhkan pertolongan karena mengalami masalah kehamilan atau saat melahirkan. Memang…masalah kesadaran tentang kesehatan ibu dan anak masih sangat kurang. Tetapi *kitong*

(kami) berusaha untuk terus bersama mama-mama sehingga mereka tahu pentingnya menjaga kesehatan mereka selama hamil, supaya anak yang akan dilahirkan juga sehat.

Interviewer: Apakah perlu masyarakat Amungme diberikan pemahaman tentang pentingnya menjaga kebersihan?

Interviewee: (*Woman activist*)

Iya. Masalah kebersihan juga merupakan hal yang kami sedang lakukan bagi masyarakat kami. Hal ini kami lakukan untuk membantu peningkatan kesehatan masyarakat. Oleh karena itu, *kitong* (kami) juga memberikan pengarahan (edukasi) bagi masyarakat untuk menjaga kebersihan, baik kebersihan tubuh maupun lingkungan mereka. Kita mengajak mereka untuk hidup bersih dan sehat. Menurut kami, kalau anak-anak di ajarkan untuk mandi secara teratur dan juga ibu-ibu memperhatikan kebersihan tubuh serta lingkungan dimana mereka tinggal itu bersih, maka anak-anak dan ibu-ibu juga akan sehat. Kita tidak mau, kami (masyarakat Amungme) hidup seperti masa lalu. Kita juga mau berubah, kita mau hidup bersih dan sehat. Sekarang kami punya lingkungan sudah berubah dan tercemar. Jadi kebersihan dan kesehatan adalah hal penting yang perlu diperhatikan oleh masyarakat. Kalau dulu, ya…kita kan masih sendiri. Orang luar belum banyak yang datang ke tempat kami. Semua (lingkungan) masih bersih. Sekarang sudah berubah. Ada limbah pertambangan dan juga ada limbah sampah karena orang su banyak datang ke Timika. Jadi…yah…kita harus menolong masyarakat kita untuk perhatikan kebersihan dan kesehatan.

Interviewer: Apa saja aktifitas yang dilakukan oleh departemen pemberdayaan perempuan kepada masyarakat lokal, termasuk Amungme?

Interviewee: (*A civil servant*)

Kami lebih prioritaskan pada kesehatan ibu dan anak dan juga masalah kebersihan lingkungan (rumah dan pekarangan). Hal ini penting karena, umumnya masyarakat lokal yang masih tinggal di kampung-kampung dipegunungan dan lokasi yang jauh dari kota and bahkan juga yang tinggal dikota, mereka belum punya pemahaman yang baik mengenai hal-hal tersebut. Itu sebabnya, bersama tim kesehatan, kami setiap 2 atau 3 bulan mengunjungi masyarakat dan memberikan informasi-informasi kesehatan dan juga mengajar mereka untuk menjaga bersih. Ini penting karena masyarakat ini sudah hidup dalam kondisi lingkungan yang polusi dan tidak nyaman seperti waktu lalu. Pencemaran lingkungan karena limbah Freeport juga menjadi masalah penting yang harus diperhatikan oleh masyarakat. Karena itu, tradisi-tradisi lalu mengenai cara melahirkan secara tradisional dan kebersihan lingkungan rumah sudah perlu diperhatikan oleh masyarakat. Ini sasaran program kami untuk membantu masyarakat terhindar dari serangan penyakit yang dapat menyebabkan kematian ibu dan bayi. Ini masalah besar karena Timika termasuk tinggi angka kematian ibu dan bayi. Jarak yang jauh antara kota dan kampung merupakan masalah tersendiri bagi kami. Tetapi kami terus berusaha untuk menolong perempuan-perempuan lokal yang butuh bantuan kami.

Interviewer: Apakah pogram-program ini melibatkan suami (bapa-bapa)?

Interviewee: (*A civil servant*)

Selama ini sasaran kelompok yang dituju adalah perempuan. Kami memang pernah mengundang bapa-bapa (suami-suami) untuk terlibat dalam program kesehatan ibu hamil dan Keluarga Berencana (KB), namun yang datang tidak banyak. Lalu kami tanya kepada mama-mama, kenapa bapa-bapa sedikit yang datang? Mereka bilang; “ah…bapa dong bilang itu bukan kitong pu urusan. Itu mama kamu yang pu urusan”. Akibatnya program ini hanya diketahui oleh mama-mama saja. Ini tantangan budaya yang masih kami hadapi saat

memberikan penyuluhan (sosialisasi) kesehatan kepada masyarakat dikampung-kampung.

Appendix 3: Interview guides *for* indigenous Amungme

INTERVIEW GUIDES

(For the Amungme married couples)

I. Questions related to gender roles and relations between women and men within the family.
(Questions for wife)

1. What do you think of being a wife?
2. *What responsibilities do you have for meeting family needs?*
3. *Is your role at all different to that of other wives in the Amungme family or wider community? If so, how?*
4. What is your opinion about equal rights for women?
5. *Do you work for wages in a formal job outside the home? Do you think as a wife you have the same rights as husbands to work outside the home (for instance, as a teacher, as a government employee, and so on)? Can you explain your answer for me?*
6. *Can you describe for me the way your household works? In particular, how is everyday domestic life organised?*
7. *Does your husband share domestic tasks such as cleaning the house, preparing food for the family, looking after the children, etc, given that you are busy with a paid job outside the home?*
8. *Who takes responsibility in family decision? What sorts of decisions do you take responsibility for?*
9. *Are you involved in any social activities? Can you describe them for me, and how your husband feels about these activities, and your involvement in them?*
10. *What do you think about the traditional family status of Amungme women compared to that of men (that is, in former times)?*
11. *What do you think about the relative status of women and men in the Amungme family today? Can you tell me a story about this or give me examples to explain why you feel this way?*

12. What do you think the relative status of women and men is within the Amungme community today? Can you explain your answer by giving examples?
13. *How much autonomy/ freedom and authority do women and men have today in the Amungme family and community? Is this same as in the past?*
14. *Apart from status, autonomy and authority, are there other ways in which the roles of women and men and their relations within the Amungme family and community today differ from the traditional norms in earlier times?*
15. What do you think about the relationships between women and men now within the Amungme family and community? Are they better or worse than earlier times?
16. *Do the relationships between women and men within the Amungme family and community today differ much from those in the wider West-Papuan society? If so, how?*

II. Questions related to gender roles and relations between women and men within the family
(*Questions for husband)*

1. *What do you think of being a husband?*
2. *What responsibilities do you have for meeting family needs?*
3. *Is your role at all different to that of other husbands in the Amungme family or wider community? If so, how?*
4. What is your opinion of equal rights for women?
5. *Do you work for wages in a formal job outside the home? Do you think as a husband you have to work outside the home (for instance, as a teacher, as a government employee, factory workers, and so on)? Can you explain your answer for me?*
6. *Can you describe for me the way your household works? In particular, how is everyday domestic life organised with your wife?*
7. *Do you share domestic tasks with your wife? Are you happy to take on domestic tasks such as cleaning the house, preparing food for the family, looking after the children, etc, because you wife is doing paid work outside the home?*
8. *Who takes responsibility for family decision? What sorts of decisions do you take responsibility for?*
9. *Is your wife involved in any social activities? Can you describe them for me, and how you feel as a husband about these activities, and her involvement in them?*

10. *What do you think about the traditional family status of Amungme women compared to that of men (that is, in former times)?*
11. *What do you think about the relative status of women and men in the Amungme family today? Can you tell me a story about this or give me examples to explain why you feel this way?*
12. *What do you think the relative status of women and men is within the Amungme community today? Can you explain your answer, perhaps by giving examples?*
13. *How much autonomy/ freedom and authority women and men have today in the Amungme family and community? Is this same as in the past?*
14. *Apart from status, autonomy and authority, are there other ways in which the roles of women and men and their relations within the Amungme family and community today differ from the traditional norms in earlier times?*
15. *What do you think about the relationships between women and men now within the Amungme family and community? Are they better or worse than earlier times?*
16. *Do the relationships between women and men within the Amungme family and community today differ much from those in the wider West-Papuan society? If so, how?*

<u>Indonesian Version</u>

PEDOMAN WAWANCARA

(Pasangan suami-istri Amungme)

I. Pertanyaan-pertanyaan yang berhubungan dengan peran dan hubungan gender antara perempuan dan laki-laki dalam keluarga.
(pertanyaan-pertanyaan untuk Istri)

1. Apa pendapat anda menjadi seorang istri?
2. Tanggung jawab apa yang anda miliki untuk memenuhi kebutuhan keluarga?
3. Apakah peran anda sama sekali berbeda dengan istri-istri lain dalam keluarga Amungme atau masyarakat luas? Jika demikian, bagaimana?
4. Apa pendapat anda tentang kesetaraan hak bagi perempuan?
5. Apakah anda bekerja untuk upah dalam pekerjaan formal di luar rumah? Menurut anda apakah sebagai seorang istri anda memiliki hak yang sama dengan suami untuk bekerja di luar rumah (misalnya, sebagai guru, sebagai

pegawai pemerintah, dan sebagainya)? Bisakah anda menjelaskan jawaban anda untuk saya?

6. Dapatkah anda menjelaskan kepada saya bagaimana pekerjaan dalam rumah-tangga dilaksanakan? Secara khusus, bagaimana kehidupan rumah tangga sehari-hari terorganisir?
7. Apakah suami anda mengambil-alih tugas rumah tangga seperti membersihkan rumah, menyiapkan makanan untuk keluarga, merawat anak-anak, dll, karena anda sedang sibuk dengan pekerjaan yang dibayar di luar rumah?
8. Siapa yang bertanggung jawab dalam pengambilan keputusan keluarga? Dalam hal keputusan yang bagaimana/ macam apa yang merupakan tanggung-jawab anda?
9. Apakah anda terlibat dalam kegiatan-kegiatan sosial? Dapatkah anda menjelaskan kepada saya kegiatan-kegiatan tersebut, dan bagaimana perasaan suami anda dengan keterlibatan anda dalam kegiatan-kegiatan tersebut?
10. Apa pendapat anda tentang status perempuan dalam keluarga tradisional Amungme dibandingkan dengan laki-laki (yaitu, pada zaman dulu)?
11. Apa pendapat anda mengenai hubungan status perempuan dan laki-laki dalam keluarga Amungme saat ini? Bisakah Anda ceritakan sebuah peristiwa tentang hal ini atau memberi saya contoh untuk menjelaskan pendapat anda?
12. Apa pendapat anda mengenai status perempuan dan laki-laki dalam komunitas Amungme saat ini? Bisakah Anda menjelaskan jawaban Anda dengan memberikan contoh?
13. Seberapa banyak otonomi / kebebasan dan otoritas yang dimiliki perempuan dan laki-laki dalam keluarga Amungme dan masyarakat saat ini? Apakah hal ini sama seperti di masa lalu?
14. Terlepas dari status, otonomi dan kewenangan, apakah ada cara lain di mana peran perempuan dan laki-laki serta hubungan mereka dalam keluarga dan masyarakat Amungme saat ini berbeda dari norma-norma tradisional pada jaman dulu?
15. Apa pendapat anda mengenai hubungan antara perempuan dan laki-laki dalam keluarga Amungme dan masyarakat saat ini? Apakah lebih baik atau lebih buruk dibandingkan jaman dulu?
16. Apakah hubungan antara perempuan dan laki-laki dalam keluarga dan masyarakat Amungme saat ini berbeda jauh dari orang-orang Papua lainnya didalam masyarakat secara luas? Jika demikian, bagaimana?

II. Pertanyaan-pertanyaan yang berhubungan dengan peran dan hubungan gender antara perempuan dan laki-laki dalam keluarga.
(pertanyaan-pertanyaan untuk Suami)

1. Apa pendapat anda menjadi seorang suami?
2. Tanggung jawab apa yang Anda miliki untuk memenuhi kebutuhan keluarga?
3. Apakah peran anda sama sekali berbeda dengan suami-suami lain dalam keluarga Amungme atau masyarakat luas? Jika demikian, bagaimana?
4. Apa pendapat Anda tentang kesetaraan hak bagi perempuan?
5. Apakah Anda bekerja untuk upah dalam pekerjaan formal di luar rumah? Menurut anda apakah sebagai suami anda harus bekerja di luar rumah (misalnya, sebagai guru, sebagai pegawai pemerintah, pekerja pabrik, dan sebagainya)? Bisakah anda menjelaskan jawaban anda untuk saya?
6. Dapatkah anda menjelaskan kepada saya bagaimana pekerjaan dalam rumah-tangga dilaksanakan? Secara khusus, bagaimana kehidupan rumah tangga sehari-hari terorganisir?
7. Apakah anda berbagi tugas rumah tangga dengan istri anda? Apakah anda senang untuk melakukan tugas rumah tangga seperti membersihkan rumah, menyiapkan makanan untuk keluarga, merawat anak-anak, dll, karena istri anda mempunyai pekerjaan formal (upah) di luar rumah?
8. Siapa yang bertanggung jawab dalam pengambilan keputusan keluarga? Dalam hal keputusan yang bagaimana/ macam apa yang merupakan tanggung-jawab anda?
9. Apakah istri anda terlibat dalam kegiatan-kegiatan sosial? Dapatkah anda menjelaskan kepada saya kegiatan-kegiatan tersebut, dan bagaimana perasaan anda sebagai suami tentang kegiatan tersebut, dan keterlibatan istri anda dalam kegiatan-kegiatan tersebut?
10. Apa pendapat anda tentang status perempuan dalam keluarga tradisional Amungme dibandingkan dengan laki-laki (yaitu, pada zaman dulu)?
11. Apa pendapat anda mengenai hubungan status perempuan dan laki-laki dalam keluarga Amungme saat ini? Bisakah Anda ceritakan sebuah peristiwa tentang hal ini atau memberi saya contoh untuk menjelaskan pendapat anda?
12. Apa pendapat anda mengenai status perempuan dan laki-laki dalam komunitas Amungme saat ini? Bisakah Anda menjelaskan jawaban Anda dengan memberikan contoh?
13. Seberapa banyak otonomi / kebebasan dan otoritas yang dimiliki perempuan dan laki-laki dalam keluarga Amungme dan masyarakat saat ini? Apakah hal ini sama seperti di masa lalu?

14. Terlepas dari status, otonomi dan kewenangan, apakah ada cara lain di mana peran perempuan dan laki-laki serta hubungan mereka dalam keluarga dan masyarakat Amungme saat ini berbeda dari norma-norma tradisional pada jaman dulu?
15. Apa pendapat anda mengenai hubungan antara perempuan dan laki-laki dalam keluarga Amungme dan masyarakat saat ini? Apakah lebih baik atau lebih buruk dibandingkan jaman dulu?
16. Apakah hubungan antara perempuan dan laki-laki dalam keluarga dan masyarakat Amungme saat ini berbeda jauh dari orang-orang Papua lainnya didalam masyarakat secara luas? Jika demikian, bagaimana?

Appendix 4: Interview guides *for* complementary participant

INTERVIEW GUIDES

(For the agencies/ organizations as the complementary participant)

English version

Questions for the complementary participant (Local agencies/ organizations)

1. What do you think about the status and roles of women and men in the Amungme family and community today? Can you tell a story about this?
2. Who has more authority in, or control over the family? Are women and men free to take on varying roles in the family and community?
3. Can you explain about the relationships between women and men in the Amungme community and family today? Are there any common problems that need to be addressed?
4. Do you think there is a different roles and responsibility between women and men in family who do not a permanent job and, women and men in family who have permanent job? And how about a family where wife or husband has not permanent job?
5. Can you explain how the gender roles and relations work within the Amungme family and community today?
6. Based on your work experience with the community, what are the factors that most impact on gender roles and relations of women and men both in the family and community? What sorts of problems need to be addressed? And what sorts of policies and community initiatives would help address such problem?
7. What kinds of programs arranged by your organization/ agency to empower women within the family and community?
8. Can you describe for me the positive and negative impacts of the factors you described above on gender roles and relations of women and men within the family and community?
9. Based on your work experience, do you think Amungme women and men have an equal opportunity to involve in community development programs such as opportunity to get better education, trainings (animal husbandry andagriculture) and so on, designed by agencies/organizations (national and local, and NGO's)? Can you tell more about this?
10. Who plays more dominant role in decision-making regarding the implementation of community development programs? Can you give an example about this?

11. Do you think the community development programs designed by the agencies/ organizations (National and local) have met the needs and context of community?
12. Based on your work experience, what need to be done by the agencies/ organizations in designing community development program for the Amungme community?

Indonesian Version

PEDOMAN WAWANCARA

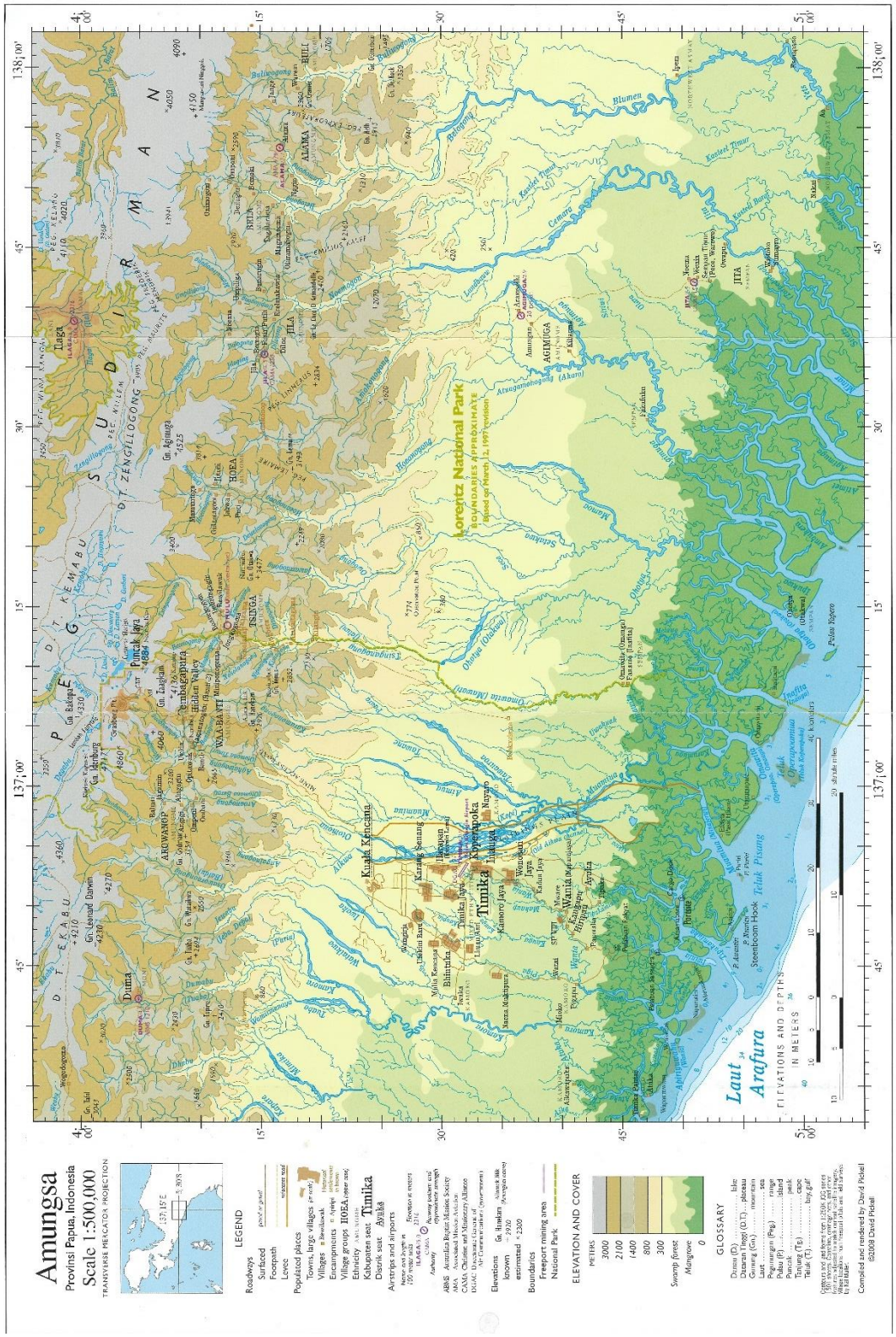
(Lembaga/ organisasi: partisipan tambahan)

Pertanyaan-pertanyaan untuk partisipan tambahan (Lembaga/ organisasi)

1. Apa pendapat anda tentang status dan peran perempuan dan laki-laki dalam Amungme keluarga dan masyarakat saat ini? Dapatkah anda menceritakan sebuah kisah tentang hal ini?
2. Siapa yang memiliki kewenangan yang tertinggi, atau kontrol atas keluarga? Apakah perempuan dan laki-laki bebas untuk mengambil berbagai peran dalam keluarga dan masyarakat?
3. Dapatkah anda menjelaskan tentang hubungan antara perempuan dan laki-laki dalam masyarakat Amungme dan keluarga saat ini? Apakah ada masalah umum yang perlu diatasi?
4. Menurut anda apakah ada perbedaan peran dan tanggung jawab antara perempuan dan laki-laki dalam keluarga yang tidak memiliki pekerjaan tetap dan, perempuan dan laki-laki dalam keluarga yang memiliki pekerjaan tetap? Dan bagaimana sebuah keluarga di mana istri atau suami memiliki pekerjaan tidak tetap?
5. Dapatkah anda menjelaskan bagaimana peran dan hubungan gender bekerja dalam keluarga dan masyarakat Amungme saat ini?
6. Berdasarkan pengalaman kerja anda dengan masyarakat, apa saja faktor yang paling berdampak pada peran dan hubungan gender perempuan dan laki-laki baik dalam keluarga dan komunitas? Masalah-masalah apa saja perlu ditangani? Dan apa kebijakan dan inisiatif masyarakat untuk membantu mengatasi masalah tersebut?
7. Program-program apa saja yang disusun oleh organisasi / lembaga untuk memberdayakan perempuan dalam keluarga dan masyarakat?

8. Dapatkah anda menjelaskan kepada saya dampak positif dan negatif dari faktor-faktor yang dijelaskan di atas pada peran dan hubungan gender perempuan dan laki-laki dalam keluarga dan masyarakat?
9. Berdasarkan pengalaman kerja anda, apakah anda pikir wanita dan pria Amungme memiliki kesempatan yang sama untuk terlibat dalam program-program pengembangan masyarakat seperti kesempatan untuk mendapatkan pendidikan yang lebih baik, pelatihan (peternakan dan pertanian) dan sebagainya, yang dirancang oleh lembaga / organisasi (nasional dan lokal, dan LSM)? Bisakah anda ceritakan lebih lanjut tentang ini?
10. Siapa yang berperan lebih dominan dalam pengambilan keputusan mengenai pelaksanaan program-program pengembangan masyarakat? Dapatkah anda memberikan contoh tentang hal ini?
11. Menurut anda apakah program-program pengembangan masyarakat yang dirancang oleh lembaga / organisasi (nasional dan lokal) telah memenuhi kebutuhan dan konteks masyarakat?
12. Berdasarkan pengalaman kerja anda, apa yang perlu dilakukan oleh lembaga / organisasi dalam merancang program-program pengembangan masyarakat bagi masyarakat Amungme?

Appendix 5: MAP



Location of indigenous Amungme communities. Complied and rendered by Davis Pickell (2008). In Muller & Omabak (2008).

Appendix 6: Ethics Approval

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (HREC)

21-Jan-2015
Dr Helene Bowen Raddeker
Sydney NSW 2052

Dear Dr Bowen Raddeker,

HREC Ref: **# HC14247**
Changes in gender roles and their impact on the status of women within the Amungme family, Mimika regency,West-Papua.

The Human Research Ethics Committee considered the above protocol at its meeting held on 16-Dec-2014 and is pleased to advise it is satisfied that this protocol meets the requirements as set out in the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research*. Having taken into account the advice of the Committee, the Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Research) has approved the project to proceed.
Would you please note:-

- approval is valid from 16-Dec-2014 to 16-Dec-2019;
- you will be required to provide annual reports on the studys progress to the HREC, as recommended by the National Statement;
- you are required to immediately report to the Ethics Secretariat anything which might warrant review of ethical approval of the protocol (National Statement 3.3.22, 5.5.7: http://www.nhmrc.gov.au/_files_nhmrc/publications/attachments/e72.pdf) including:
  - serious or unexpected outcomes experienced by research participants (using the Serious Adverse Event proforma on the University website at http://research.unsw.edu.au/human-ethics-forms-and-proformas ;
  - proposed changes in the protocol; and
  - unforeseen events or new information (eg. from other studies) that might affect continued ethical acceptability of the project or may indicate the need for amendments to the protocol;
- any modifications to the project must have prior written approval and be ratified by any other relevant Human Research Ethics Committee, as appropriate;
- if there are implantable devices, the researcher must establish a system for tracking the participants with implantable devices for the lifetime of the device (with consent) and report any device incidents to the TGA;
- if the research project is discontinued before the expected date of completion, the researcher is required to inform the HREC and other relevant institutions (and where possible, research participants), giving reasons. For multi-site research, or where there has been multiple ethical review, the researcher must advise how this will be communicated before the research begins (National Statement 3.3.22, 5.5.7: http://www.nhmrc.gov.au/_files_nhmrc/publications/attachments/e72.pdf);
- consent forms are to be retained within the archives of the HULA - School of Humanities & Languages and made available to the Committee upon request.

Sincerely,

Professor Heather Worth
Presiding Member
Human Research Ethics Committee

* http://www.nhmrc.gov.au

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