

Selpele, Salio and PT Cendana Indopearls

A report on
land and resource ownership
village leadership, and
villagers' expectations

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1. Introduction

This research initially arose due to concerns resulting from, among other things, significant changes in the political structure of Indonesia. The role of local communities in determining what is and what is not done in their areas has been heightened in recent times. Therefore for any company operating in Indonesia harmonious and positive relationships with local communities are of vital importance, more so than ever before.

Given this background, PT Cendana Indopearls management felt that it was important to further understand the local people in the villages of Selpele and Salio. For that reason this research was undertaken, in order to help assess present relationships between the company and the local communities of Selpele and Salio, and as a result suggest ways to help maintain and improve them. Part of the implied brief was to note the cultural features that underpin the way the local people think about and relate to the company. Understanding the dynamics behind these relationships and implementing policies accordingly will help facilitate the smooth operation of the company in Alyui bay. In addition, four specific points listed by Lucian Petersen in a letter dated 9 June 2000 were a focus of the research. These four points were:

1. A map detailing who owns what in the bay.
2. A family tree showing village relationships and "adat" hierarchy.
3. An idea of the likely succession once the current leaders move on.
4. Some idea of what expectations the local villagers have of the company (but without raising their expectations in the process).

These four points are discussed under the headings of *Land and resource ownership*, *Village leadership* (points two and three combined here), and *Villagers' expectations*. In addition, some other aspects of local culture that emerged during the research that are important to consider in maintaining positive relationships are discussed under the heading *Facilitating harmonious relationships*. Finally, since this research was done under the auspices of YBI¹, data that gives an overview of the villages is documented under the heading *Profile of Selpele and Salio*. This data has been included by way of background, and has some relevance to the company's activities. The report concludes with a list of the recommendations that were noted throughout the report.

One possibility mooted in discussions regarding the brief prior to this research was that if someone was appointed to manage community relations, what type of qualifications would such a person need, and what would their job description be? I do recommend that the company consider appointing a Community Relations Manager (CRM), and so I have noted various aspects relating to the possible role of a CRM throughout the report, and then in summary form at the end.

¹ The research was conducted under the auspices of Yayasan Betania Indonesia rather than the company in order to minimise the potential risk of developing further expectations of the company, and to help in getting more open feedback about the company. If we were seen as representatives of the company we may not have been told certain things. However since we were considered as independent outsiders I believe that people were more open in their opinions about the company. The name of YBI was not just used as a front, but indeed aspects of the research were also done in order to meet the aims of YBI. In this report I have included all data gathered, some of which may be of interest to the company, and so this report is wider than the original brief. YBI is an organisation that is involved in community development activities in remote villages ("community development" is understood as both in physical and spiritual aspects). YBI is registered with both the Social (now BKSD) and Religion departments of the Republic of Indonesia.

The research was conducted in two villages among the group of people known as the Kawe people. The two villages are:

Selpele (*sa* ‘harbour’ and *pele* ‘big’). Upon hearing “Sapele”, outsiders pronounced it as Selpele, and so that name has been used ever since.

Salio (*sa* ‘harbour’ and *alyu* ‘cassowary tree²’) Upon hearing “Salyu”, outsiders pronounced it as Salio, and that name has been used ever since.

2. Methodology

The research was conducted over a period of 8 days, from Wednesday, 16 August to Thursday, 24 August. Our team spent four days in Selpele, and then three days in Salio, and about a day or so at the base camp and Batu Terio.

The team consisted of three of my Papuan coworkers from the Sausapor area of Sorong—Isak Yekese, Nelwan Yeblo and Yemina Yesawen. They were well accepted by the local people, being Papuan, and were able to develop relationships and elicit information in an informal way that is not always possible for a westerner to do in such a short time. Their involvement was very useful, and because of the high level of trust between them and myself, they communicated with me all that they gleaned from their conversations.

Apart from a census from house to house mainly conducted by Isak and Nelwan, most of the data was gathered by observations and informal discussions with a variety of people, concentrating on those who are considered as leaders in the community. In addition, we gathered data based comments made by Joseph and Yan, as well as Helena and Warwick of PT Gag Nikel.

Nelwan, left, interviews in Salio

3. Land and resources ownership

It seems that the Kawe people were the original inhabitants of the Alyui bay area. In the past Selpele was on the King of Salawati’s route when he took offerings to the sultan of Tidore. The King visited Menyaifun (literally ‘room-king’ meaning the king’s room’), then Selpele and on to Gag, Weda and Tidore. So Selpele was an important part of history, and the King of Salawati’s descendants may feel that the area falls under his jurisdiction. Nevertheless one needs to make the distinction between land ownership and those who were rulers of an area. Rulers do not generally possess the land, but rule the people who live on their own land. On this basis, I believe the King of Salawati’s descendants have no claim to ownership of the Kawe area, but rather the Kawe themselves should be considered as owners.

Four family groups in Selpele, that is, Ayei, Ayelo, Arempele and Daat have lived in and around the Alyui bay. Six family groups in Salio, that is, Sumbiaganan, Sumbiapele, Sakai, Sakaipele, Dimalouw and Rampakam have lived in the northern part of the bay, and along the northern coast of Waigeo. In addition all ten of these family groups make trips to nearby

² I do not know the proper name of this tree in English. This is a direct translation from the Indonesian name given to the *alyu* tree. These trees are in abundance in the area.

islands that they consider theirs by virtue of the fact that those islands are basically uninhabited, and they in a sense ‘control’ them. The border between Selpele and Salio is at Aliai and Batmat islands. Batmat island is part of Salio, but Aliai island is considered to belong to all ten family groups together with several other islands including Kawe (Riub), Sain (Sayang), Beo, Yoini Wag, Monmisep, Yemmanimono, Waiyag, In, Beyiyalag (Babalak), Safarang, and so on.³ In addition the people in Selpele claim that islands like Meosmangkara, Wagglo, Yu, Mutus, MenyaiFun are theirs and that even as far away as Gag island is part of their territory. The people of Salio, however, noted that the limit of their ‘area’ is at Sain (Sayang) island.

The data in regard to land ownership, and the names of each place in the Selpele area was elicited as we travelled around the bay from Yafet Daat (about 34 years old) from Selpele. He grew up there, and did not leave the village for schooling, he only finished primary school. I was amazed how many different places he could name in Alyui bay. There were over 70 places that he named, and he did so with no hesitation. See appendix 1 for a map and list of each place name. I wanted to take others with us around the bay who were considered in more of a leadership role like Korinus Ayelo or Martin Ayelo, or even the village head, but none of these were available at the time we made the trip. Nevertheless I believe that the data gathered is fairly accurate, and furthermore it could be verified at a later date by some others like these men. In the Salio area, the village head’s wife, Yosina Sakaipelle, and church leader, Marinus Dimalouw were our informants.

Traditionally each family group had their own areas, which they claimed ownership to. These places are still known today, but it appears as though there has been some discussions in the community, apparently recent ones, that have decided to consider land in certain places as generally belonging to several family groups. Several interviewees made the same comment. The places named by Yafet in Alyui bay were originally owned by certain family groups, for example, Awnutwakamlapo belonged to



Yosina Sakaipelle, left, with one of our team, Yemina

Ayelo, Fakufot belonged to Arempele, Batu Terio belonged to Ayei and so on. But now these owners are no longer considered as the only owners, but instead all four family groups of Selpele are counted as owners of these areas. Several people made this point and I suspect that it came out of recent discussions about land ownership issues. Nevertheless in the map below, I show the ownership according to each family group as elicited.

However, if any of these areas and the water in front of them is required for any reason, negotiations need to be made with the whole community, not just the leaders of a particular family group. More details will be given in regard to the processes involved in negotiations with the community for use of land and resources in section 4 below.

In summary, most areas in the bay are now considered as owned by all four families at Selpele, and in the northern bay, near Salio, some areas are owned by Sakai, others by

³ It is also interesting to note that according to our informant bigger islands do not tend to have an overall name, but each part of the island is given a name, so names like Ayei island and Walu island are actually not the names of the whole island, but these are names of parts of these islands.

Rampakam, others by Dimalouw, and others by five family groups at Salio (Sumbiaganan, Sumbiapele, Sakai, Sakaipele and Rampakam). Most other islands are generally owned by all ten family groups. People in Selpele want to include Gag island as part of the area they own, while those in Salio said that it only went as far east as Sain island. The maps below shows each of the areas according to the original owners.

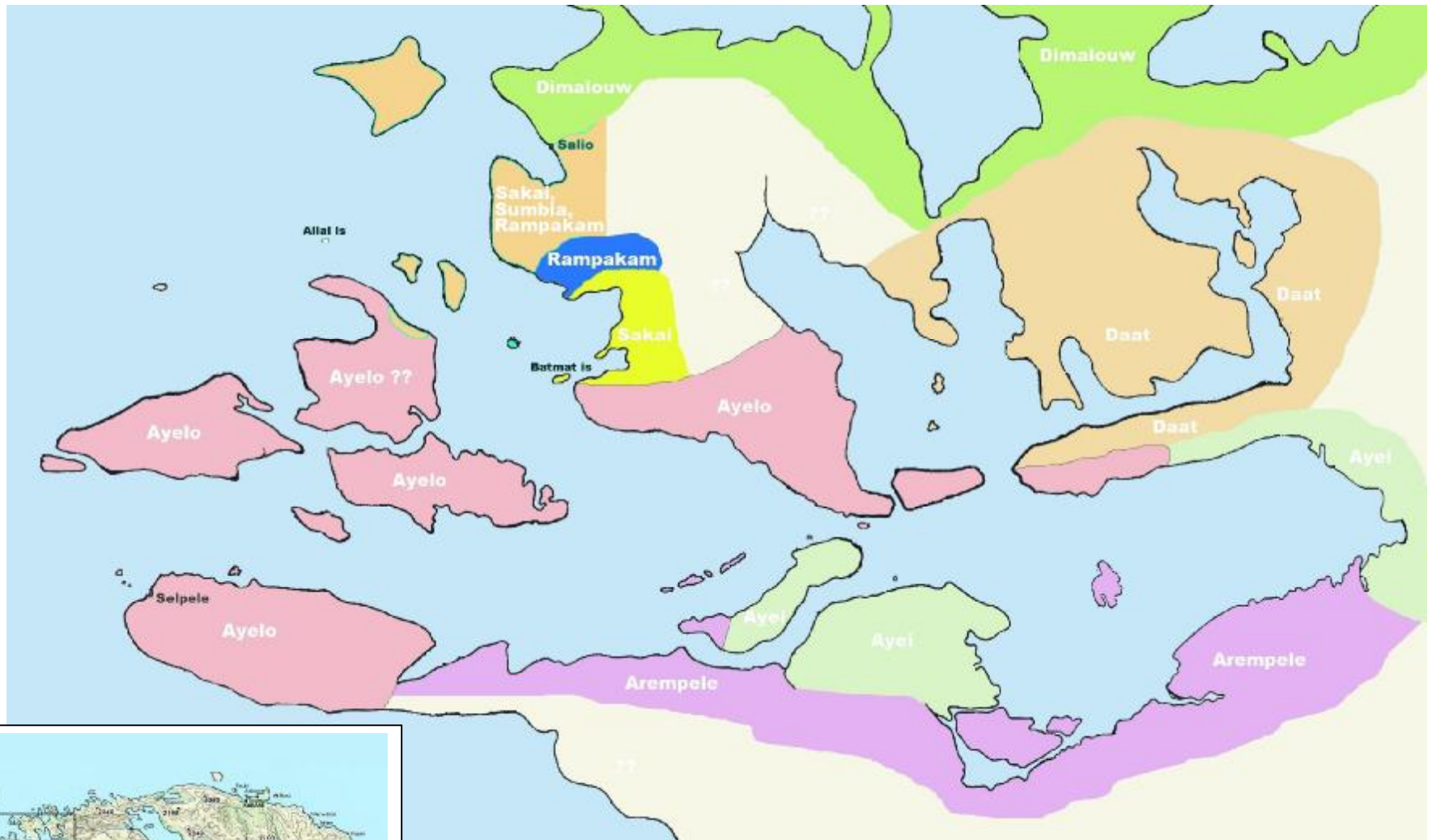
Map 1 below shows detail of who owns what in Alyui bay (each owner group has been colour coded). However, as noted above, the divisions between the four Selpele family groups claims to ownership are now considered irrelevant according to several reliable sources. Instead the whole area (that is, Ayelo, Ayei, Arempele and Daat areas) is now regarded as generally owned and is subject to general discussion if any outsider wants to use any of it. The extent of ownership inland is uncertain, and the lines drawn there are uncertain, however I suspect that the key area is along the shoreline, and out to sea in front of the shoreline.

3.1. Land use

Use of land and resources in the general areas by any local person does not need the agreement of other family groups. Only areas that belong to a specific family group need to be approached and permission gained. For outsiders, permission needs to be gained in all situations, and now in most cases from the whole group, rather than a particular family. On one occasion a Selpele person who lived in Sorong tried to sell one of their islands. He prepared all the paperwork, but the local people disagreed and performed a shamanistic ceremony to stop it. In the end the man died before the papers were signed. This incident shows that disagreements and problems could arise if the community is not consulted in regard to land use.

The only legitimate claims by individuals to ownership of anything is that of the trees they or their family have planted, such as coconuts or other trees of value. No attempt was made to map who owns which trees where in this research. It is more expedient to deal with this in a case by case situation. In the case where the company needs to fell trees this needs to be checked with the local people, in a culturally appropriate way to ascertain who owns them, and compensate accordingly. We heard that recently some trees were compensated for, but one woman somehow did not get into the loop, where she claims she should have also been consulted. Instead of just consulting with those who are seen as leaders, it is necessary to consult people in general meetings, open to all to discuss issues, even on such minor issues as these, since it is possible that what we consider minor, could indeed be something major for the local people. This is one role that a CRM would help facilitate.

Map 1- Land and resources ownership



4. Village leadership

In considering points two and three in the brief, essentially they are concerned with village leadership and knowing who to relate to, in the areas of 'adat', and also leadership in the sense of those appointed by the government. An adequate understanding of how village leadership works is essential for developing and maintaining good relationships with the villagers.

4.1. Leadership and social organisation

First, it is important to understand the background to the system of leadership within villages like Selpete and Salio. Traditionally people have lived in smaller communities, which has meant there has been little need for leadership in the sense of that needed for larger communities. They are used to doing what they like, when they like. That is, they are individualistic, and this individualism may only be tempered by immediate family ties. This means that in villages the leadership system tends to have become one where people all tend to want to have their say, and are loathe to let one person represent them. People do not have the concept of representation by one, or even a small group of people. Traditionally leaders did not exist in the western conception of leadership. No one person is looked to as having the abilities to organise and represent the whole village. Instead when issues need to be dealt with, traditionally this has been done so by virtually the whole village. Meetings are called to discuss issues and make decisions. Usually those who are gifted speakers, or wealthy, or have other attributes tend to sway the decisions. But in any case everyone feels involved, and therefore will accept the decisions that have been made.

4.2. Newer developments – Indonesian leadership styles

On to the top of this the Indonesian system of government has been imposed, and this to some extent follows western thinking in that those who are appointed as leaders have power to decide what is done and what is not. This does not sit well with village people. They do not believe that the village head or other government appointed leaders have the right to make decisions on their behalf. Village heads who have tried to rule in their villages following the Indonesian thinking get very frustrated because whatever they try to do is undermined by others who reject anyone having as much authority as the Indonesian system gives. Lazarus Ayelo noted that one of the problems with the agreement between the company and the people was the lack of involvement of the community. Maurits Arempele, he claims, did most of it without reference to the local community, and it is suspected that he somehow got benefits for himself in the way he did it. For some time the local community was not aware of the details of the contract letter, but now it has all been revealed. This illustrates that the concept of having one person to act on behalf of the community is not usually acceptable to the community, and at this time is outside of their value system, and likely to be rejected by them.

Therefore in considering village leadership, first and foremost it is important to realise that the Papuan way of thinking is not the same as the western or Indonesian concepts of leadership. Leadership is undergoing a change with outside influences beginning to be felt, but I believe that most Papuans still do not like to have someone who acts on their behalf. Therefore in making decisions meetings of all those who may be involved are called, and the issues are discussed until some type of consensus reached. Any individual who is left out can cause significant problems, so efforts are made to include everyone. For example, one woman's interpretation of the theft of pearls recently was that it occurred because a particular woman's opinion was not heard in a discussion about some issue to do with the company. She was not invited to be part of the discussions, and so did some magic that resulted in the pearls being

stolen. Whether or not one accepts this interpretation of events does not matter, the point is that some people who consider themselves as important and do not get invited to be part of discussions relating to issues in the village, will not necessarily support the decisions that are made, and will possibly even seek ways to undermine such decisions. Therefore it is essential to make any discussions of issues relating to the company open for anyone to attend.

Westerners tend to think that the village head is the most important person in the village. However, although the village people may respect him because of his title, they will not be happy to let him act on their behalf. Each person wants to at least have the opportunity of having their say in decisions that may affect them. So in terms of considering who the next village head will be in Selpele, I suggest that it does not really matter from the company's point of view. By realising that the real leaders of the community are NOT necessarily those appointed by the government, we can then begin to find out who the actual leaders are. But anyway, if the company is making agreements, or discussing issues that relate to the villagers, such discussions should not take place just with the appointed, or the 'actual' leaders of the community, instead they should take place with the whole community. Appointing someone to act as a representative is a western way of doing things, that does not always work in the village setting. Korinus mentioned that he was appointed to represent the people in regard to issues relating to the company (I'm not sure who appointed him), and then before too long people began criticising him and making life difficult for him. It seems like he was the 'meat in the sandwich'. In any case this type of representation is out of step with the local culture. Only when all people can be involved is it possible for slander and other problems to be avoided. I suggest it would be better to have a CRM who takes all the company's concerns to the villagers in open meetings.

4.3. Facilitating decision making with the local 'system'

Traditionally the system has been to have as many people who are interested in discussing issues meet together, and those who are the 'actual' leadership emerge in the discussions. On top of this system the Indonesian system of government is placed, whereby one man, the village head, is given a greater authority than the traditional system allowed for. So the leadership system in local villages is at present still being worked out as some type of synthesis of the old and the new, and for that reason does not function as smoothly as is desirable.

Therefore although it may be considered preferable to operate according to the government system, it is probably better to opt for the traditional system where community meetings are the basis of decision making. For that reason, it is preferable to have a CRM in place, who has the time to be involved at a community level. Frequently we hear comments that such and such a person's opinion was not considered on certain issues because negotiations were only done with the village head, or a few other recognised leaders. In cases like this, when someone feels that they had not had a chance to put their point of view, an undercurrent of dissent can arise, with potentially disastrous consequences.

Further complicating the village leadership situation is the increasing number of educated Kawe coming back to live in the village. They also like to have their say, yet if only a few older people are consulted and the young peoples' opinions are not heard, again an undercurrent of dissent can arise. The village head of Selpele noted that more than ever he and other elders are challenged by the young people who have been to school in Sorong. He related that these young people make out they know everything, and they undermine the authority of the elders. Therefore open meetings where young people can also have their say are important to maintaining harmony between the people and the company.

In conducting a community wide meeting it is important to use much repetition, to make sure that the details are understood. From my experience in Papuan communities, repetition is a crucial element of communication. Taking part in such meetings can be so boring for a westerner, the redundancy of information is difficult to take. The same information is repeated by the same person several times, and then by others as well. We needed to do this in Salio to help deal with some rumours. When we arrived in Salio, and there were no key leaders present, we just showed our letters to those who were considered important there. However when we began to survey people the next morning there was some resistance. People were not sure whether to cooperate with us. There were rumours spreading around that we had come to introduce a new cult, one where people worship God wearing no clothes (I do not know where they got idea that from—we were actually clothed when we went to their church meetings!). The village head was called in from where he was working, looking for lobsters and tripang. He met with us and discussed what we were proposing to do. Then he called a meeting of the whole village. There we explained to everyone who we were and what we were doing and why. We did so with much repetition, I spoke, Isak spoke, Yemina spoke, Nelwan spoke, and the village head's wife spoke, and Lewi spoke. By the end of that the people were happy for us to survey them, and ask them questions about various matters. So, two of the key points in making decisions, that of community wide meetings, and repetition are important components. Meeting with the leaders, village head and others, alone is not the best route. If the whole community hears, and not just once but several times, in different words, by different speakers, then there will be a greater understanding, and less chance of negative repercussions in the future due to little knowledge of what was going on.

4.4. Identifying 'actual' leaders

Apart from adopting a community approach with much repetition to decision making, it is also important to know who the 'actual' leaders are and work with them. The 'actual' leaders in the village can be determined by several factors including: their ability to speak well, their ability to help out people in trouble, wealth, and other attributes such as descent, or the power over evil spirits, that is, the shaman. These people may include the village head and other men, and it may also include some women, and young people. Who these people are can be determined mainly by observation at village meetings. When the ones who are respected speak, people listen, and they sway the decisions of the village. When there are several who are respected who do not agree with each other, then it makes it difficult for the villagers to make a decision. By working with such men and women, the company can help shape the community's attitudes to the company. I suggest that a CRM work towards identifying who the 'actual' leaders in each of the villages are, and work on developing close relationships with such people, ensuring that they are favourable to the company.

Most likely the village head will be one of the 'actual' leaders of the community, but that is by no means certain. For Selpele, there is a move to change the village head, but as yet this has not been done. Each family group suggested a name, and after discussion the community could not agree, and so they decided to leave the decision until the *camat* comes. Names suggested for consideration to be the new village head for Selpele are: Harun Ayei, Korinus Ayelo, Isak Arempele, and Yohanes Daat.

Harun Ayei with three of his children.

The Ayelo family figures that since they are the most populous family that they should have the village head from their family again. The present village head, Moses Gimla, is actually considered from Ayelo, since his father was an Ayelo. Of the families in Selpele, the numbers are: Ayelo, 56; Ayei, 25; Arempele, 20; Daat, 27; Gimla, 19 (most of which are connected by marriage with Ayelo). Ayelo, especially when combined with Gimla (who come from Wawiyai) have 75, compared to the other three families with have a total of 72 people, so if a vote was held, it is likely that an Ayelo would become the new village head, that is, Korinus Ayelo. But there will still be further discussion about this issue. Another factor that supports the appointment of an Ayelo is that they traditionally own the land where the village is.

For Salio, there seems to be no plans to change the present village head. The Dimalouw family is a large one in Salio. The family numbers there are Dimalouw, 56; Sumbiaganan, 62; Sumbiapele, 20, Sakai/Sakaipale, 12; and Rampakam, 15. Most of the Sumbiaganan are under 15 years old. From our observations, and the comments made to us, it seems that the Dimalouw family has a stronghold on the leadership in Salio.

Usually 'actual' leaders will be involved in conflict resolution in the village as well. It was noted that in Selpele, disputes between two families are normally handled by the church leaders together with the two families, but on wider issues the church leaders (Martin Ayelo, Mateus Mandurum), the *adat* leaders (Korinus Ayelo, Derek Ayei, Yakomina Ayelo, Petrus Gimla), and government leaders in the LKMD⁴ (Benyamin Arempele, Lukas Ayelo, Zakarias Ayelo and others in Selpele) work together to find a solution. Upon resolution everyone shakes hands as a sign of reconciliation. Usually problems are settled with the payment of plates, and cash. [As an aside here, the company should be aware that usually local people resolve offenses, and disputes with a payment of some type. Therefore if there is a situation where clearly the company has done something (or has not done something that should have been done) that has offended the local people, then it would be normal for them to expect to be paid compensation to deal with that offense, and the size of such payment would be in proportion to the demonstrated wealth of the company.]

In regards to village leadership, the company should not only be concerned about relating to the village head, but also identify the 'actual' leaders and then close relationships be forged with these people. Some in Selpele seem to be Korinus Ayelo, Martin Ayelo, Benyamin Arempele, Lukas Ayelo, and Yakomina Ayelo. In addition any issues should not just be discussed with the leaders, but it is preferable to discuss issues in community meetings, where all can hear and have input. A CRM could play a significant role in these areas.

4.5. Village relationships

To help trace some of the village relationships in Selpele, I elicited some of the family tree for Korinus Ayelo. His family tree is quite revealing in that it shows extensive relationships throughout the village. First, the one who I suspect is the main shaman, Yakomina Ayelo is his older sister. Matius Gimla and Petrus Gimla, who are Yakomina's children, are his nephews. Matius and Petrus are also shaman. Furthermore the village head is actually his 'child', according to the word used in Kawe. Korinus' father's sister, Regina Ayelo, married Korinus' mother's brother, Yakob Ayelo, and gave birth to Yosep, who then married Sitma Gimla, and they gave birth to Moses Gimla, the village head. So even though their ages are roughly the same Korinus is a generation above Moses. In other words, Korinus' cousin gave birth to Moses, who then became a Gimla, following the Kawe custom, where the first child

⁴ Lembaga Kesejahteraan Masyarakat Desa

born takes the family name of the mother. In addition, Korinus' daughter is married to Seref, the present village secretary (or assistant village head). His mother's brother is Benyamin Arempele, who is also a shaman and the head of LKMD. The only other known shaman in the village, Lukas Ayelo is no doubt also related along one of the family lines. Considering the small amount of kinship charting done for Korinus, it is surprising to see how extensive his connections are. He certainly has close ties with all of the shaman, and that is no doubt one of the key factors behind his appointment as *kepala adat*. He also has family ties with many of the government appointed leaders. The kinship charts in appendix 2 show these relationships.

The Kawe way of thinking about relations is somewhat different from the western way. Mother's sisters and their husbands, as well as father's brothers and their wives as called 'big' or 'little' fathers (*mam*) and mothers (*nen*). Those who are older than the actual father or mother are 'big fathers or mothers', while those younger are 'little fathers or mothers'. In contrast mother's brothers and the husbands of father's sisters are called by another term, *kak*, while father's sisters and the wives of mother's brothers are called *pop*. All cousins are considered as brothers and sisters, and cousin's children are called *waka* 'children', the same word used for one's own children. The details shown in the kinship charts, appendix 2, are still somewhat sketchy and need filling out and rechecking in some areas.

5. Villagers' expectations

The overall responses made by villagers in regard to the company were very positive. For example, Martin Ayleo, church leader Selvele, is very pleased with the contributions made to the church, and the involvement of the people from the camp on Sundays. He is so pleased that he almost feels obliged to help out with security. He speaks very highly of Joseph. Both village heads are generally pleased with what the company is doing, with some minor concerns.

Overall villagers expect a whole lot more from a foreign company like Cendana than Indonesian companies. It seems that at present all the things the company has been doing are well appreciated and little more is expected, except for higher wages, and some better conditions for night watchmen. By comparison Usahamina hardly gives anything to the village people. Expectations of Indonesian companies are significantly less than foreign companies. Last Christmas Usahamina gave 3 sacks of rice, 10 kg of sugar and a pack of tea. They generally do not give much in response to requests. They make sure all requests are written, and usually only give a fraction of what was requested. The Papuans see them as stingy, yet that is what they expect from 'straight-haired' Indonesians⁵.

5.1. Some concerns

Wage levels: Some people said that wages were promised to rise after one year, but some think that this has not been done. Is this a misunderstanding, or have they not understood, or properly counted the length of time that has elapsed? In any case efforts need to be made to make sure this area is clear. Overall we found that the people are generally not happy with the wage levels, but that I suppose is a normal phenomenon world wide. Nevertheless several people made this comment, and particularly the night security staff. They feel that maybe they should get an extra allowance because of the time of day they work, and because their hours are much longer than those who work during the day. What does Depnaker recommend? In regard to wage level it is much better to err on the side of being generous.

⁵ I use the term 'straight-haired' Indonesians to distinguish Indonesians who are non-Papuan in origin from here throughout the rest of this report.

One of the cultural values is that being stingy is considered as very bad, and particularly when the company is seen to be so well off, the people expect that it would be generous with them. One possibility is that it may be worth looking into having some bonus system based upon income generated to help improve their attitudes to their level of income received. I think this area needs some attention. One of the reasons is that in Indonesia, both 'straight-haired' Indonesians and Papuans alike frequently ask questions about wage levels, and they know that workers at PT Gag Nickel get allowances for working at certain times in the night ('cold' allowance), and in difficult circumstances ('mud' allowance??). Given this, the people of Selpele wonder why they do not get such allowances, particularly the night security, since they figure that the time of day they work, and the difficult situation (particularly when it rains) warrants something extra. In addition, they know that PT Gag Nickel pays significantly higher than the award rate. I think it is about Rp500.000 per month (compared to a recommended Rp350.000 by the government department, DepNaker), and that these workers have a four week on, two week off schedule. With the recommended level for a pearl farm, if I am not mistaken, at around Rp325.000 per month, following a similar above award rate to PT Gag Nickel would mean a wage of about Rp460.000 per month, whereas I understand that at present workers receive about Rp360.000, a little above the award rate. In addition there is the time on and time off to consider. Another factor to consider apart from community expectations is potential international criticism. Recently in the Age (Melbourne) newspaper an article on Nike (Sept 5 2000) criticised them severely for paying Indonesian workers the award rate, and suggested that this amount was barely enough for their workers to survive (see appendix 3). Therefore I suggest that PT Cendana Indopearls seriously considers raising the present levels. Nevertheless given that the local people see the relative wealth of the company expressed in all that the company possesses, they expect that the company will be generous with them. Culturally, anyone who has much, is expected to share generously with others. One draw back with not having relatively high wage levels is that there are many other options for the local people. Catching live fish pays very well, and if the local people become more and more discontent with the wage levels, they will look to working in these other areas, and thus reduce their feeling of belonging to the company's endeavours.

'Straight-haired' Indonesian supervisors: It was reported that when they ask for things from the 'straight-haired' Indonesian supervisors, they generally find that they are not helpful, but when they approach the Australians they find them positive and helpful. There may be a prejudice problem evident here (discussed in detail below). 'Straight-haired' Indonesians need to be trained and encouraged to look on the locals as equals, since any actions that exude prejudice have the potential to cause problems.

Night guards needs: Night guards were supposed to get coffee but on occasions they did not. For some reason it did not get to them. The night guards need to know clearly what they are entitled to, and what to do if they do not get it. To say it once or twice is not enough, there is a need for repetition in communication.

Amount of bay used: The village head Selpele feels that the area taken up in the bay is much greater than what was originally agreed to. This was his only problem with the company, and he was the only one who made this point. We found that the majority of people do not have a good understanding of maps, amounts, and times, so his concern is not surprising.

Accusations: There have been some unfortunate situations where villagers have been accused of stealing (or at least they feel like they had been accused). One particular accusation in relation to food taken to Selpele resulting in some problems came about basically because some villagers felt that they were accused of stealing. People mentioned that if anything went

missing on the boat, the local people were accused of taking it. It appears as though stealing is something that the Kawe abhor, and that to be accused of doing such a thing is very provocative. They are very sensitive of being accused of stealing, and this needs to be avoided. Therefore staff members on the boats and in other locations should be advised not to automatically assume that local people would take things, let alone accuse them. Prejudice issues may also be intertwined with this problem and I suggest that the company should deal with these through some training of those workers who have some positions of authority, so that they work towards eliminating these problems. It appears that Joseph has understood this, since recently when a drill went missing, he asked what had happened to it, and what could be done to get it back. Basically he asked questions, and did not accuse or even make any hints that he was accusing them. This worked out much better. Other managers, and those in positions of authority, like those on the boat, need to be encouraged to take a similar approach to Joseph.

Inappropriate relationships: Free mixing of opposite sexes is conducive to adulterous relationships in an isolated environment like each camp site. In a western setting this would be seen as having nothing to do with the company, but instead each person would be responsible for their own actions. However in Indonesia, at least in some circles, particularly among Papuans, they may try and place responsibility on the company for any indiscretion resulting in one of their relations becoming pregnant. Some women and their relations would have the western thinking that it was their own responsibility, however knowing the way that some Papuans think, they may well try to place the blame upon the company, claiming that the company set up a situation that was conducive to their 'woman' becoming pregnant. This could bring the company's name into disrepute in the long term, if many women fall pregnant due to working there. If some women were married to men who hold positions in Sorong, and with relations who have important positions in government, there is a strong possibility that they could seek ways of disrupting the company's operations. It is best to seek to prevent or minimise the possibility of indiscretions occurring to minimise the risk of potential repercussions if the 'wrong' woman happened to get pregnant. One suggestion is to have women at one camp, and the men at the other, or to reduce the number of women who need to stay there, and/or only use women from Selpele and Salio for work there, like PT Gag Nikel has an all men camp, and women come from the local village to work there during the day. Managers need to be aware of this and take steps to prevent 'undesirable' relationships developing in the camps. At the very least, I suggest there should be a clause in the work agreement with each employee stating words to the effect that they agree to not hold the company responsible for any relationships they have with the opposite sex that results in family problems. Expectations of workers to be careful in relations with the opposite sex, and their absolving the company of any responsibility in that area needs to be explained clearly at the time of employment, and a disclaimer signed. The son of the village head of Selpele met an Islamic girl at the camp, and since married her. It was reported that the village head was in a 'in a bad way' when his son married an Islamic girl who was working at Cendana. This may have influenced his feelings towards the company. No doubt he would have made the connection that because the company was there, his son got married to an Islam girl. If the company was not there that probably would not have happened. He seems to have accepted the situation now. In fact his son and one child were there while we were in Selpele, and I think his daughter-in-law had just left for Sorong. Nevertheless it was a source of discontent with him, and if he able to he may have caused more serious problems for the company.

Stones: The village head at Salio, rightly or wrongly expressed that he thought that the amount of cement and metal roofing that was promised by the company in exchange for the

stones taken from the area was not up to the level promised. I checked with Yan, and as far as he knew, it was, and he was going to recheck that all was in order.

6. Facilitating harmonious relationships with villagers

The company needs to appreciate the way that people think about things, and the way they view the world in order to be able to effectively communicate in ways that will be meaningful to the villagers, and thereby facilitate harmonious relationships. Some areas are worthy of consideration:

6.1. Prejudices

One of the biggest concerns the company needs to understand and take appropriate action about is that of the immense prejudices (or racism) that exists between the 'straight-haired' Indonesians and the local Papuan people. By way of background it needs to be understood that the Javanese and other 'straight-haired' Indonesians tend to have a strong cultural tendency to make distinctions between what they perceive as different levels of people both within and across races. They see some people as intrinsically more important than others based upon such things as race, wealth, position and so on. So, for example, at ceremonies they have special seats for the 'important' people, and other seats for the rest. Generally westerners are considered in the 'important' category, however, most 'straight-haired' Indonesians place Papuans in the 'unimportant' category, and treat them as 'second-class' citizens. This cultural tendency has been imported into the Papuan situation. On the other hand, Papuans do not have a tendency to make distinctions like this. Only recently have they been influenced by Indonesian culture and have begun to make distinctions between people.

What the company needs to be aware of is that Papuans feel very much treated as second-class citizens by 'straight-haired' Indonesians. This has been the case for many years and although they may appear calm on the outside most Papuan have developed a strong root of bitterness inside towards the 'straight-haired' Indonesians. One example serves to illustrate the way that 'straight-haired' Indonesians treat Papuans. When I was about to depart on the PT Cendana boat to Alyui, I got on board and asked the captain where we would be sleeping. I said there were four in our group. He pointed to two sets of two bunks. A little later on when my Papuan coworkers came on board, all of a sudden his story changed, and there was no room in those bunks anymore, there was only room for one of us. Later I told this to Simon, and he said he would talk to the captain and said that since the crew did not all sleep at the same time, the captain could make arrangements for them to sleep up top with me. It was not possible to sleep outside on this occasion since there was strong winds and rain. Even though Simon had spoken to the captain, and arranged for my coworkers to sleep in the upper part with me, I found out about an hour or so later that the captain had told my three assistants to sleep down below in a room that had part of the floor lifted up, and with the motor just below. That room was excessively noisy, hot and had fumes from the motor wafting through it. They were not impressed, and neither was I. But this serves to show that 'straight-haired' Indonesians automatically treat Papuans as second class people, and put them in locations they would never want to be placed in themselves. A good number of Papuans put up with this treatment quietly, but more and more they are beginning to let out their frustrations in response to how they have been treated. I do not think that most 'straight-haired' Indonesians have really thought about how they treat Papuans, but just automatically treat them poorly. Looking on as an outsider, I see it as racist. They look to a person's race and treat them accordingly. I, being a westerner, was well treated, and they, being Papuan, were badly treated. Thankfully not all 'straight-haired' Indonesians treat Papuans like this, but it seems to me that the majority do. Some 'straight-haired' Indonesians have thought about what they do,

and do not make distinctions like most do. For example, on the way back to Sorong in the boat, Laila insisted that my three Papuan coworkers slept up in the bunks. She saw them as guests of the company and treated them accordingly. In this account, I am not trying to say that the captain is not a good man, rather the point I am making is that he, along with most 'straight-haired' Indonesians, follow their own cultural tendencies, and the result is that Papuans will be badly treated. The company needs to be aware of the prejudices that 'straight-haired' Indonesians express towards Papuans, albeit that they themselves are not aware that they do it.

The prejudice expressed by 'straight-haired' Indonesians has an effect on the Papuans. Most of them have very negative attitudes towards 'straight-haired' Indonesians which have in the most part, up to recently, been kept hidden. But with the political changes in Indonesia, they are beginning to speak clearly about the way they feel they have been abused. The village head of Salio is very outspoken about the prejudices shown to Papuans by 'straight-haired' Indonesians. He made it clear that if some 'straight-haired' Indonesians came to do a survey like we did, he would not accept them, but since my assistants were Papuan, and I was a westerner, he was happy to have the work proceed. He spoke very highly of the positive effects of Christianity in the village, but was critical of the introduction of evil things by 'straight-haired' Indonesians, including prostitution, alcohol, and deceptive practices. He said he is village head in name only, but his heart is elsewhere, and certainly very much against 'straight-haired' Indonesians. The prejudice that has been expressed to him, he expresses just as strongly back. This is where the independence movement gets a lot of impetus from. I suspect that if the 'straight-haired' Indonesians had treated the Papuans with respect over the last 30 years, there would probably not be the push for independence that there is at present. For these reasons it is necessary that any person appointed as a CRM should not be a 'straight-haired' Indonesian, but preferably a westerner who is seen as impartial, and who would also have the respect of 'straight-haired' Indonesians in any dealings.

The village head of Salio with his wife

Overall Papuans tend to feel deeply wounded by the treatment they generally receive from 'straight-haired' Indonesians. That means that often when there is something that appears to be a minor incident, there is a massive response by the Papuans. It can be like the final straw that breaks the camel's back. The reaction may appear to be way out of proportion with what has occurred.

Some areas where prejudice has been felt: in the kitchens, where some 'straight-haired' Indonesian staff have accused Papuans of not cooking properly; on the boat, where Papuans feel they are discriminated against; in the workplace, where if 'straight-haired' Indonesians are put in charge of sections, there is the possibility that they will treat the Papuans differently.

What can be done about the prejudice problem? There are two possibilities. One is to train or teach 'straight-haired' Indonesians regarding the issue of prejudice (or perceived class distinctions) and of the need to eliminate it. 'Straight-haired' Indonesians should be made aware that their unconscious, automatic, culturally based reactions to Papuans leads to a

strong negative attitude from Papuans back to them. There is a need to have people in positions of responsibility trained to eliminate prejudice from their thinking, and in ways of dealing with other people, particularly the local people, who already have been made to feel inferior in many ways, and therefore they are very sensitive to being told anything that they do that is not right. Those in charge need wisdom to emphasise the good things the local people do, and not make too much of the things they do wrong.

Another way of dealing with prejudice is to limit the contact of 'straight-haired' Indonesians with villagers, especially in the village of Salio, but also in Selvele. Preferably those whose work involves dealing directly with villagers (at the camp, exchanging fish etc, on the boat) if they are 'straight-haired' Indonesians, they should be people who have shown themselves to have positive attitudes to Papuans. In selecting staff, it would be useful to include as a criteria the person's attitudes towards Papuan people, although this is hard to assess by asking questions. If roles of leadership were given to Papuans it may help eliminate the issues that arise due to prejudice

Another related area to this is the prejudice shown by city Papuan people towards village people. City people think they know a lot more (and often do), and they feel that their village family often gets ripped off by businesses, so they like to step in and 'help', even though the villagers resent this, because it implies that they are incapable of managing their own affairs, and it makes them feel like second class citizens. The company needs to be aware of the dynamics of these relationships. The people in Selvele did not appreciate the way that Maurits Arempel did the negotiations with the company, and did not keep the villagers informed. They would have preferred to have been involved. They also suspected Maurits of using the opportunity to further his own interests. Another expression of the city people coming in to 'help' the village people was when Dan Daat and Max Ayelo led a group with the aim of renegotiating the contract, but this was generally not appreciated by the local people. It was seen as outside interference. They are generally happy with the company, but the problems came from the people in Sorong. The people in the village do not necessarily agree with 'city' people's actions, and often get annoyed with their city 'cousins'. So it is not just 'straight-haired' Indonesians that have prejudices, but also 'city Papuans' who have similar prejudices towards the local people, although maybe not expressed in quite the same ways. For these reasons, a Papuan would probably not be suited to the role of CRM.

6.2. Distorted stories and critical thinking

Another feature that is observed among Papuan people, and was particularly evident among the Kawe people is their lack of attention to details, or lack of critical thinking and analysis. Frequently people do not investigate what others say to them, but tend to accept on face value what is said. Generally they do not take into account the "Chinese whispers" effect, that is, the way a story gets distorted when it is told from one person to another. It seems that some people do not pay attention to the details of stories others tell them, and before too long the story gets very distorted. One example of this was with the village head of Selvele. He told us about a church group that meets at Arefi, and when they meet to worship they are naked. He said they met on Friday, and so on. When the person who originally told him this information arrived, Septinus Arempel, we got the story from the source. Apparently Septinus had heard that once when there was a baptism one of the people was naked, but he was not sure if that was true, and they met on Saturdays. The village head did not repeat this story anything like the original, except he did have the location right. Is it simply that he did not really pay close attention to the information that Septinus told him, or was it that he wanted to embellish it for other purposes? They are worried that a cult is trying to be introduced where the people worship God in the nude. But it seems that this fear is based

upon a story that possibly has it that one person may have been naked. Who knows, this may have been a six year old! In any case, it is important for managers to realise that stories often get very much distorted, and careful investigation is necessary to get to the bottom of the truth.

Sometimes stories get distorted because of lack of attention to details, and others may be get distorted because of hidden agendas. One interviewee made the point, that in his opinion, the village head of Selpele made up stories about Korinus and spread them to try to discredit Korinus name in the village. It seems to some extent he succeeded. Nevertheless this person also made the point that if one thought about it and checked out what the village head said, then it would be easy to realise that it was only a made up story. Very few people think critically about the stories that they hear. Korinus was slandered mainly by the village head, and many people believed him without checking out what he said. They became emotionally involved and reacted negatively towards Korinus. Critical thinking is not a developed feature among the Kawe people. Instead they tend to be unassuming in nature, accepting what they hear on face value. Those who have some critical thinking capabilities try to think about what they hear and investigate the truth of it before acting. Unfortunately these type of people seem to be in the minority.

The village head of Selpele noted that the company operates in a way that is pleasing to the vast majority of the villagers, but that some small problems often get blown up out of proportion when one person talks to another, who passes the story on and so on. By the time the stories get to Sorong the Selpele people there get irate on behalf of their village family members, and take actions like Max Ayelo initiated. They come out to 'help their family members' who they think are not able to help themselves and become angry at the company without checking out the stories that reached them with the people in the village first. This is a perennial problem in villages in Papua, stories often get distorted and people do not generally check out the truth of what they receive, but act first and ask questions later. In the case of Max, he admitted that he had misunderstood. Therefore company managers need to be aware of this, and approach the problems calmly, asking for all the details, and call in people from all levels, and compare stories to help resolve problems. Joseph related doing just this type of thing with one situation recently when one girl accused another one of stealing some of her money, and found that the problem was solved relatively easily.

6.3. Village harmony

The particular issue that the village head accused Korinus of related to the way the funds received from Cendana were distributed. The village head feels that Korinus did not do it well, and withheld funds for his own purposes, whereas those who looked into it understand that he has kept funds on behalf of students. Disputes of this type can be problematic for the company. Although the company technically has no authority to help in this, if the villagers do have disagreements it may lead to a bad attitude to the company. People in the village may begin reasoning something like this: "Because the company is here, and gives us money we have begun to fight, so it would be better for us if the company was not here, then we would not have these fights." Some village people so dislike a lack of harmony that they may want to sacrifice something that is essentially good (eg the company's presence) in order to achieve harmony.

Disagreements over distribution of funds was listed as one of the contributing factors to the closure of the Bougainville mine in PNG. The company did not get involved thinking that it was the villagers' problem, but in hindsight it may have been better if they did! There are certainly good reasons to be involved since the company has a vested interest in village

harmony. The village head and Korinus have had problems in this area, and this has led to factions in the village and Korinus feels somewhat like the ‘meat in the sandwich’. What can be done to reduce the disagreements? Maybe by being involved in the distribution of funds, or helping the villagers seek ways to do it without disagreements? I suggest that in this area the appointment of a CRM could help maintain village harmony. A CRM could seek ways of minimising factions and disharmony that may arise in regard to the distribution of funds (or anything in relation to the company) by being involved with local leaders and making suggestions. A passive response by the company may not be the best response in the long run, instead I believe that a discrete, but proactive involvement is the best policy (even though some may see it as interfering in the affairs of the villagers), since the company has a vested interest in local village harmony. If the villagers are left to deal with the disharmony themselves, and cannot, then there may be some negative repercussions for the company, so it is important to have someone on the ground to help the villagers come to a positive conclusion in matters relating to company.

In solving disputes, given the nature of the people noted above in regard to their acceptance of hearsay evidence, and lack of critical analysis in regard to what they hear, first it is useful to speak to each one separately first, to find out each one’s story. It is not wise to accept one person’s story without reference to others. Sometimes it may be necessary to have a trusted friend as a go-between. After establishing each story, then all parties should meet to deal with the issue along with other parties who are involved. Joseph related using this type of method in relation to an accusation made by one employee in regard to another, and it worked well. Obviously conflicts need to be resolved speedily before word gets out to the people in Sorong. A CRM who is in continual communication with villagers would help to prevent any small problems becoming big ones. Also it needs to be remembered that if a conflict involves a straight haired Indonesian with a local, the prejudice/class distinctions issue would exacerbate the level of negative feeling, and other villagers are much more likely to be embroiled in the conflict.

7. Profile of Selvele and Salio

The information below helps to provide an overview of the two villages that were surveyed.

7.1. Population

A census was taken in each of the villages eliciting the names, ages (where possible), and the educational level of each person. These details together with village maps are attached in appendix 4. Such information is not 100% accurate, but needs rechecking to confirm it. Some people may have been overlooked. Also ages for the vast majority are not known with any certainty, they are mostly estimates. We noticed that the majority of the people’s own estimates of age were not accurate, eg, one woman whose children were adults was said to be 30 years old! Nevertheless there are some observations that can be made in regard to the populations in each village. Table 1 shows the numbers in each village according to gender.

Table 1 – Village Populations

Village	Male	Female	Total
Selvele	105	89	194
Salio	123	105	228
Total	228	194	422

The charts below present the information gathered from the census. In the age-population charts, ages 31 and over have been grouped into 10 year groups since ages were more difficult to determine at this level.

Chart 1 - Age-population - Selpele

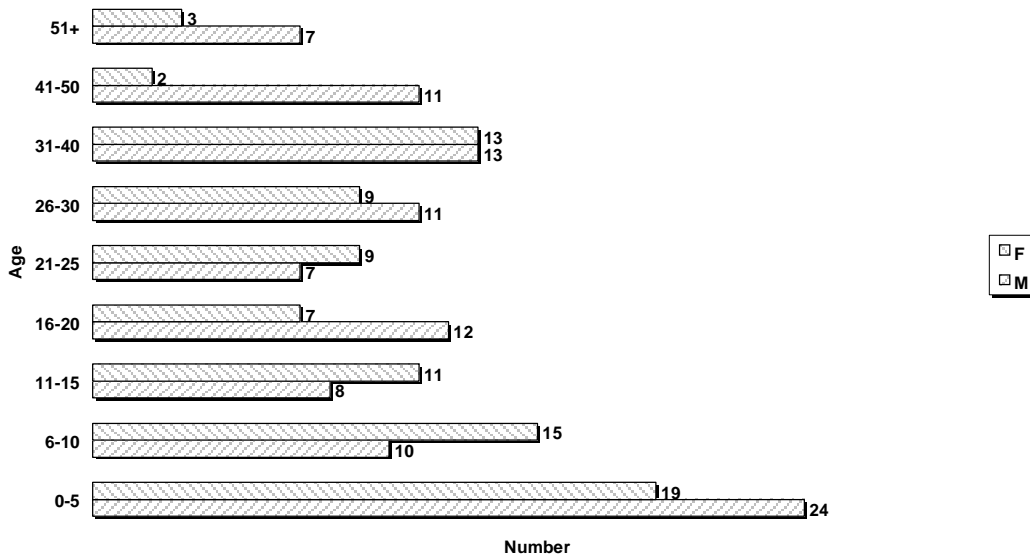
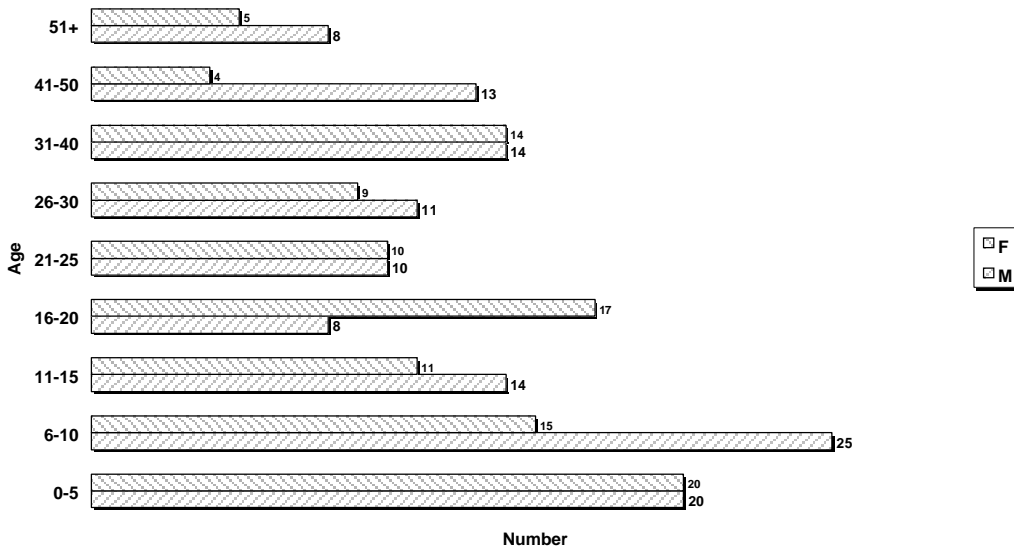


Chart 2 - Age-population-Salio



One of the most striking observations is that there are very few older women in both villages. Of the population, 18% are men 41 years of age and over, and only 7% are women of age 41 and over. Why this is so we are not sure, but it is worth further investigation. In their

lifestyle, from our observations, the women did not seem to go out and get involved in fishing as much as the men, but seemed to be more sedentary, and stayed around the home, doing household related chores, and taking care of children. This is in stark contrast to other Papuan peoples in other areas who make gardens, where the women work hard all day in planting, weeding and harvesting, as well as doing their household chores.

Overall there are more men in both villages, with 54% of the population being men in each of Selpele and Salio. Interestingly there were comments made by Selpele people of the Salio young women ‘pulling’ their young men to Salio. This is the custom, men go and live in their wife’s village. At present between the ages of 16-20 there are an abundance of girls in Salio (17 girls and only 8 boys), while in Selpele there are only 7 girls and 12 boys. So in the next few years Salio will probably continue to grow at the expense of Selpele, assuming Selpele boys find their spouses at Salio, as is often the case.

7.2. Language

The local language is known as Ayei by the people themselves, but it has been called Kawe by outsiders who either misheard, or found Ayei hard to pronounce. Now the people themselves call it Kawe for the benefit of outsiders, but still call it Ayei among themselves. Dialects of this language are used in the village of Wawiyai (south east of Selpele), and in some villages on Misol island (eg Biga).

From our observations, it is clear that Kawe is used in most domains of life. Particularly evident was the use of the local language by the children, which is a clear sign that the language is alive and well. Most parents speak Kawe with their children in the home, so much so that most of the young children do not seem to have a good understanding of Indonesian. They tend to use Kawe. Adults are also generally fluent speakers of their own language, as well as Indonesian. However, I suspect that fluency in Indonesian for most may be limited to the regular day to day affairs and ‘church Indonesian’. Those who have studied at high school, would have a more developed understanding of Indonesian.

If a CRM is appointed, such person should make it a high priority to become fluent in Kawe. Then the CRM could become more of an insider, develop closer relationships with the people, and help promote the company more effectively in the local community. Within 6 to 12 months of constant effort it would be possible to become reasonably fluent in Kawe. In taking the census, before too long we were able to use Kawe to elicit most of the information. Attached in appendix 5 are some important sentences, questions and words in Kawe.

7.3. Education

Overall the adult literacy rate is relatively high. About 70% of all adults have been educated beyond third grade, about 80% of the men and 65% of the women. Selpele has a higher literacy rate, 82% compared to Salio, 64%. This compares very favourably to most other parts of Papua.

The school at Salio

Since May 1999 the school in Salio has not been used since the building’s roof was ripped off by strong winds. The local government authorities came and took photographs and made promises to fix it, but 16 months later there are no signs of any

repairs taking place. Since nothing happened for some time, the people removed all the remaining pieces of metal roofing and used them, thinking that if the wind kept up, then all would be destroyed. The teachers' houses are also dilapidated.

Meanwhile the teacher assigned to the school, Yerius Dimalouw, a local person, continues to stay in Sorong, claiming that until the facilities are repaired he cannot teach there. There is however an all purpose meeting hall called Efrata in excellent condition that could be used as a temporary school, but the continuation of school does not seem a high priority to both the assigned teacher, and most of the local people.

There are similar problems at Selvele, but not to the same extent. The teachers at the primary school there are frequently absent. For example from the beginning of school in mid July there have been no teachers, and up until the end of August they had still not arrived. One of the main problems is that the teachers continue to receive their pay no matter where they are, so many prefer to stay in Sorong, enjoying city living, and doing other things, rather than teaching children in a remote village. There is very little accountability in the system to deal with undisciplined teachers. Village leaders who want to have the school running are faced with the unpleasant task of reporting the teachers absence, and then risking the wrath of the teachers when they eventually come back to the village, who, of course, do not like being reported. So village leaders tend to be loathe to report teachers' absence to local authorities.

Meanwhile the children's education is lacking, and this makes it difficult for them to comprehend the basics that they need to do well in higher education. Some parents are not too concerned about the teachers' absence. One said to me that in fact he was pleased the teachers were not there because that meant his children could help him with fishing and other tasks. There are, no doubt, mixed attitudes to the lack of teaching.

In any case, it is worth asking the question, what could or should the company do (if anything) in relation to education in the villages? Yan mentioned that it was a concern that the children were getting left behind, and that it would be preferable for them to be well educated so that they would be more able to be employed by the company in the future. Obviously it is preferable to draw the workforce from the local community, and not just for the menial jobs, but for supervisory roles as well. A greater involvement like this will make the local people feel that they have more of a vested interest in the success of the company, and therefore they will do all they can to protect and enhance its operations. So in the long term it is important to foster the development of the local children through good quality education to help provide high quality workforce in the future. But what involvement could the company have in this?

The most important factor in schooling is having committed teachers. In the government system they are difficult to find. Many teachers abuse the system so as a result children in remote villages suffer. One alternative is to employ teachers from outside the system who would be directly accountable to the company. In order to make such a thing possible, several things would need to be done. First the local community would need to be approached, and their opinions sought about what they would think about a more direct involvement by the company in this way. Then if they were in favour, further talks would be required with the church school leaders of the Selvele school (Yayasan Pendidikan Kristen, in Sorong), and the department of education for the Salio school. In the case of Salio, which is a government (Impres) school, a possibility is to replace it with one set up by another Yayasan, such as Yayasan El Shaddai. In Sorong, we met with Isaac Dimalouw (who originally comes from Salio) and discussed the issue of the school in Salio. He is also concerned about the situation

there, and as the founder of Yayasan El Shaddai, he has a desire to get a school set up there under the auspices of his Yayasan. The Yayasan already has government permission to operate primary (SD) level schools, and they have also recently opened a Kindergarten in Sorong. This Yayasan is committed to high academic standards and discipline. He made the point that the key to any school being effective is having committed teachers. The Yayasan is prepared to find teachers who were directly accountable to them. In fact, they already have a couple of teachers in mind (both of whom come from the area), and who are interested in working there. I suggest that if the company wants to help with the education of village children, then contact be made with this Yayasan to discuss possibilities of working together to help restore education to Salio, and to begin to provide a high standard there. This would help to provide a positive relationship between Salio and Cendana. If the company wants to pursue developing this area, I suggest a meeting be arranged with Isaac Dimalouw to discuss the possibilities further, and then to meet with the whole village in Salio and discuss it with them. This could be part of the role of a CRM. Isaac Dimalouw's address is Jl Cilosari No 5, Kampung Baru, Sorong, Telephone (0951) 321706, 322536, Fax 323814.

Another possible way of helping with education is through using the Kawe language. It has been established around the world that education in the mother tongue is more effective than in a second language. In PNG a policy was introduced several years ago stating that the first three years of education use the mother tongue as a medium where possible. From my own experience working in the Sausapor area, we conducted literacy classes using the local language, and young and old people alike were able to learn to read within a period of six months, compared to the three to four years required by most to learn to read and write Indonesian in the local primary schools. If a CRM is appointed one of the tasks could be to develop literacy materials in the Kawe language, and then train some local people to use these materials to help teach children to read and write. This would also help the CRM become fluent in Kawe and assist in developing close relationships. These materials could also be used for adults who may want to learn to read. There are about 11 adults between the ages of 15-40 in Selpele who cannot read and write, and about 26 in Salio.

Other possibilities for involvement in local education are in the areas of teaching English, or health related courses. More than one person mentioned how much they appreciated Maria, and her involvement in teaching English at the primary school in Selpele. Another young woman expressed the desire for English classes for adults as well. This could be one of the roles of a CRM. In addition courses in basic health explaining the causes, prevention and treatment of simple sicknesses would be useful.

7.4. Health

The general appearance of most people was relatively healthy. Children appeared well fed, and there were no obvious signs of malnutrition, and no observed "number 11's" under children's noses as is frequently the case in Papuan villages.

In terms of health care, the situation in each of the villages differed to some extent. In Selpele, there is a midwife nurse, who did not seem well appreciated by the local people, nor did she have a good supply of medicines according to several people. We did not meet her since she was in Sorong taking part in a course. Some people led us to believe that she did not spend a lot of time in the village. The village head made it clear that they have also asked for a *Puskesmas* (community health centre) and *mantri* (health worker) for some time. The relevant department promised in 1988 to build a *Puskesmas* in Selpele, but it has not yet materialised. Therefore in the meantime those who are sick ask for help from the nurse, if she

is there, and if she has medicine, or they make a visit to the company's clinic, or visit the local shaman.

A curious case that we found upon arrival was that of a household with 5 people suffering from diarrhea for several days. They claimed that they went to the company clinic, but for some reason or another they were not attended to. They said that the health worker was not there, or not available, so they came back home. We had our own supplies of medicines, and after being asked to help, Isak diagnosed their sicknesses, and after prayer with the local church leaders for their healing, gave them some appropriate medicine. Within about two or three hours one of the men who had been unable to stand because he was so weak, came up to Isak and shook his hand thanking him because he was much better. I wonder how often people go from Selvele only to find that the health worker at the base camp is not available. Are the hours that he is in attendance made clear to villagers? Or is he often called away to deal with sicknesses at Batu Terio, or other places? There were also two other cases who came to Isak for medicine while we were there. Obviously they prefer to have health care available in their own village, particularly if it is not always certain the health worker will be available after making the trip to the base camp. This is worthy of further investigation. How much do they use the clinic, and why do they not go sometimes?

One factor may be their use of shaman. It is important to realise that their spiritual understanding impacts their approach to health. Many people in Selvele seek healing first through the shaman. Some people wanted us to believe that people did not use shaman any more, but since this is common in Sausapor (and most of Papua), my coworkers were able to give examples of what was done there, and people began to open up and talk about what they do. Lukas Ayelo is one who looks into water to help diagnose the cause of sickness. Then he or one of the others who are shaman say magic spells, and use various items to assist in dealing with the spirit that is supposed to have caused the sickness.

The situation is somewhat different in Salio. First there is a *mantri*, who is from the local community. He was not in the village when we visited, but the people gave positive feedback about his work there. However one difficulty is the lack of medicines. If after going to the *mantri* the person was still sick, then they would see Lewi Rampakam and ask for prayer, or go to the company's clinic. The shamanistic practices that still occur in Selvele are virtually non-existent in Salio due to the influence of Lewi. He is available to pray for healing at specified times during the day.

7.5. Religion

Before the Christian gospel came to the area, the people were basically animistic, and worshiped the spirits in various places, as well as the spirits of the dead. There were statues set up to worship important spirits on some peninsulas. These however were taken away by evangelists.

Mandulipopo island

In the past, Selvele people used one island, Mandulipopo island, to place their dead, while Salio people used Batmat island for this purpose. After placing the body of a relative on a platform there, people would come and bring offerings once a week until the flesh had completely decomposed. They would bring things like cigarettes and

betel nut and place them on a plate next to the decaying body. Some people expressed their love for the dead person by staying in the area longer, or visiting more often. Even now offerings are still taken to the spirits of the dead people there, including those (who are not Kawe) who work on the Usahamina boats further in the bay. Some Kawe people still worship these spirits and ask help for all sorts of things. The village head of Selvele told me that sometimes when he is out fishing he takes an offering of tobacco or betel nut to the island, and he says that if he does then soon after he catches some fish. Worship or placation of the spirits of the dead is still very much part of the Kawe way of life.

The fact that recently a ceremony was performed on Mandulipopo island by Derek Ayei and Korinus Ayelo confirms that Kawe still hold the spirits of their ancestors in high regard. They apparently entered a house of some type on the island and gave an offering of seven leaf 'plates' of yellow rice and some other things. There they spoke to the spirits of the dead, presumably asking for help with, and protection of the company's endeavours. Thus there is still a strong feeling of the role of the dead in the world of the living, in spite of the fact that they claim to be Christians. Jesus made it clear that the world of the dead and living cannot interact⁶, yet it appears that not all of the Kawe acknowledge this. However in local cemeteries in both Selvele and Salio there was little evidence of offerings being placed on the graves of the deceased, indicating maybe that in recent times the placation of the spirits of the

Skulls from tribal wars

dead is not as important, or that only those who have died in the distant past are considered to have power to help.

Before Christianity there were fights between the Kawe and other nearby tribes. The skulls of the victims were placed in an area known as Arimonabiye, as well as some other places. These may also have some spiritual significance.

The Christian gospel has come to the area several decades ago. In both villages there is a GKI church, that is, a protestant church, with a liturgy based worship style. In church, they generally use Indonesian, and most use Indonesian in small group meetings as well. They are not used to speaking in their own language about things to do with the Christian religion. However, Martin Ayelo is known for praying in the local language, but very few others use their language for church related functions. So the gospel is still somewhat foreign, and their understanding of the gospel and its implications in their daily lives is likewise limited. Nevertheless the institution of the church plays a significant role in village life.

Most westerners fail to understand many of the responses of villagers because they do not understand the spiritual world in the same way. From our observations people in both villages are very much spiritually orientated. There are churches that play a vital role, but I suspect that the depth of understanding of Christianity is not yet significant enough in the majority of people to displace their animistic roots. The use of shamanism is still strong in Selvele, in particular (with 5 shaman being identified), and to a lesser extent in Salio.

⁶ Luke 16:19-31.

In Selpele about 10 years ago a woman called Deborah came and ran a crusade meetings, culminating in the collection and destruction of many of the items involved in shamanism. This led to a dramatic reduction in their dependence on shaman, yet the use there is still relatively strong compared to Salio. The reason why the situation in Salio is somewhat different to Selpele is because of the influence of Lewi Rampakam, who 8 years ago had a vision while he was on a canoe on the way to Saonek. He saw 7 dazzling white crosses of increasing sizes come down from the sky into the canoe, and he fell down as a dead man. The others in the canoe saw it and were afraid. Since that time he has had a special gift—he prays for sick people and they are healed. He claims to do so with power from God through Jesus. Many people in the village testify to healings that he has been involved in. He has a regimented schedule of prayer each day, 5.00am 7.00am, 12.00midday, 5.00pm, 7.00pm and 12.00midnight. He prays for sick people during these times. Some of his methods and theology may be considered somewhat unusual⁷, and he may be considered a fanatic, or even “weird”, but he has been instrumental in bringing about changes in the spiritual situation in Salio that are not yet present in Selpele. He has campaigned to have all articles associated with animism burned or destroyed. Now the majority are not involved with animistic practices there, although he still says there are a minority who still do such things.

Lewi Rampakam

Evidence of his effect is found in the different attitude to gardening in Salio compared to Selpele. Some people in Salio do plant gardens, although the gardens are not very extensive, whereas in Selpele there is still much fear associated with clearing and planting gardens. In the latter case, the main problem is the *barang jahat*, ‘evil things’ in the surrounding areas. Some years ago, we were told, people there did plant big gardens, but then when a few people died, it was supposed that *suanggi* ‘a type of evil spirit’ was responsible for their deaths. Probably the shaman indicated to the people that while they were preparing gardens *suanggi* got an opportunity to kill them. From that time there has been considerable fear of going to prepare a garden. Even a group of two or three is not considered safe. Maybe a bigger group would be brave enough to go and do such a thing. But in any case if they did succeed in planting a garden, it is claimed that the pigs would eat it anyway. So they are not interested in making gardens. Actually, the ‘pigs’ spoken of here are not only the normal wild pigs that could be kept out by making a fence, instead they are a spiritual ‘pig’. Making a fence would be of no use in keeping out this type of pig. As long as there are fears of these spirits in the surrounding areas it will be difficult for them to become involved in gardening on a wide scale. Another reason they do not make gardens is that by now, since it has not been part of their life style for some time, it is not something that they have been brought up to do.

⁷ Although he claims that he receives power from God, some of the things he does and believes differ from standard evangelical Christianity. The main reason this is the case is because he can barely read. He only went to grade 2 at school, and cannot really read the Bible fluently, so is prone to having a divergent theology, eg He says that Jesus has a walking stick (that is seen in some pictures), and this stick, he claims is actually the fruit of a tree in the Salio area. He also uses the bark off this tree in the treatment of some sick people. He was not aware that in the Bible no mention is made of Jesus ever having a walking stick. So although he ascribes the healing power to God, sometimes his methods seem a little animistic in their orientation. He usually prays over water, and then uses some of it to draw a cross on the sick person, using three strokes, down, across and then down again. Then the person is given the water to drink. He also told me that if people oppose him and what he says they get sick, and so now they are fearful of opposing him. He also said he was praying so that whoever stole the pearls at Cendana would be discovered. He says he has three angels who help him deal with problems.

Making gardens is something foreign to them. The fear of *suanggi* and other spiritual powers has an effect on what the village people will do and the way they do things, even though this is not consistent with them calling themselves Christians.

This is where the role of the shaman comes in. They are the ones who discern what spirit is doing what. They can diagnose which spirit has made someone sick, and use the appropriate 'white magic' to try to deal with it. The shaman get their power in the following way: they go and stay for extended periods, particularly at night, waiting for a spiritual power to meet with them on a peninsula that has a cave on it. Things test them there, like snakes and ants, and if they can withstand such testing then the spirit will come and give them the power they want to have, say to kill someone, or to help heal someone, or for other purposes. They get what is known in Indonesian as *betapa* in this way, and the spirit takes control of them. And so they use this power in their village, and this makes others fearful of them. This fear can be used to the advantage of the shaman. Those who are known shaman in Selvele are: Yakomina Ayelo, Matius Gimla, Petrus Gimla, Lukas Ayelo and Benyamin Arempel. It seems that the Ayelo family and close relations have a monopoly on the shaman practices, and that is probably how Korinus Ayelo became the *kepala adat*.

Shamanism has for some been seen as opposing Christianity. However, I suspect that the majority try to synthesise the two. For example, when someone is sick, the church leaders come and pray for the sick person first, and then they ask a shaman to come and look into the water and do their mantras. Both prayer to God, and then asking for the shaman's help seems to be considered acceptable by most people in Selvele. According to the village head, one of the reasons they still use shaman so much is because of the lack of supply of medicines, and a health worker who is committed to stay and work in the village.

The roles of the church and "adat" (which is espoused by the shaman) are very important in village life. These areas need further investigation in order to understand clearly how the villagers' lives and thinking are shaped by each of them. Understanding in this area could help give keys to promoting harmonious relationships between the company and the local people.

7.6. Housing

The houses in both villages compare favourably with other Papuan villages. The majority have metal roofing, concrete block walls and cement floors. There is a lot of building activity presently occurring in both villages. Some houses use traditional building materials. One of the greatest needs expressed was to be able to get cement and metal roofing to complete building houses.

Several houses have up to two or three families, and one even four families. On average however, there are 6 residents per house in Salio, and 7.2 per house in Selvele.

I didn't try going into this house, the owner is presently building a new house.

In both villages there is an electrical power supply system. This operated well in Selvele, but at Salio it was not working for some reason. There is some disagreement about who should have control of the system, and it was

suggested that this was the cause of problems with the system. Nevertheless from my observations the set up seems somewhat dangerous, cables are falling, some of the poles are leaning, and the cables appear to be too thin. I wonder how much the people understand about safety procedures with electricity?

7.7. Economy

There are several things that people get involved in day by day in order to make a living including:

1. Catching live fish: several varieties are accepted and the prices paid depend upon the type, garopa are about Rp7.000/kg, loring hitam (tongseng) Rp35.000/1 kg or Rp45.000/2 kg; mamia or mulut tikus Rp60.000/1kg, Rp85.000/2kg. Those involved are provided with receptacles to place the live fish in. This can be a quite lucrative source of income. The live fish are placed in holding area just near the villages (both for Selpele and Salio).
2. Working with Cendana: a significant number of the villagers work with PT Cendana.
3. Fishing and selling/exchanging them with goods at PT Cendana.
4. In both villages people fish for tripang and lobsters. This can be quite lucrative.
5. Dried salty fish
6. Bia lola shells are gathered and sold in Sorong.
7. Building in the village—with the flow of cash into the village it allows for some people to be involved in building houses for those who are out working.
8. Harvesting sago used to be one of the main activities of the people, but it was reported that over the last 12 months no one had gone to do this. Rice has become a substitute.
9. Some people plant coconuts (Korinus and family) and cocoa (one family—Yustinus Daat), but this is limited. People in Salio made the point that making copra is hard work for little rewards, so they do not generally do it.
10. Gardens, eg in Salio the village head's wife plants chilies, watercress, and other vegetables, but this is limited for the reasons noted above.

7.8. Community development

The village head of Selpele told us about plans from government departments for various developments including, the construction of 10 houses 5m x 6m (Theo Daat, *biro keuangan* Jayapura helped to organise this); a clean water system (by the Department of General Works –DPU in Sorong, to begin on Sept 1); and surfacing of the roads in the village to the length of 600 metres (this project from DPU as well, but it was rejected by the villagers).

There were desires expressed by various individuals regarding what type of community development they would like in their villages. As noted above, Selpele has been trying to get their own *Puskemas* since 1980s. It was promised in 1988, but has not yet been realised. There is also a big push to build stronger houses in both villages. People are keen to get cement and metal roofing.

Preparing to go looking for lobsters and tripang

Another need expressed was to get equipment to assist in fishing activities and the marketing of their products. In Salio, the village head and his group search for lobsters and tripang. They can earn for lobsters: Rp35.000/kg in the village, or Rp55.000/kg in Sorong. For tripang they could

earn Rp65.000/kg in the village or Rp100.000/kg in Sorong. The village head has made requests on five occasions to PEMDA⁸ in Sorong for help to purchase equipment he needs to help develop his business. He needs high quality diving torches, an air compressor, and 15 hp motor to help develop this activity further. In addition he would like to get his canoe covered in fibreglass and get another 40hp motor to enable him to more effectively market these things in Sorong. PEMDA has not helped him in any way. I believe that there is potential here, but a CRM could research this further and it may be useful to help supply the equipment and make an arrangement whereby it is paid off each month. He expects with good equipment in place he could make between Rp10-20 million a month. About Rp20 million would be needed to finance equipment for fishing activities, and about Rp30 million for improving transportation to Sorong.

7.9. Taboos

There are certain things that people cannot do, otherwise they face disgrace or fines. We found a couple of examples: One example is that people cannot say the names of their in-laws, that is, the spouse's of one's brothers and sister's names cannot be said. If they do, then they must pay a fine. The fine is usually about Rp5.000-10.000.

An example of a boardwalk is in the background

Another tradition is that if someone falls off a boardwalk (like those going out to toilets) for any reason, and they are then embarrassed, then out of respect that person's in-laws are obliged to go and jump off at that place. Then they exchange items with each other.

7.10. Marriage

Generally people now each seek their own partners, but in the past parents arranged it. Traditionally children take on their mother's family name, but there is some change recently, or at least that is what several families tried to lead us to believe. Now some are taking on the father's family name only. In the past and now, men have only married one wife, in contrast to other parts of Papua. Given the tradition, that men go and live in the village of their wife, the payment of bride price is not mandatory as it is in other areas, since the husband will work with the wife's family and help them in their activities. Nevertheless there is usually some minor payment

8. Summary of Recommendations

I have made comments along the way in regard to what I recommend that the company does in order to promote positive relationships with the local communities. Here, I summarise the recommendations discussed above:

1. Prejudice

Company managers need to be aware of the issues of prejudice between the 'straight-haired' Indonesians and Papuans, and seek to minimise the negative effects thereof. I believe that most 'straight-haired' Indonesians are not aware of the prejudices that they express toward the local people, therefore I suggest that some type of training or teaching

⁸ A government body involved in helping community development.

about the situation be implemented to assist in making them aware of the problem, and to seek ways to help them deal with it. The CRM could help to prepare materials to help explain the issues and suggest how to deal with them.

Another way of dealing with this problem is to try to avoid placing 'straight-haired' Indonesians in positions of responsibility over Papuans, or if a 'straight-haired' Indonesian is placed in a position of responsibility, such a person should have demonstrated that they have positive attitudes towards Papuans. This is a second best solution in my opinion, because it avoids the problem rather than dealing with it.

2. Decision making

I recommend that any decisions involving the community be discussed in open, public meetings where possible, rather than just with those who are considered leaders. The problem with limiting discussions to 'leaders' means that some may be left out, and the youth would be left out. If people feel left out then they are a potential source of dissension. A CRM, if appointed, would be the company's representative to the local people. I recommend that a CRM also identify the 'actual' leaders of the community and develop relationships with them with the aim of working closely with them, to help ensure positive cooperation with the community on issues in relation to the company.

3. Role of repetition

In any dealing with local people, I recommend that all information be communicated not just once or twice but repeatedly, and through various means, in different words, and by different people. Essentially local people are used to a higher rate of redundancy in communication than a westerner. Therefore efforts need to be made to communicate with much repetition. This helps to reduce the likelihood of false stories spreading.

4. Wage Levels

It is recommended that wage levels be evaluated, given that this was the major comment made by both day and night staff. Local people expect foreign companies to pay much better rates of pay than Indonesian companies.

5. Village harmony

It is important to have someone, a CRM, involved with the local villagers in order to assist in maintaining village harmony, since harmony is crucial for the continuing work of the company in the area.

6. Education

One way of helping the local communities with education is through the development of materials in the local language. Also it is suggested that by working together with a Yayasan, like Yayasan El Shaddai, that ways could be found to help make primary education in the villages more disciplined and consistent.

7. Community relations manager

It is recommended that a CRM be appointed with the following job description and qualifications:

Job description:

1. Live in one of the villages, probably Selpele.
2. Learn and document the local culture, and language, as well as speak it fluently.
3. Identify 'actual' village leaders, and liaise with them on a regular basis, in order to help ensure village harmony in relation to issues connected either directly or indirectly to the company.
4. Help resolve conflicts between villagers and the company, and any conflicts between villagers in relation to issues related directly or indirectly to the company.
5. Train several local people to understand how the company operates, and to assist with community-company liaisons.
6. Orientate company personnel in regard to pertinent features of local culture to minimise potential problems.
7. Work with the local people in developing and implementing community development projects.
8. Develop literacy materials for use at the primary school and for adults who want to learn to read, and train several local people to teach the materials.
9. Teach English and basic health information at primary school, and to adults.

Qualifications:

1. Linguistic/anthropological training.
 2. People skills.
 3. A positive attitude to the Papuan people.
 4. Not a 'straight-haired' Indonesian, or Papuan due to potential prejudice by the person themselves, and possible negative response from the local people. Preferably a westerner.
 5. Preferably already a fluent Indonesian speaker.
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