

BALIM PEOPLE'S RESILIENCE AGAINST THE EXCESSES OF CAPITALISM

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The mining of Grasberg, the world's largest gold reserves, by Freeport-McMoran in 1967 gives wealth to the multinationals, central and provincial governments. The existence of the company, however, creates multitude of excesses which led to a new economic, social, political, and cultural marginalization of the indigenous people. Among them are the highest percentage of HIV/AIDS tolls in Indonesia and prevalent alcoholism. This paper generally explores the impacts of this aggressive capitalism to the life of the mountainous people of Wamena economically, socially and culturally and how they respond to it. It utilizes Derridean concept of *hospitality* in order to shed light the ambiguous relationship between Papuan local people and the migrants coming to the land. Based on field research, it specifically exposes how Balim people respond to all the excesses of capitalist culture by the way they treat HIV/AIDS patients and alcoholics in their daily lives and while they are in death. Wamenans' resilience can also be seen from the creative using of *mop* or humorous satire to cope with the burden of lives.

Keywords: migrants, local-global, marginalization, *hospitality*, social resilience

INTRODUCTION

Balim Valley or the Great Valley was introduced by a Dutch researcher named Richard Archold in June 1938 as the capital city of Wamena and part of Jayawijaya district. The word Wamena is derived from the term *wam ena*, which means tame pig. Miscommunication occurred when the foreign anthropologist came to this area and met a mother holding a tame pig. The anthropologist asked "what's the name of this (area)?" The mother replied, "Wam Ena," understanding the question "what do you hold?" The anthropologist then wrote and disseminated what he had heard, Wamena (Wetipo: 2014). The tribe which inhabited the area, ranging 45x15 kilometers with a height of 1500-1700 above sea level, is Hubula/Hubulaman tribe which later known as Dani tribe.

Jayawijaya consists of 40 districts. The town of Wamena is small and simple. Not many big buildings except a few government offices, the Office of the Head of Wamena, the Parliament building, and the Church. The location and the feel resemble those of West Coast region of California, even more beautiful because of the vast surrounding green hills. Cold temperature also increases comfort for those who come mainly from Jayapura and other coastal areas with warmer temperatures. Fresh vegetables and fruits are agricultural products sold in the markets. Wamena coffee, marquisa, and of course *hipere*, a kind of potato which is unique to people of Balim Valley. A relatively small town has become more complex when most of its main street is lined with all kinds of shops of all needs displaying places outside Wamena: Tulung Agung Warung, Jakarta Mie Ayam, Solo Bakso, Padang Restaurant, Jawa Timur Shop. The names reflect population mobility or migration, in other words the coming community enrich the diversity of Wamena. It is difficult, however, to find native Wamenans involved as economy mover in Balim Valley, except *mamas* selling and offering vegetables in front of shops, at the airport, and as well as to warungs owned by migrants.

Background

The aim of this study was to understand the influence of globalization that goes through the capitalistic markets of Balim Valley and how the values of Balim people survive amid rapid changes taking place in the Valley of the Balim and Papua in general. Migrants both from within the country and from overseas as researchers or employees bring changes with their ethnic and cultural diversity. Generally, migrants come for economic interests, such as small-scale traders from Sulawesi or big companies like Freeport. No less important is the influence of mobility (go and back) of Balim tribal communities to/from places where modernization has been so fast, such as the big city of Jayapura, Sorong, and Timika. This paper is the result of field research conducted in 2014 in the city of Wamena, Jayawijaya, and the methods used are observation and interviews with several figures, residents of Wamena, and is equipped with a variety of reading materials related to this theme.

Population movement from one place to another have diminished the boundaries of culture, especially the residents who moved to the centers of the crowd and the city (Appadurai, 1991), as city symbols have fulfilled modern functions: mall, health facilities, education, transportation, places of worship. This symbol represents modernity built in line with the formation of consumerist culture formed by capitalist agents. A group of people who move from one culture to another cultural

environment will experience a social process that can affect the model of adaptation of their identity formation (Appadurai, 1994). The process of cultural reproduction is an active process that confirms its existence in social life thereby necessitating an adaptation of a group that has a different cultural background. This process is important because it will look at the social level, the process of cultural domination and subordination that occur dynamically. Among things that can be observed is the resistance toward reproduction of cultural identity of a group in a certain socio-cultural context. Mobility is an important factor in the formation and transformation of human civilization as difference of people's lives has created a new definition of places where people live, as well as of himself. Mobility has thus encouraged the process of reconstruction of group identity in society.

In the process of encounter between local people and migrants, in his critical writings of Kant in *Perpetual Peace*, Derrida sees a paradox. The right to hospitality proposed by Kant assumes that the recipient (local residents) treat foreigners as enemies. This always requires suspicion, hostility, and the desire to dominate, so that the position of the host is protected, therefore the rights to hospitality are ambiguous, because it lies in between hospitality and enmity (hostility), therefore can not be defined as pure friendliness or pure hostility, that is why Derrida creates a new term *hostipitality*. However, the concept is difficult to apply in Papua, Balim Valley particularly, when the migrants who dominate, not the locals. Its long-term impact is that all policies are considered to be detrimental to the local population for their fate have been determined by others (central government and private companies). Years of pressure finally bring awareness to some people and then began the movement which is “against” or limit the movement of migrants, though mostly in a small scale.

In the process of consumption and shifting life orientation, traditional reference seemed to weaken. This is mainly due to culture that is bound to a specific locality and under the control of the firmer class. Often symbols represent interests that are constructed. The improvement of transportation system and telecommunication in Papua has allowed a global flow of goods that can easily be widely accepted that ultimately changed the mode of consumption of various tribes there. People of a mountainous Balim Valley began consuming *sirih pinang*, usually consumed by coastal people, as well as liquor. Globalization then appears as pressure on social life in general for it is a fundamental factor in the life of modern society (Abdullah, 2006). From this it can be explained that globalization is not a one-way process because there is a tendency for dialogue with local properties that determine acceptance or rejection

of the elements of new goods in various forms and discourses. Residents of the city began requiring global products as instruments for articulating group's class and identity that distinguishes them from the others.

The balance between ethnic groups is difficult to maintain by the government because of economic and political position of an ethnic is different since the beginning from other ethnics. The problem then arises when the difference become more striking and produce imbalance in the control of resources. Ethnics of immigrants often become more dominant in the control of resources though they belong to minorities in numbers. This imbalance in resources then extends into unequal political access that result in the dominance of an ethnic group. It becomes dangerous when certain ethnic receive benefits from various social agents, and when cultural consciousness emerges. So usually a local ethnic began to realize that their homeland was occupied by outsiders (Abdullah, 2006). In the town of Wamena, most of the civil servants are immigrants; some even occupy important positions, such as principal of school, or head of sub office of government agencies. There was such a story of "amuck" against immigrants in 2000, but it does not change much the previous structural condition of the society. The immigrants, however, seem to differ more from the local population, such as in the make-ups and patterns of interaction. There appears a "scare" of each parties not to disturb each other's safe zones.

Globalization has created a new world caused by the progress of sciences, especially information technology. These developments make human movement rapidly in all areas. As a result of more limitless and fast growing world, no filter that can balance the movement of change itself. Yet another benefit is more convenience offered by the development of science and technology, despite its negative impact. Although not so visible in Wamena many new things coming in such as imported fast foods, theaters, and models of entertainment venues of modern society. More and more impacts of modern life are unconsciously accepted by the community; the culture of plastics for example. Along the way to Wamena market we can see a lot of garbage thrown, consisting of residual groceries bags, ranging from children's food, diapers, cigarette packs and so on. In the realm of technology, "*dandang*" (a metal pan to boil food) represents an example of modernity coming into Wamena. Formerly the ritual of "*bakar batu*" (burning stone to cook) takes almost half a day for meat and *hipere* be cooked and tender in the ground hole. Now it takes only two hours for meat, potatoes and *hipere* to be able to eat using *dandang*. It tastes even more delicious because it is coupled with MSGs and modernly-packed cooking oil.

Results and Discussion

Balim people are those who live in Balim Valley and is an ethnic unity based on the awareness of identity, cultural diversity and biological elements (Itlay and Hilapok, 1993). Balim men live in units of bonds of *kaneke adat*, a traditional unit of confederation of tribal warfare and unit of clans based on patrilineal lineage. In the units they practice good values such as unity, brotherhood, and teamwork. The values of relations with other people, *Haseke I* men with their creator, *Haseke II* men's relationship with the cosmic elements, *Haseke III* men with their ancestors, and *Haseke IV* men's communication with their fellow human being (Hisage in Wetipo: 2014). Balim people are bound to the four values. Those values are believed and served as guidance in daily life. With these values, the life of Balim people is balanced in terms of fertility, health and environment. Frans Lieshout, quoted by Wetipo (2014), praised the ability of Balim people in farming, building garden fence to prevent animal attacks, making small pools between gardens, and building fences for properties. In addition, women are also good at weaving *sekan* (bracelets), making *yerak*, *walimo* (tie), *kere-kere* (cap), spears, bows, and *noken* (woven bags). Balim people live in the *O kul* (village), which consists of several *O sili* (houses). *O sili* consists of a *honai* (adult males's house) and some *honais* for women, depending on the number of wives, women, and children who live there. Female houses are long in shape, consisting of three spaces, *embe'ai* as space to sleep, long kitchen in the middle (*desela*), and pigsty (*wam aila*) at the rearmost. In the midst of these houses there is spacious courtyard of 4x7 meters for children to play and as a center for traditional party activities such as *bakar batu*.

People of Balim spread in areas of Balim Valley as part of Jayawijaya. As the capital city, the town of Wamena is the most developed area compared to other districts in Jayawijaya and became the most visited by outsiders. Various ethnic groups and tribes in Indonesia began to settle in the town of Wamena. They come with different motives and interests, mostly for economic reason by being traders in the market or opening shops of equipments and a wide variety of daily necessities, opening food stalls along the road, or just services as *ojek* drivers, public taxi drivers, laundry services, reflexology, and even opening the physician practices.

The Conditions of Marginalized Communities: Migrants vs Local

Wamena was first discovered by Richard Archold in 1938, followed by the Christian and Catholic missionaries working with the Dutch government. Connect with some of the events in Papua, Trikora

1961 as government efforts President Soekarno requiring integrated with the union territory of Papua Indonesia, followed by paper, facilitated by the US through the PB session in New York in 1969 and resulted in the merger decision Papua into Indonesia. But before the year 1967 was first agreed employment contract with PT Freeport MacMoran, a foreign oil company of the United States. People Balim currently undergoing many changes. The change is so rapid and fast, especially since the 1960s, when foreign companies came accompanied by the transfer of the Indonesian government. The Balim view, there has been confusion about the government's approach to development whose impact Balim continue to be felt to this day (Wetipo: 2014).

Since the arrival of the Indonesian administration and the development process of migrating to urban areas in particular Jayawijaya Wamena, the main thing that was allegedly committed by the Indonesian government is to keep the Papuans of their own culture. This is reflected in policy in the fields of politics, education, and culture. Polarization diversity of migrants or migrants from Java to dominate politics and government power while immigrants from North dominate the economy (Max Aupray: 2012). Error Indonesian government is not understanding how lifestyle People Balim, even in academic studies have not found a comprehensive study on lifestyle People Balim, so the government has never really applied the policy to fit in with society Balim, the approach used for this is "coercion" "People who make Balim regardless of his identity. Though Balim People want to be appreciated because it has a better way of life. In the period 1964-1973, the First Governor of Irian Jaya, Frans KAISIEPO socialize clothing healthy, respectful, and "dignified", which resulted in the governor's policy after the campaign against "Holim or Koteka". In the range of 1993-1998, the period of Barnabas Suebu and Yacob Pattibi, particularly in the Central Highlands region, tens of tons of clothing were dropped in several districts and villages as a "symbol" eradication sheaths (Koesnanto: 2007). Most people already use Balim clothes, clothes function as a cover limited by the poverty that causes no change clothes day and night so dirty and torn. In the city of Wamena still often seems some were using sheaths, which usually settles in front of the hotel or the airport. Allow it herself for the photo with the "tourists" and ask for afterwards. In addition, the squawking often seen walking distance from the district for kilometers to the town of Wamena, according to reports, had no policy prohibited the use of public transport squawking.

Lishout F. (2014) in an interview confirmed what I observed of changes in the society of Balim valley. Since the 1980s when the merchants came and Wamena town grew so quickly, from that moment

comes liquor. "Most migrants have positive effect, but more immigrants immoral". What happened in Wamena today is increasingly weakened social control, and is directly proportional to the increase of people infected with HIV and AIDS, because they are free of any pressure. Guidance that do not hit the target, a business and administrative formalities policies that money went, but did not get into the point, because no study of the local culture. Be ironic if the state of the interior of Papua more isolated geographically but free entry and exit information and entertainment. In one honai district in the province Etekelek Asolokobal, standing strong in front embe'ai biggest antenna size. Middle room, lined up neatly television, CPU, Tape, and a rice cooker. A traditional symbol that is the symbol of modernity in the frame technology. Goods the consumption of modern urban society has functioned as a communication tool, because it represents a series of individuals to assert the inherent value of a person's identity. And the consumption process has formed a unity of life with the bases material that can eliminate subjective values in social change (Simmel, 1999; Abdullah, 2006).

Migration as a way in to the meeting of cultures, development and information technology. Benefits include economic development, expand horizons of knowledge and know-how, including lifestyle and consumption model of the local community. Physical mobility of immigrants and locals who returned, the entry of media communication, social and intellectual mobility of massive and compact cause the formation of an integrated community that is local to the global (Featherstone, 1991; Miller, 1995; Strathern, 1995; Abdullah, 2006). Migration creates cosmopolis communities well as forming a new identity. Created a new identity can be fluid, tolerant and yet be "strict distinction" that intentionally or unintentionally been created by both parties (natives and immigrants).

The arrival of foreign companies in Papua started by displaced tribes living space in the central highlands of Papua. Communal land seven tribes, including the Amungme and allegedly PT FI and destroyed during mining operations take place. PTFI's tailings have meniumbun estuary area about 110 km² is contaminated, while the 20-40 km stretch Ajkwa toxic and 133 km² of arable land are buried. When the flood came, suburpun contaminated areas Ajkwa reversal caused flooding, destruction of the tropical rain forest (21 km²), and led to a re-arid area into a swamp. The mother could no longer find snails around the river is a source of protein for the family. Health problems also occur as a result of the entry of outsiders into Papua. Papua is the province with the highest HIV-AIDS sufferers in Indonesia.

On the other hand, local government revenues Papua so dependent on the mining sector. Since 1975-2002 of 50% of GDP comes from Papua payment of taxes, royalties and profit share of non-renewable natural resources, including oil and gas companies. This means that the dependence of local revenue from the extractive sector will create dependency and chronic fragility of Papua province. Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of West Papua is ranked 3rd out of 30 provinces in Indonesia in 2005. However Human Development Index (HDI) of Papua, which is expressed by the high number of deaths of pregnant women and infants because of the problems of malnutrition are on the order 29th. Worse yet, pockets of poverty are located in Freeport mining concession area.

Local Communities' Social Resilience amid the Crush of Market Capitalism

“There is no shortage or poverty in society eyewear subsystem. What to eat dinner, can be easily searched in the morning. Just a little effort, it can meet its own needs so that they do not recognize the intense struggle to meet the needs of survival” (Ahmad Arif, 2007: Land of Gold, Land bloody).

Confusion when the central government considers these areas together with other regions in Indonesia, especially Java. The Balim when, as a subsystem of society have local knowledge in agriculture. For example *hipere* or marginalization of the role that first sweet potato is the staple food of people Balim. Before the government introduced this program, Balim The abundance of food in particular, but this time Balim People would rather wait for rice aid from the government and no longer willing to gardening. But eat rice also require other escorts menu as side dishes, while items such basic needs are not derived from Balim Valley, so it took charges for transport, resulting in basic commodity prices Balim Valley well above the average price in Papua. And in villages only eat rice with vegetable leaves *hipere* without fish, eggs because the eggs for four to five thousand rupiah, poultry meat reaches 50 thousand, and for cooking oil needed for frying, herbs are also cost more than average. Inability to meet the basic needs of nutrition results in substandard health. Especially the health of mothers and children. A pregnant woman who is not required nutrition can certainly bear a child who is not getting enough nutrients.

Balim Valley local community through many changes due to the massif of immigrants, some regions have set a dividing line. In Wamena, because most of the land is dominated economic migrants, and therefore out of the policy only “Papuan” who can pedal a tricycle. While taxis and transport of migrants is still permitted. In regional policy, the question of the appointment of the head of the district has been set in law

- Law No 21 of 2001 on Special Autonomy for Papua. Though only local or person appointed to be a native son who can be a leader and governor of the district governor in Papua (Auparay: 2012).

For the people who first came to this small town of Wamena has a standard of living above the average even higher than the metropolitan Jakarta. A serving of chicken rice valued 30,000 rupiah, almost three times the price in the West. 20,000 worth of gasoline per liter. The reason is simple, because all goods coming into Wamena come by plane, then the price is calculated according to their weight. When economic land dominated by migrants, indigenous peoples Balim Valley getting away for not being able to compete. Nico Aso-Lokobal even admitted, "we did not have the ability in the field (economics), so that economic expansion would not have been occupied by the indigenous population. It is described in the book of *Amber and Komin: The Study of Economic Change in Papua*. How indigenous people trade model, run. If a buyer wants to buy merchandise with a higher nominal money, often traders have no reason to refuse to change, and when a buyer offers a "new back pay." Finally transactions are often interrupted, because the Papuans do not have the habit of debt. In contrast to Java with the principle of "Tuna Pathak gained relative" small profit but can be relative, or for a bit but binds people to become subscribers. The study of economics in Papua, David (2005) approach to anthropology to explain: "Activities and purchase the Papuans are still tied to the social customs of a barter. Despite the economic transformation is already happening to a market economy, but Papuans were not fully integrate themselves in the market economy. They have not developed a system of bargaining, customer network, and the credit system."

Inability to compete with the newcomers in the economic, consequently, the choice to go to college in the field of Social and Political Sciences of choice for teens and parents in the hope that after college they can become civil servants. This is confirmed by Mercedes, Principal of State Elementary School of Wamena that one of the target university of Wamenan students is APMD/STPMD Yogyakarta, with expectations that after graduation they can be bureaucrats. Professional education is not an option preferred by the students in Wamena. In addition, businesses do not have the skills the economy, most people in Wamena not have big capital. The habit of "fringe benefits" that lend the property and take responsibility to help families in need also poses a dilemma. For example, when a child wants to go to school far away and his father did not have enough money, then the father will try to borrow the family and the family should be ready to lend money in this.

However, after the child has finished college and get a job, then the child is obliged to “*menyaur*” or pay debt and help other sisters who need help.

Effects of the coming communities from outside of Balim Valley creates quite obvious impact especially in the social life. As a landlocked region with Freeport mine site, Balim Valley valley communities also get the influence of abundance of gold mines as well as lead to social problems. The changes are not too visible on infrastructure, facilities and welfare. However, the impact on the question of lifestyle followed by consumption, socially and mentally. The development of a globalized world to respond to the local culture with the way the trend is moving away from the center by turning back the old territorial boundaries of shock. Therefore, globalization is an automatic reaction and very logical. The fragmentation of culture and ethnicity, along with the homogenization of modern life in a world that is not art that should not be defended. Jonathan Friedman sees it as a constitutive tendency of global reality itself. And the process of globalization and the adaptation of a local or global by glocalization can run concurrently. Every impulse toward emerging global consciousness, it would appear the reaction against and return it to the local (Turner, 1994 Budiman, 2002). Friedman (1994) in Budiman (2002) explained that the decentralization process similar to the process of global cultural renaissance culture. Liberation and self-determination, hysterical fanaticism and increased border conflict, everything goes together with the growing market multinationals. This is called Bauman (1998) as a process of glocalization. In the language of Zygmunt Bauman, a condition in which the process of globalization for some people, for others localization. Both are part of human effort to find a logic that works behind the chaos that emerged today. Although, the term "local" is very problematic in its own right, and can not be considered final as the antithesis of the term "global".

Mining activities of PT Freeport McMoran Indonesia (Freeport) in Papua has been started since 1967 to date has been for 58 years, becoming one of the origins of the Papuan people, especially those Balim know the outside world is faster and more "surprises". With an abundance of gold subsystem community is starting to recognize the money, the money is much to be done and changed. Though the journey was not as smooth as one might imagine, the more negative impact than positive impact. Over the years, business activity and economic Freeport in Papua, has scored a huge financial advantage for foreign companies, but has not delivered the optimum benefits for Indonesia, Papua province, and local communities in mining areas. Freeport profit does not necessarily produce well-being of local people. Freeport existence does

not contribute much for the Papuans, even development in Papua is considered failing. The failure of development in Papua can be seen from the poor figure human welfare. In 2002, BPS recorded that about 41 percent of Papuans in poor condition, with a composition of 60% of indigenous people and the rest of immigrants. In 2005, the poverty of the people in the province of Papua, which reached 80.07%, or 1.5 million people. Almost all the poor people is a native of Papua New Guinea. Papuans are poor and more than 66% and generally live in the central mountains, the Contract of Work, Freeport. Bureau of Statistics data released Papua poverty in 2006, that half the population of Papua is poor (47.99%).

Epilog: *Hostipitality* as Local Response

Kosmopolitanitas, conditions that seek to overcome the limits of traditional sociological focus on the final race of entities in terms of territorial, and replace it with a transnational focus more fluid, but still involving local experience in the area of thought and action (Ritzer: 2012). Human mobility becomes the most important factor and that most distinguishes the social stratification in the world today. Then the winner in this space war are those who have mobility, and is able to move freely across the face of the earth and in the process create meaning for themselves. Convergence of various ethnicities, races and cultures, certainly more difficult than meeting people with goods. When people meet others, what is needed is's Hospitality. Derrida's Hospitality in concept as the unconditional hospitality, in this case between the local population towards migrants, or refugees who come to a new place. In the case of Wamena, hospitality was not only demands that must be done by the natives, on the contrary, immigrants should also prioritize the hospitality of the locals. Case bargain in the market, which is said to be "no need to bargain, love only money they will receive, because the local population that they can not count" in this case is inappropriate performed by migrants.

Therefore, the hospitality is ambiguous because in between hospitality and hostility that can not be defined as pure friendliness or pure hostility, thereby Derrida invents a new term *hostipitality*. Difficult concept applies in particular Papua Balim Valley when it controls are migrants, not local residents. Impact of length are all policies that are considered detrimental to the local population, as already determined his fate precisely by others (the central government, and private companies). Long pressure finally realize some people and began the movement "against" or restrict the movement of migrants, but it is still more simply with a small scale. Newcomers initially welcomed, left, given a place,

and local residents are not aware marginalized, then when conscious and retain residual rights that have not already been taken, but there are still many partially accepting the situation, partly carried away by momentary manipulation empty without meaning.

Papua is a rich region rich with gold mine and vast diversity of flora and fauna. Many people come to the Balim valley only for business purposes, they do not give a lot of good for a change, like roughly speaking, littering, these are actually used as an example by those Balim Valley, of which previously did not know come to know. Because the urgency is so long and by the settlers, are now beginning to emerge suspicions of each other is also very strong, such as fear of newcomers to the local people, if it be excessive will be engulfed. Also fears of outsiders because the land was taken. How a society should give unconditional hospitality if today more and more people of Papua in general and specifically Wamena are affected by HIV/AIDS. People Balim Valley five rankings for Papua and Papua is a region of most HIV/AIDS in Indonesia, the data in March 2014 this patient had reached twenty-five thousand (Wetipo: 2014). Unemployment is also quite high due to power many of which come from outside Papua, the Papuan people reasons not yet skilled enough to work especially menial jobs such as construction laborers, porters market. The influx of migrants and rising unemployment many local causes increased levels of crime (theft, gambling). Legal and illegal prostitution is growing very fast even in the new expansion area. The presence of commercial sex workers (CSWs) are under supervision or not almost uneven ground Papua, of course, along with the sale of liquor (*Bintang* beers, whisky etc.) are spread throughout Papua.

People who had to endure under the pressure of the newcomers. Abundance of goods, services, and change the orientation of lifestyle. Unfortunately, these two things are not yet fully capable filtered by locals. Inability to compete faced with various forms of response, outstanding issues refrain from eating in the Java shop, because someone has died after eating at the stalls Java. There were receiving nature, fate laugh with funny stories typical of Papua through a “mop.”

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Interviews

Ibu Lisna, Principal of State Elementary School/SDN Wamena

Mama Weni, Etekelek Asolokobal District

Meki Wettipo, Contributor of Tabloid Jubi.com and active in AMPTPI

Bambang, Kasi Pendidikan Dasar dan Menengah Dinas Pendidikan Kabupaten Jayawijaya

Nico Asolokobal, local leader

Father Lishout, Christian missionary