



Graduate School of Development Studies

**The Analysis of Early Childhood's Intervention  
Strategies in Balim Valley, Papua:  
Are They Culturally Appropriate?**

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*The impossible exists only until we find a way to make it possible*

(Mike Horn)

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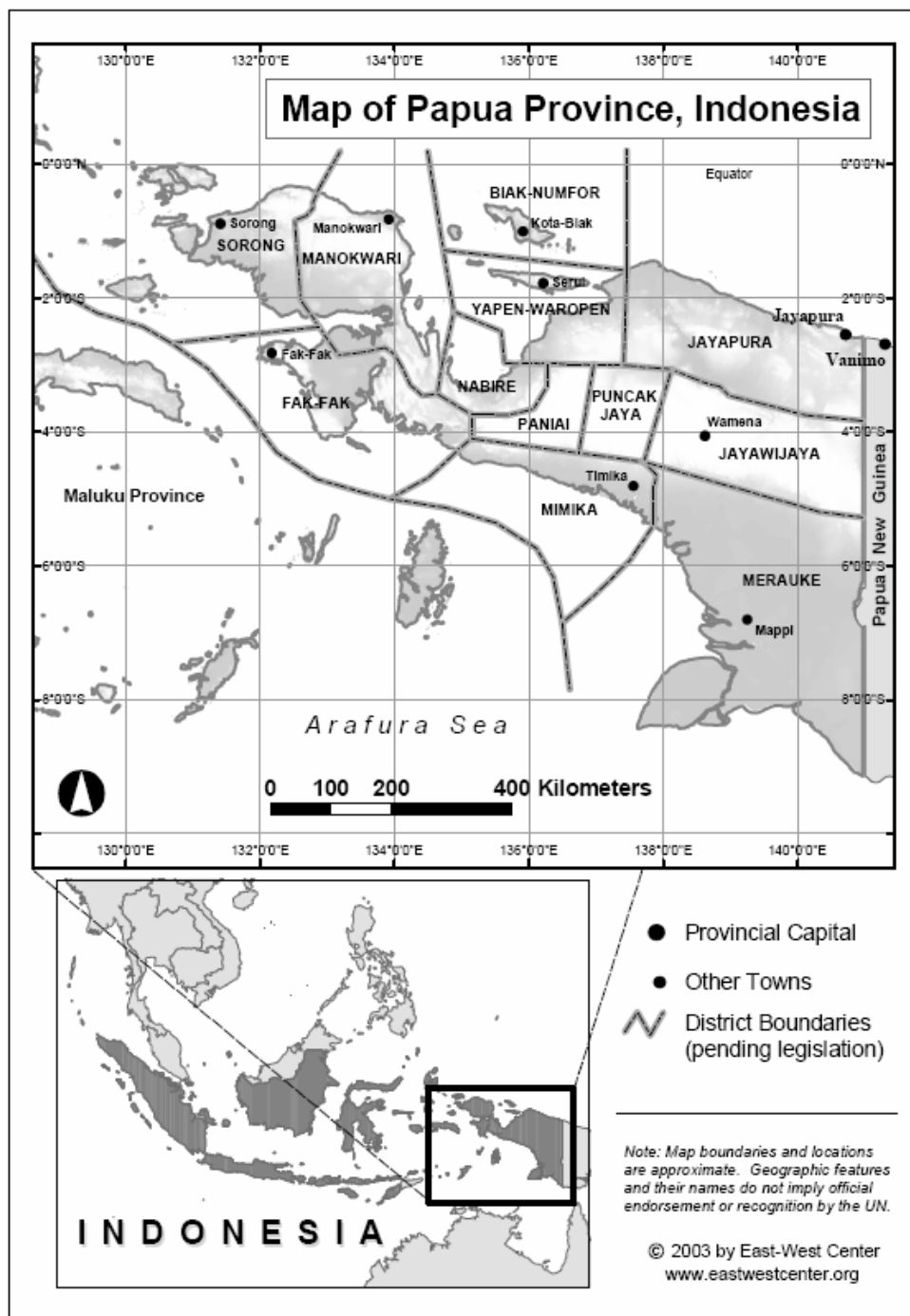
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Map 1  
Map of Papua Province, Indonesia



## List of Acronyms

ADP	Area Development Program
BKB	Bina Keluarga Balita (Infant family Welfare)
CAMA	The Christian and Missionary Alliance
ECCD	Early Childhood Care and Development
ECD	Early Childhood Development
ECE	Early Childhood Education
INGO	International Non-Government Organization
KB	Kelompok Bermain (Playgroup)
MDG	Millenium Development Goal
NGO	Non-Government Organization
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
PAUD	Pendidikan Anak Usia Dini (Early Childhood Education)
PADU	Pendidikan Anak Di Usia Dini (Early Childhood Education)
Pena Emas	Pendidikan Anak Usia Emas (Education for Golden Age)
PKK	Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga (Family Welfare Movement)
Posyandu	Pos Pelayanan Terpadu (Integrated Health Posts)
RA	Raudhatul Afthal (Islamic Kindergarten)
TK	Taman Kanak-Kanak (Kindergarten)
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WVI	World Vision Indonesia



## Dani Language-English Translation

Alage	young boy
Apwaye	ritual transition ceremony (male)
Bapa	father
Ebe ai	female house
Elege yekerek	child (female)
Etaye	mass dance
Hipere	sweet potatoes
Hipirakama	garden
Holak yekerek	child (male)
Honai	male house
Hotari	ritual transition ceremony (female)
Hunila	kitchen/family meeting
Lalekenma	pig's yard
Mama	mother
Marle	arrow
Mawe	mass marriage
Noken	female bag
Salisik	young girl
Sege	spear
Sikhe	bow
Silimo	the house yard
Sogue	man
Ubule	traditional midwife
Teteh	grandma/grandpa
Tugum	woman
Yaleka	grass
Yekerek	child
Wam	pig
Wam aila	piggery
Wom esakoba	dowry

## Abstract

In this paper I analyse how the culturally driven intervention strategies in the community of Balim Valley, Papua, focusing on the early childhood stage. I view child-rearing practices through Development Niche concept and it should seek from the cultural approach based on in where the children grow and develop. This theoretical framework leads to the hypothesis that understanding the local and cultural child-rearing practices can help examine and provide a clear understanding of government's and NGO's early childhood intervention strategies in Balim Valley. I predict that there is variety of valuable culture in the community that give benefit to the early childhood development process throughout child-rearing practices.

I explore PAUD program organized by the Indonesian government, and Pena Emas/*Honai* Anak organized by WVI in Wamena. Both of the programs have similar fundamental perspective which is ECCD concept but in reality, there are some challenges that cause some difficulties in the program's implementation. The lack of notion of community participation has emerged as well as the lack of awareness of the substance of ECCD perspective. Regarding to the challenges, recommendation are provided based on the interplay among external and internal actors of the intervention strategies. Some recommendations are for instance, assessment as the first stage to understand the socio-cultural settings of the community context, taking into account the notion of standardization and decentralization, and facilitating local organizers in terms of the degree of ownership.

This analysis produces a better understanding of the specific role of the state, NGO and community to intervene in the child development in order to invest for a better future for the new generation in Balim Valley. The recommendation implies that there is an urgent need for a dialog among the actors in order to develop the framework of early childhood's intervention strategies in Balim Valley.

## **Relevance to Development Studies**

Concerning to the Early Childhood Care and Development, this research paper tries to explore the challenges and appropriate approach to the best condition of early childhood in Balim Valley as a case study. Throughout examining the intervention strategies, it gives essential space to seek the challenges that mostly in relation with the community participation as one of the key issue in development studies.

### **Keywords**

Early childhood, ECCD, Development Niche, Culture, Intervention

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

*“A child grows and develops not in a vacuum, but in a community, a culture, and a nation.”*  
(Education for Transformation Toolkit,WVI)

Child development, since the early stages, is influenced by the interrelation of the many actors that strive to fulfil children’s needs. The effectiveness of this relation will give benefits to the children, the next generation of the community.

“Child development can be fostered in many kinds of programmes, including nutrition, health, and education programmes, and by working with parents and community members as well as with children” (Myers, 1991: 10). However, it seems there is lack of knowledge about child development and child care in reality, particularly with respect to poorly developed communities. Indeed, it impacts the behaviour of parents, community, practitioners, politicians, and fund-raisers that are trying to intervene in the children’s needs.

Furthermore, parents usually think of early childhood’s intervention as pre-school access only and even some of practitioners refer to it as a phase of merely child survival, just ‘staying alive’. However, “living is a process, the end of which is not only survival, but physical, mental and social well-being” (Myers, 1991: 16). Therefore, we should have more understanding of child development process in order to improve our assistance. In addition, child development mostly depends on the social environment where the children grow up and develop themselves. “The concept of childhood, and the importance attached to children, is culturally constructed and therefore varies between societies, as well as between individual children within societies” (Ansell, 2005: 65). It appears that the more the intervention based on cultural context, the more effective its influence is to child development.

In relation to seek the best intervention strategies, Early Childhood Care and Development (ECCD) is one set of concepts that can be used which has holistic view of children’s well-being developed for several years ago. “It

has been validated and encouraged by the Convention on the Rights of the Child” (www.ecdgroup.com). It appears that ECCD is not only concerned to the child’s needs but also to child’s rights. In relation, this paper tries to explore the intervention strategies in the ECCD perspective.

## 1.1 Overview of ECCD

In definition, “ECCD is the process children go through from conception until the age of 6/8 years old, moving from simple to complex physical, physiological and behavioural pattern” (Wazir and Nico, 2001: 2). Indeed, it refers to the holistic pattern in terms of the main basic needs of the children such as “interaction and stimulation, affection, security, and learning through exploration and discovery” (www.ecdgroup.com).

Conceptually, ECCD itself is “not exactly preschools where the kids play a lot with coloured blocks” (Myers, 1991: 15), however it merely contribute in many aspects of children live which should be supported from many sectors and it needs the involvement of various actors to maximize children growth and development.

Those opinions are commonly accepted among societies in which Early Childhood Development (ECD) interventions are seen as effective strategies in breaking the cycle of poverty. “The failure of children to fulfil their developmental potential and achieve satisfactory educational levels plays an important part in the intergenerational transmission of poverty” (Grantham-McGregor et al., 2007: 60). It might be equally important to give attention for children as well as other domains controlled by the public administration such as economy, law, military, etc in order to reduce poverty. By doing so, the state is preparing a better future generation by increasing the quality of human development in society.

Bear in mind that ECCD has been defined in different perspective. For example, international perspective claims that “programs which promote the growth and development of young children (ages 0-6 years) are the *best* investment for developing the human capital necessary for economic growth” (Eming Young & Linda, 2007: 2). Indeed, “early child development (ECD) has

the highest rate of return in economic development and the most cost-effective way to reduce poverty and to foster economic growth” (ibid). Graham-Mc Gregor, et al. (2007: 60) argued that improving early childhood development is also related with the first UN Millennium Development Goal (MDG) which is to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger. Secondly, it is to ensure that all children complete primary schooling.

On the other hand, it might not simply say that intervention from the early years is in terms of the need of market regard to economic growth. In my view, it is not exactly in developing human capital for the globalization; however, it should look as investment for the new generation to their needs as human being to develop their potentials physically and mentally. At the result, it should be understood that “early childhood institutions should be considered not just as centres that supply ‘services’ to consumers (child care, early education, preparation for school, etc), but as ‘children’s spaces’, ‘domains of negotiated social practice and relationships’ (Bennett, 2006: 194).

This also suggests that there are two new features to encourage community-based ECCD such as the involvement of regional and local government and the community participation (Eming Young & Linda, 2007: 241). Indeed, it appears that the process of ECCD program, involving the internal and external actors, has brought implication for the effectiveness approach concerning to the children’s needs.

After all, by understanding ECCD as a whole concept, indeed, bring me to look at the condition of the early childhood in Balim Valley, Papua where I lived and worked with an INGO, called World Vision Indonesia (WVI). Specifically, this paper concerns in early childhood development in Balim Valley context.

## **1.2 Problem Statements**

Indonesia has five big islands which have 33 provinces and Papua is the largest province. But in 2003, as declared by Indonesian government, Papua Island has two provinces i.e. West Papua and Papua. In Papua, culture serves as the central life for indigenous Papuan. The diverse culture consists of “250 ethnic

groups with different customs, languages, indigenous practices and beliefs”. Additionally, 70% of the total population of Papua are living in villages and remote mountainous areas in the centre.

According to the census of 2000, the highest population density is in the highlands area with 417,326 people of Jayawijaya<sup>1</sup> regency. The total indigenous population, with a rich cultural heritage, is estimated to be around 66% of the total population” (Yulia, 2008: 2). Balim Valley, located in the highlands of Papua, has community who still practices their culture and traditional life which still exists in terms of beliefs, values, norms, customs, language, social interaction, etc.

Furthermore, Balim Valley community relates everything in their life with culture in terms of making decision, using natural resources, rearing their children, are all cultural related. Indeed, they are very close to nature as well as to the heritage of their ancestor. In spite of modernization era, the way of their life is still very close to their culture, which can be seen from their traditional house where they live, their custom dresses. They do adopt some new cultures because many outsiders come and live in this community however they still preserve their local knowledge as the basic norms or beliefs. I would explain the cultural practices in detail in Chapter 3.

On the other hand, have problem in defining who they are in term of their identity. Regarding to (Smale, 1998: 3), he states that one of the needs of the children is “to feel certain of who they are”. Additionally, in my point of view, the identity problem is surely related with the political-sphere which affects the life of Papuan society. The political-sphere is related with the conflict between Papuan society and Indonesian government. “It has been 35 years since Papua integrated to Indonesia, Papuan societies still have grudge against Indonesia. The discriminative adjudication of Indonesian government and the racial prejudice from the outsiders<sup>2</sup> has pressured the rights of Papuan

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<sup>1</sup> *Wamena* is the capital town of the Jayawijaya district of Indonesia. It is the largest town in Indonesian Papua's highlands, in the Balim Valley and has a population of around 10,000

<sup>2</sup> Outsider is non-Papuan in Papua context. They usually live in Papua Highland area and they tend to have control over the economic status

society. It seems that Papua is not truly as a part of Indonesia” (Yoman, 2007: 136). Clearly, Papuan Society has been perceived as “a primitive society by the outsiders and they pretend to be less freedom of choice. Their traditional ceremonies and cultural events are forbidden in public and this has continued for ages” (SKP Keuskupan, 2006: 39). The problem in the political sphere has merely emerged when Indonesian government want to assist the development of Papuan society. They have allocated budget for the economy, social, health and education sectors to this area increasingly. However, in reality, “ society in West Papua still has experienced violence, racial discrimination, religion, human rights abuse, exploitation of natural resources and deprivation of the land rights in the name of national development” (Yoman, 2007: 155). Balim Valley labelled “red zones” usually has effect when there is conflict related with the issue of separatism.

To sum up, there are contradictions situation faced by children, they live in the area which culture being the central of life, the other hand, its culture has lack of freedom to express in regard to the conflict between Indonesian government and indigenous Papuan. Therefore, by doing this research, it can be seen how far culture affect the life of the Balim Valley context in terms of the child-rearing practices.

Interestingly, according to my work experience as well, I have come across many cases of child injustice. Particularly, in the case of childhood problems, children face with malnutrition, lack of health provision, less quality of education, children have limited or even no spaces express their ideas, for instance, children are not allowed to participate freely and parents often decide their children’s future. Particularly, as (Smale, 1998: 3) pointed out that “ it does not mean all aspects of any culture can necessarily be defended: some elements in cultures damage young children or severely restrict their opportunities for healthy development”. Indeed, it appears this has relation to the culture which gives a burden to the children. For example, in terms of labour division between men and women in Balim Valley family, there has

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<sup>3</sup> assumed by the security forces to function as a base from which OPM (Operasi Papua Merdeka or Papuan Freedom Movement)



emerged inequality influencing children's life. While, in the problem of family security, parents often enforce their daughters to get married earlier although she is still in school-age.

Furthermore, the division of labour within parents in this community affect child development in which women has more burden of responsibility in terms of domestic works and financial security of the family. Consequently, a mother has less time and attention to take care of their children. Indeed, the more respect to the boys rather than to the girls have been creating inequality caring among the children. Hence, in Balim valley, it is clearly seen that girls have more experience on less quality of education. However, I would not discover the problem in terms of gender inequality, although this is also important and need to explore more.

It must be kept in mind that the culture itself make it hard for the people to express more; therefore, therefore through this research, I would like to make a picture how far culture can affect lives in the Balim Valley in connection with child-rearing practices.

In addressing those problems, actually, there are some intervention programs in order to respond to them organized by the government and NGOs. One program implemented by government is Pendidikan Anak Usia Dini (PAUD or Early Childhood Education). The program started in 2002 which its objective, according to the regulation of national education system at The Constitution No. 20, 2003, "is the educational institution for children from 0-6 years old that can help to stimulate their physical and mental development to prepare for the higher education" (The Directorate of PAUD, 2007: 12). In Balim Valley, PAUD started in 2005 and the implementation of the program is more directed to the Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga (PKK or Family Welfare Movement) groups.

Furthermore, in Balim Valley, especially program organized by WVI and churches are around 10 child centres at villages called Pena Emas (Pendidikan Anak Usia Emas or Education for Golden Age) and *Honai* Anak (child-centre based) facilitated by WVI. In addition, some of the child centres are not fully active and they are dependent to the NGOs who introduce the

program in the beginning. Some reasons for these problems, according to evaluation report<sup>4</sup> of WVI Wamena, are lack of community participation to involve in child-centre such as teaching assistance, sending their children to attend the program, unsuitable of payment for the tutor, and tutor incapacity to teach according to the training they have received. Through this reserach I would like to analyze the reason of the low participation of community involvement in the program dedicated to their children sake.

Another problem that emerged from the result of survey in Early Childhood Development (ECD) program is from the first block grant for ECD program since FY1999/2000 and ended in FY2006. The findings were only related with the infrastructure and technical problem, such as few facilities, unequal services in rural and urban areas, lack of public awareness about the benefit of ECD programs, poverty, non-integrated services, unsustainable cooperation between government agencies and poor staffing. What they are missing actually in my point of view is how culture has everything to do with any thing in Balim Valley. Indeed, everything has to be culture related. For example in education factor, According to (Alua, Nico, & Thadeus, 2006: 120), Community define the education as life learning. Education for children has to be natural. Children have to be given opportunity to be challenged on how to learn from their mother nature. It means that all the programs offered must be contextualised; it has to be done traditionally through their nature school and challenged on how to survive and make their own life better.

To conclude, it can be seen there is contradiction of the education perspective between community and government. Hence, by examining the intervention strategies, the gap in these different perspectives could be understood.

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<sup>4</sup> The evaluation has been done by assessment from the field and reported by WVI staff in order to share the experience of facilitating ECCD program at Panel Discussion on April 23, 2008 organized by WVI and the Department of National Education of Indonesia.

### **1.3 Research Objectives and Questions**

The purpose of this paper is to examine the extent to which early childhood's intervention strategies are culturally driven in the community context. I do this by exploring local child-rearing practices in Balim Place Valley with particular focus on early childhood care and development. By doing so, the local and cultural child-rearing practice help examine and provide a clear understanding of government and NGO early childhood's intervention strategies in Balim Valley.

My research main question is: a) Are early childhood's intervention strategies implemented by state and NGOs in Balim Valley, Papua culturally appropriate? In answering this question I explore the process of child-rearing practices and its effect on early childhood in Balim Valley according to local and cultural child development stages. I also examine b) who are the actors involved in the process and how the intervention program benefits the children as well as the challenges?

### **1.4 Case Study**

Specifically, I chose two villages in Balim Valley area named Wiaina at Assolokobal district and Wosiala at Kurulu District. During my stay in Balim Valley, I have visited almost all the villages there and I purposely decided to choose Wiaina and Wosiala because I know these villages can be a representative of Balim Valley community in practising their culture. Wiaina in the east part of Balim Valley represents the population who live together with mix religion which is Protestant, Catholic, and Muslim. As a matter of fact, the location of Wiaina is very close to the town named Wamena. According to Badan Pusat Statistik<sup>5</sup> (BPS or Statistics Data), the closer the villages to the town, the easier the community adopt the different culture. On the other hand, Wosiala is located quite far from the town, and they practice one religion in the community which is protestant. My mentioning about religion is due to the importance of religion and how it gives impact to the daily life of the community. The village where the population is Protestant, they avoid to

practice culture which is irrelevant from the Bible perspective. However, where the population is Catholic or mix religion community, they fully practice the culture and they believe that culture has strong interconnection with human life. The notion of culture in this sense is always related with the supra natural or magical things which adopt from their ancestor.

The other reason why I chose these villages is because there are some programs focusing in early childhood organized by government and NGOs at Wiaina and Wosiala. WVI is one NGO that has facilitated Pena Emas at Wiaina and Honai<sup>6</sup> Anak (child-centre) at Wosiala. The concern to these programs is also because the problem mentioned in problem statement where there is less on the degree of ownership. I am also interested in these two villages because there are two facilitators who have good impact to the activeness of the program.

## **1.5 Methodology**

The methodology of this research is by doing observation and interviews. I decided to do participant observation because I understand that the topic of the research in terms of culture should be understood by observing the natural settings as the key priority. It can minimize the disruption in order to see the normal life of the community (Denscombe, 2007: 148). Another method that I chose was interviews because my work and living experience in Balim Valley has given features to me about the problem and natural settings. Denscombe (1983) and Silverman (1985) pointed out that “interviews involve a set of assumptions and understanding about the situation which are not normally associated with a casual conversation” (Denscombe, 2007: 109). I interviewed tutors, religious leaders, tribe-leaders, the heads of the districts, the managers, coordinators and the development facilitators of WVI. I also did interviews to national and local governments. The instrument of collecting data that used was a digital voice recorder which I used during my interviews and discussions.

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<sup>5</sup> BPS is Badan Pusat Statistik or Statistics data center where located at each regency in Indonesia

The biggest challenge I found while doing this research is in getting information about PAUD. It turns out that even the staffs themselves are not well informed about PAUD. They only know PAUD as a project. They clearly do not know the vision, objective, etc above all the programs.

### ***1.5.1 Primary Data***

#### **(a) Participant Observation**

I intentionally chose to live with the family who has children on the stage of early childhood (0-6 years old) in order to observe the daily routine of the family members' activity in rearing their child. It refers "to gain information about cultures or events which would remain hidden from view" (Denscombe, 2007: 148) The practices of child-rearing that I had observed were in accordance with the specific treatment for the children focus on health care, informal setting for education, the environment setting, and the actors who are involved during the growth and the development of the children. After spending the whole day and night inside the Honai, I could say that the condition in terms of health of Honai is not hygiene and healthy for the children.

#### **(b) Focused group and semi-structured interviews**

I used focused group made of a small group of parents and development facilitators of WVI staffs. Actually, the discussion with the development facilitators instead of data clarification from the field was to collect some information in order to exercise their ability to understand the ideas of child centre-based. Additionally, all the development facilitators are indigenous people who live with the community as well.

On the other hand, I used semi structured interviews for government, local and national level. I prepared the main questions with particular focus on their image of early childhood, the provision of implementing the program, budget allocation, the policy, the monitoring and evaluation of the program, the guarantee of sustainability, the accomplishments and the challenges, etc.

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<sup>6</sup> Honai is the traditional house in Highland of Papua such as Dani tribe in Baliem Valley, Lani tribe in Toli Mountains, Yali tribe in Yahukimo Mountains. (Rapang,

But as the interviews took place, the discussion would go wide and in more details.

### ***1.5.2 Secondary Data***

In order to collect general information of the process and the progress of PAUD, Pena Emas/Honai Anak<sup>7</sup>, I studied some documents from Directorate PAUD as a part of Ministry of Education. I also studied the Summary Report of UNESCO/OECD Early Childhood Policy Review Project understanding the progress of PAUD in Indonesia.

The annual, quarter, and monthly reports of WVI located in Wamena specifically Pena Emas of Wiaima in Kurima Area Development Program (ADP) and Honai Anak of Wosiala in Kurulu ADP. Understanding the program, in my view, often refers to the socio political situation of the community. In relation to it, I have useful information in order to explain the political sphere of Balim Valley from the literature of Presidium Secretary of Papuan council in Jayapura.

## **1.6 Structures of the Paper**

The rest of this paper is organized as follows: Chapter Two describes the theoretical frameworks that inform the paper and provide to analyse the problem statements. The set of Development Niche concept in understanding the process of child-rearing practices in Balim Valley community would be explained in detail. Cultural Approach and ECCD concept is also important in order to examine the early childhood's intervention programs in relevance to the local child-rearing practices in Balim Valley. Chapter Three and Chapter Four would give briefly information of the culture practising in Balim Valley and answer the research question in relation to compatible analysis. The last chapter will provide some conclusions.

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2007: 25)  
<sup>7</sup> child-centre based started by WVI

## **Chapter 2**

# **Analytical Framework: Development Niche, Cultural Approach and Community-Based ECCD Concept**

*Each intervention strategies should be enable children to be what they naturally are, as active agents in their own development (Smale, 1998).*

In this chapter, I would discuss the definition and the relevance of Development Niche and Cultural Approach to understand the process of child rearing practices in Balim Valley. Moreover, I am going to use Community-Based ECCD concepts as a fundamental framework to examine the early childhood's intervention programs.

### **2.1 Development Niche**

In definition, “the development niche is a theoretical framework for studying cultural regulation of the micro-environment of the child, and it attempts to describe this environment from the point of view of the child in order to understand processes of development and acquisition of culture” (Super & Harkness, 1986: 552). More importantly, “development niche: an integrated eco-socio-cultural system to which a child is expected to adapt in the course of development” (Eldering & Paul, 1993:29). It appears that there are many elements that affect the child development as well as environment setting that can be seen from exploring the components of development niche. Three components of major system are “(1) the physical and social settings in which the child lives; (2) culturally regulated customs of child care and child rearing; and (3) the psychology of the caretakers” (Super & Harkness, 1986: 552). Bearing in mind that “the intersection between the culture and the individual can be described not only through the construction of the niche or behavioural setting, but also through interactions between the process of human development and culture” (Harkness & Super, 1983: 222). It means that how far the interaction among the individual with their context is important because culture practiced by the community is one of the structure of the context

(Eldering & Paul, 1993: 28). Equally, the eco-socio-cultural systems experienced by children naturally are not just influenced by the community context, but should be related with the external actors such as the government and NGO who has implemented intervention program for children's needs.

Turning next to the explanation of the components of development niche, exploring physical and social settings would give a frame to describe child in everyday lives. Certainly, B. Whitting (1980) in Super and Harkness (1986: 552) has pointed out that one of the most powerful ways culture influences child development is through providing the settings of daily life naturally. Furthermore, "the structuring of settings in terms of activities set the parameters for the kinds of social interactions which could take place within them, in much the same way as the cast of characters present also sets limits" (Super & Harkness, 1986: 554). Those social interactions can exercise children's agency because in that situation children will start to build their identity and to know their culture introduced to them in the first place. In addition, throughout observing the physical settings, it could shape the child's experience of growing by different activities such as work, play or rest particular in time according to the age. However, the definition of work, play or rest is different and depends on the context. But another point that must also be considered is the virtual of all aspects in physical setting that can be seen from the child-rearing practices (Super & Harkness, 1986: 555). It is clear that understanding child-rearing practices can reflect the influence of the culture in helping children to recognize their context as a part of the community where they live. Indeed, I argue that understanding social settings should be completed with other components such as the customs of the child care and the psychology of the caretakers.

Customs of child care "are sequences of behaviour so commonly used by members of the community, and so thoroughly integrated into the larger culture, that they do not need individual rationalization and are not necessarily given conscious thought" (Super & Harkness, 1986: 555). For instance, in certain area, there is culture that has already existed for ages practiced by the community and if we ask to the community, they have no reason to keep practice it. In my point of view, it always has relation in preserving the heritage



of the community and no doubt how they transfer it to their new generation. Emphasizing to the customs of child care, it also has connection to the behaviour strategies when children of particular ages faced with difficult situation (Super & Harkness, 1986: 555). It means that understanding custom of child care is very important because it leads to the approach in dealing with some challenges from unpredictable situation. When children live in the situation that is familiar with their community, children should not experience with the new things that can create cultural clash.

One final and important point is the psychology of the caretaker in which “provides immediate structure to children’s development through the meaning it invests in universal behaviours and processes” (Super & Harkness, 1986: 557). It means that the life style of the caretaker is giving high influence to the children. Psychological manner of the children is to imitate what they see and hear. Therefore, it is important to understanding the naturalistic observations of the children in confirming children’ experience.

To sum up, those three components operate as a set of system which has interrelation. “The settings, customs, and caretaker psychology each dispose toward the same acquisition and socialization. It is through such reinforcing patterns that culture has its most powerful immediate influence” (Super & Harkness, 1986: 559). Indeed, the notion of culture is a custom that can be used as interconnection to three components of development niche. It necessarily depends on the context of the children where they belong to.

## **2.2 Cultural Approach**

As I pointed out above that Development Niche is influenced by the culture, understanding culture is needed in order to explore the child-rearing in terms of socio-cultural settings, practices and institutions. Institutions refer to family unit as a part of community, government and NGO.

It must be kept in mind that “increasingly, taking local culture seriously can lead to more effective development. Recognition of the role of local cultural context is welcome but it is equally important to recognise the range of cultural and social influences that affect a particular development setting”

(Gould, 2007: 2). It means that it is clearly needed to explore culture not only through understanding the definition and the contents of the culture but also taking into account how far it gives impact to the process of community life in terms of beliefs, norms and behaviour. Indeed, (Super & Harkness, 1986: 547) argue that “culture must therefore include how it gets there and how it functions there.” Indeed, it is clearly important to see that the process of cultural development in terms of how certain community practices culture differently from others in their daily life.

It is important to understand the definition of the culture from different perspective in order to select which kinds of culture that should be used in terms of understanding the local child-rearing practices. The definition of culture according to the Mexico Declaration 1982 is “the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterise a social group [...] not only the arts and letters but also modes of life, fundamental rights of the human being, value systems, traditions and beliefs” (Gould, 2007: 1). Additionally, another definition defined by “four levels tended to be used either as a tool – pre-determined and message-driven – or as a method of participatory cultural engagement and this framework evolved from research about how development policy makers and practitioners relate to culture” (Gould and Marsh, 2004). It consists of (1) culture as context factors specific to local life including beliefs, value systems, history, geography, social hierarchies, gender, faiths, and concepts of time; (2) culture as content including languages, practices, objects, traditions, clothing, and heritage; (3) culture as method, the medium or cultural forms that projects will use to engage/communicate with communities, e.g. drama, dance, proverb, song, music, video, radio or television; (4) culture as expression of the intangible, creative elements of culture that connect with our beliefs, values, attitudes, feelings and ways of viewing the world.” (ibid)

If we look at Development Niche closely, the definition of culture as context and content is more relevant to explore the child-rearing practices because it has connection with those three complements that I explained above.

Furthermore, Beatrice Whiting and John Whiting (1975) in (Rogoff, 2003: 43) introduced a psycho-cultural model in which the development of individual is influenced by their circumstances such as environments, social partners, institutional and cultural systems and values. In terms of child development, I agree that culture has carried a child to experience their circumstances contextually. According to a psycho-cultural model, it “postulated that:

- (1) Feature in the history of any society and in the natural environment in which it is situated influence
- (2) The customary methods by which infants (and children) are cared for in that society, which have
- (3) Enduring psychological and physiological effects on the members of that society, which are manifested in
- (4) The cultural projective-expressive systems of the society and the psyches of its members” (Super & Harkness, 1986: 547).

Therefore, according to psycho-cultural model, in my point of view, it is necessary for the children to know about the culture of the community by the historical story where she/he grows and indeed how the influence of the natural environment in supporting their developmental potentials. This is quite relevant because after all, the actors who involve in doing intervention strategies could have a new perspective to develop their program which is from children’s view.

On the other hand, nowadays, the term ‘culture’ is complex and contested; therefore the perspective that I use to define contextually or culturally appropriate “is based on local variations in children’s experience of growth and change” (Woodhead, 1998: 10). It means that understanding culture should refer to the community context. Local variations refer to there are different culture in community which depend on the location, belief, and the duration of the culture. Indeed, what children explore from the early years is cultural nature of human development. “As a biological species, human are defined in terms of our cultural participation. We are prepared by both our cultural tools and to learn from each other” (Rogoff, 2003: 3)

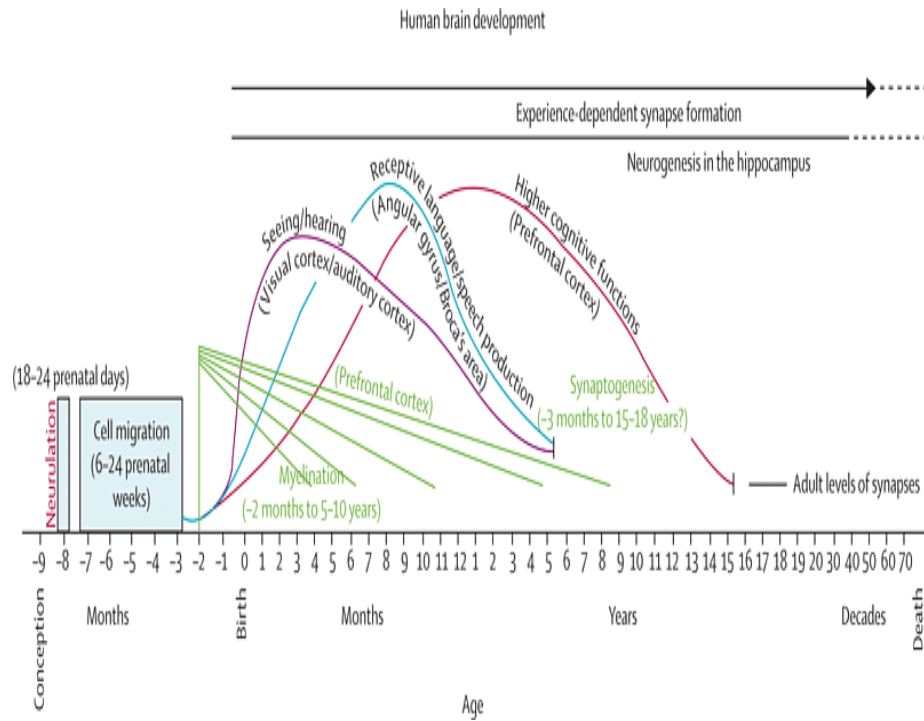
Consequently, the practices of child-rearing would be different either complex or even simple in each community. Culturally appropriate approach of early childhood's intervention program means that all kinds of tools used to educate children should be based on local potentials such as local knowledge, local natural resources, storytelling from the local history, etc. Interestingly, all these local potentials could be developed and reflected in the curriculum of learning process of intervention program. Indeed, "the goal should be mutual understanding, support and cooperation, and recognition of cultural difference" (Woodhead, 1998: 11).

### **2.3 Community-Based ECCD concept**

In definition, it is clear the ECCD is the process of child development stages which is from 0-6 years old exploring the growth and development includes physical, physiological and behavioural pattern. Additionally, "Lev Vygotsky, pointed out that children in all communities are cultural participants, living in a particular community at a specific time in history" (Rogoff, 2003). Thus, the concepts of Development Niche and Cultural Approach are greatly substantial in order to discover the ECCD concept.

Concerning to the early childhood in the human development stage through ECCD is because early childhood is the most crucial age concerning children's developmental potential. According to human brain development, "the first few years of life are particularly important because vital development occurs in all domains" ([www.ecdgroup.com](http://www.ecdgroup.com)). From Figure 1, all domains would be referred to the ability of seeing/hearing, language production and cognitive function which is growing maximally in the period of 0-6 years old. "This period, called Golden Age, is very crucial for the development processes of physical as well as the potentials, such as physical motor dimension, the five sense dimension, social dimension, emotional, and cognitive dimension" (Moelyono, 2008: 16) In this age range, child's potential which is the inherent capacity that children have, can be developed to the greatest degree possible, if this development does not take place a permanent block of the child's potential will occur.

**Figure 1**  
**Process of Human Brain Development**



Source: Sally Gantham-McGregor, et al, *Child Development in Developing Countries 1*, The Lancet, Reprint, p 61, vol 369, UK: Williams Press, 2007.

“Anthropological approaches to culture and human development have been excessively oriented to the ‘final product’ in adulthood rather than focusing on developmental process throughout the life-span” (Super & Harkness, 1986: 552). These phenomena actually happened because the connection of culture and human development usually refers to a development process and exploring the process would be costly and need some extra time as well as energy for the practitioners; hence, they are not eager to follow and observe the development process in order to create appropriate intervention strategies. In contrast, ECCD concept greatly includes a development process as the basis point in concerning to the need of the young children in order to give intervention strategies which is relevant for the children.

To understand ECCD as the holistic terms giving space not only for the children but also for the family as a part of the community it is important to examine ECCD in the community-based. It means that it has value concerning to the community participation which strongly has link together in

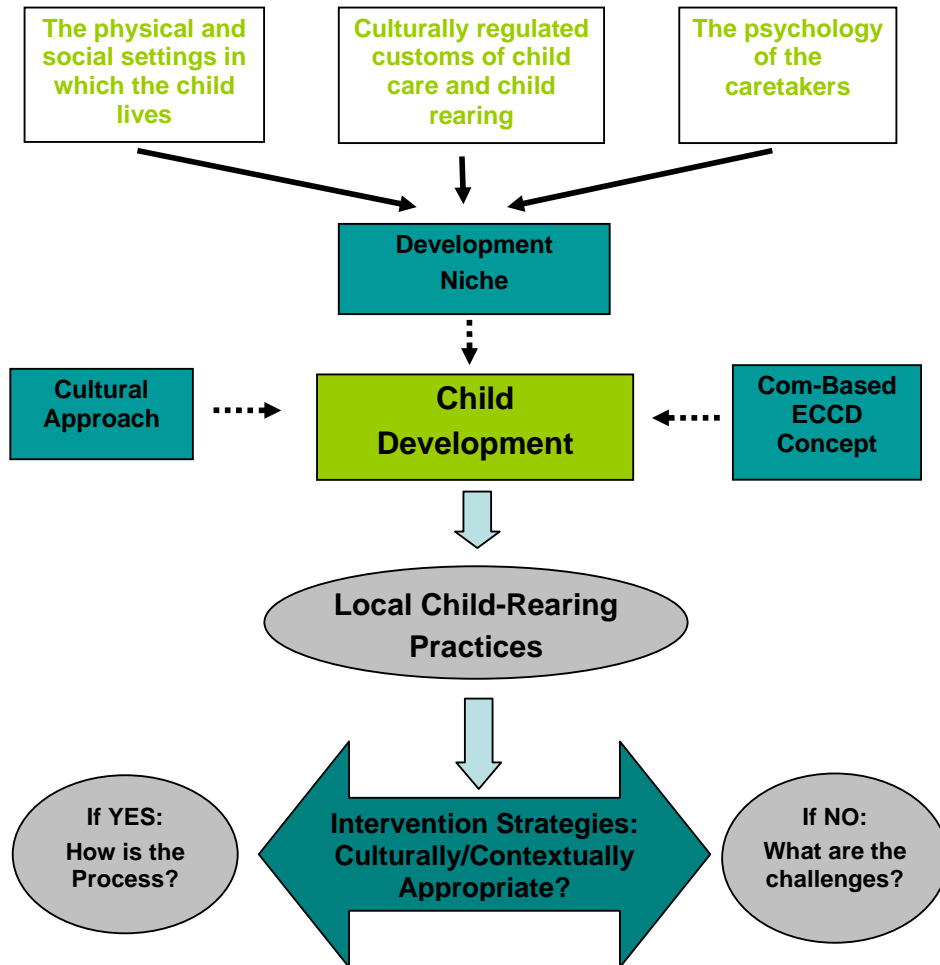
social network among the community. The use of home-based and centre-based spaces is quite often in order to arrange the roles of the family and community. Indeed, centre-based is the place where children can meet with their peers and the facilitators such as teachers/tutors as well as the community to transfer lessons, basic learning, local knowledge, etc. Home-based is the place where children could have time together with their nuclear or extended family in understanding the cultural value, and also where children can transfer the new knowledge learned from centre-based, this process well-known as child to child program.

Furthermore, ECCD which is focus to the involvement of family and community, it greatly has given spaces to elaborate the ideas of creating module or curriculum in centre-based contextually. ECCD also encourages the participation from bottom-up because it is clear that the closest groups who get in touch with children are family unit and community. It also believes that the success of the program is fully influenced by the external actors who concern to develop the quality of the human resource development from the early childhood. Therefore, examining the intervention strategies means exploring how far the external actors understand the substance of ECCD perspective. In order to get a better achievement, it is equally important to the government or national donor funding will let the monitoring and evaluation from the parents and communities' voices in priority rather than from the internal NGOs or donor agencies. It should be understood that "the early childhood institution as a site for democratic practice is unlikely to occur by chance. It needs intention – a choice must be made. And it needs supportive conditions, providing a rich environment in which democracy can flourish."(Moss, 2007: 17) It means that if this program want to work out effectively, it should have good efforts from many sectors including government, NGOs, family unit, community and also from the children themselves in terms of creating appropriate intervention strategies.

## 2.4 The Design of Analytical Framework

To sum up, these three concepts: Development Niche, Cultural Approach and Community-Based ECCD have interconnection and together provide me the tools of analysis in answering the research question.

**Figure 2**  
**The Interconnection of Theory, Findings and Analysis**



Source: Author's own construction

## **Chapter 3**

# **Child Rearing Practices: The Involved Cultures and Actors in Community**

This chapter discovers local child-rearing practices influenced by the culture in terms of values and norms of community in Balim Valley. Likewise, the general information of Balim Valley is important to give certain features in understanding the context. This chapter also explains the progress of early childhood's intervention programs in Balim Valley. Through the ECCD concept, however, would examine the challenges face by the government and NGOs.

### **3.1 The General Context of Balim Valley**

#### ***3.1.1 Topography and Population***

Balim Valley, known as highlands of Papua, is located in the eastern part of Indonesia. "The total area of Papua is 421, 981 km<sup>2</sup> (3,5 times bigger than the island of Java) and consists topographically of mountainous areas in the centre and large areas of swampy land along the coast." (Yulia, 2008: 2) The total population of Papua is around 2.165.435 people (Januari 2007) based on Papuan Statistical Data which is only 1% from Indonesian population.

The main town in the valley called Wamena, is the capital city of Jayawijaya regency located in a valley called Balim Valley. Indeed, "Baliem Valley is positioned approximately 138°30' to 139° East, 3°45' to 4°15' South. The valley measures some 40 miles long and up to 10 miles wide in some places. It is surrounded by mountains that range from 7,500 feet to 10.000 feet high and is largely isolated from the outside world except by air" (Larry Lee, 1974: 5). Balim Valley, according to BPS statistics Jayawijaya regency is mostly hilly, with elevation around 1.500 – 2.000 meters above the sea. The rate of rainfall throughout the year is 177.3 mm with number of rainy days is 23 days/month in Wamena. The approximate temperature is 19.4 °C in which the maximum is 26.3 °C and the minimum temperature is 15.2 °C and the rate of humidity is around 80 %. According to BPS Statistics of Jayawijaya regency in 2007, Jay-



awijaya district has 39 sub-district and 378 villages. The total area is 14.847 km<sup>2</sup> with a population of 233.846<sup>8</sup> people.

Regarding to Appendix 1, it shows that most of the population of Balim Valley is in the range of 0-24 years old. It seems that the number of young people living in this area is higher compared to older people. In fact, it is clearly seen that the age of early childhood is the highest number of population for male or female. Therefore, in my view, it is considerable to take into account the effectiveness of the intervention for early childhood. I do believe that if we want to see the accomplishment of development in certain community, it can be seen from the condition of the children, such as children's behaviour, the condition of health and education. Thus, the extra attention through budget allocation for the early childhood's intervention is greatly valuable.

### ***3.1.2 Socio-cultural Settings***

There are three tribes who live in Balim Valley, consist of Dani tribe, Lani tribe and Yali Tribe. Dani tribe is the largest population who live in the valley. In introduction of one article written by Nico A. Lokobal, he stated that historically, Dani tribe was found by the expedition group headed by Mr. H. A. Lorentz in 1909, then named as *Pasegem*. Followed by military expedition in 1911, they stated 'Goliath Pygmens' as the other name for them. In fact, intensive contact started from 20<sup>th</sup> of April, 1954 through the missionaries from America under the aegis of The Christian and Missionary Alliance (CAMA). Then, in 1956 Dutch started to colonize Papua Island and Catholic churches started in Balim Valley in 1958. Because of the increase contact with outside Balim Valley, there have been drastic changes in their culture. It has contaminated the internal terms such as the cultural paradigm, good values, and the relation of human being, nature and ancestors, which are not alive anymore. There are several elements that I found have influenced the process of child development that still exist in the community as part of the culture, consist of:

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<sup>8</sup> The data is taken from the statistical data of Jayawijaya district. (temporary data, 21 July 2008)

### Tribe conflict

The conflicts of the tribes are relevant to explain for two reasons. Firstly, the victims who suffer the most are women and children. Secondly, it still happens until now in Balim valley. The main cause of this conflict is the destruction of self-esteem of a group of people. Some reasons are adultery with another people's wife, murders<sup>9</sup>, thief<sup>10</sup>, disagreed marriage<sup>11</sup>, *denda*<sup>12</sup> Adat which has not paid yet, land rights<sup>13</sup> problems, etc. They have some materials to fight against the other tribes such as *sege* (spear).

Figure 3

Tribe Conflicts in Balim Valley



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<sup>9</sup> The number of murders in Balim Valley is high because of they like to drink alcohol and when they get drunk they do unconscious things. The conflicts of tribe are also one of the reasons of murders.

<sup>10</sup> Thief is recognized in some cases, such as taking people's wife without permission even though the women agree to do that, to steal *wam* (babi or pigs).

<sup>11</sup> Disagreed marriage could happen when there is not enough dowries have to be paid by man's family. The dowry is usually the numbers of pigs.

<sup>12</sup> *Denda Adat* is a fine because of murders, thief, etc.

<sup>13</sup> Land rights problems usually because of there is no much money or pigs to pay the lands, when it is related with the border of the group's land

## Honai

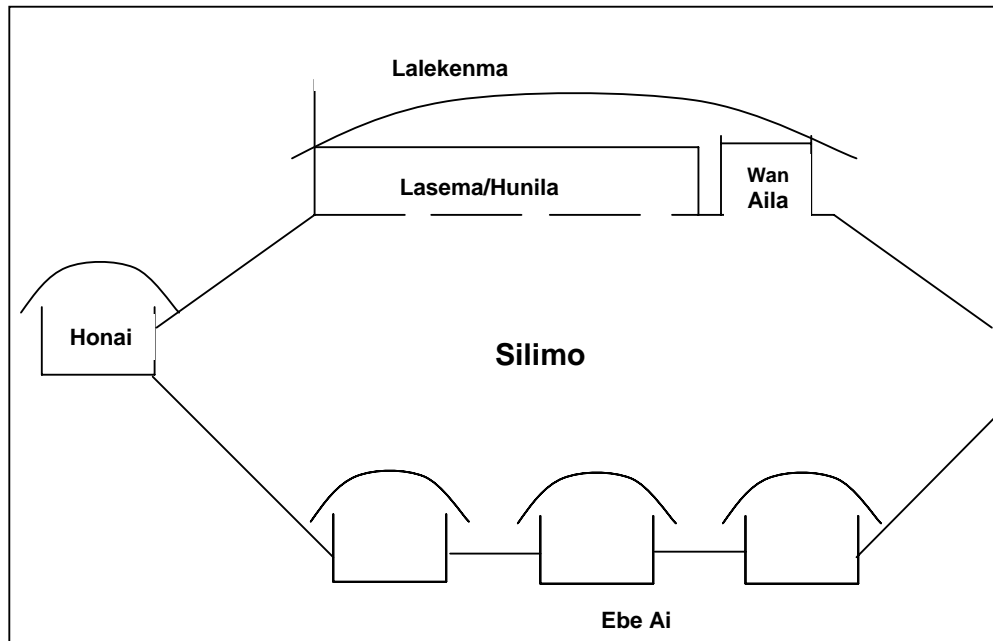
Most of people in Balim valley are living in the *Honai*. *Honai* is the traditional house made by wood, called 'O'. Each kind of woods has different use and they are taken from different places. Three biggest tribes in highlands of Papua, Dani, Lani and Yali tribe live in *Honai*. The design of *Honai* is circular which diameter is 4-6 meter and 5-7 meter of high. The wall is made from woods and the roof is made from the grass called *yaleka*. *Honai* has one door and no window. Inside *Honai*, it has a fire place in the middle which is always lightened in order to make it warm. The fireplace is also a space to cook, as usual, *Hipere*<sup>14</sup> (sweet potatoes), *Wam* (pig), and vegetables. Traditionally, *hipere* cooked by *bakar batu*<sup>15</sup> is more delicious than boiled. Therefore, they continually cook *hipere* in the traditional system. Normally, there are some *Honai* in one clan, consist of Male *Honai* and Female *Honai* which is also for *wam*. A salient aspect of *honai* is that men sleep in group while their children sleep in the female *Honai*. Because women take care of the *wam*, therefore piggery is shared with female *honai*.

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<sup>14</sup> *Hipere* is the main food of Baliem Valley. Normally they cook it by *bakar batu* or boiled it. They eat it in the morning before they go to the garden and in the afternoon when they come back from the garden. *Hipere* is also kept in order as contribution in *Adat* ceremony.

<sup>15</sup> *Bakar batu* is traditional cook of Balim Valley. It has some steps, firstly, it should form a hole through digging, meanwhile burn the stones separately. Secondly, put the stones to the hole apply with grass, then fill the hole with *hipere*. It is continued until some layers which contents are *hipere*, meat (*wam* or chicken), vegetables, corn, etc.

**Figure 4**  
**The Design of *Silimo* (one unit of clan)**



**Captions:**

- Honai* : Male house
- Ebe ai* : Female house
- Hunila* : Kitchen, family meeting
- Silimo* : The house yard
- Wam aila* : Piggery
- Hipirikama* : Garden
- Lalekenma* : Pig's yard

**The cultivation and *Wam***

Their main source of living is based on ordinary framer. Therefore, they are greatly aware of the meaning and function of land for their life. "They believe and instil the ritual relation with the land" (Alua et al., 2006: 118). They cultivate the land traditionally by using shift cultivation. The cultivation is started by cutting and burning the forest to attain new field. Only in a few reachable areas, the people had cultivated the land using fixed or permanent cultivation. Usually, all members of the family joined the farming. Culturally, Balim Valley people are clan-oriented community, they like to do everything together and they value it as their belief. They always start to cultivate the garden in neighbourhood and the harvest would belong to all. In some places, they have ritual ceremony while they start to cultivate their land. It should be lead by a tribe leader which has descendant from the family of previous leader.

The ritual is in the harvest time as well. Instead of farming, people also feed *wam* as the life centre of Balim Valley. *Wam* has the highest value of culture and economy. Normally, *wam* is provided for traditional ceremony, *denda Adat*, or for financial needs of education for their children.

### **Holim and Noken**

These two important tools in community consist of gender classification. *Holim* (*Koteka* or Penis court) as traditional male clothing in the highlands) is worn by male. *Noken* is worn by female. The story of *holim* has a bad experience when “in the period of 1971-1973, the Indonesian government implemented operation *Koteka* which involved members of the Armed Forces and the civil government in activities designed to civilize Papua’s inland communities, and to develop and create specific social, cultural, economic and political conditions.” (Yulia, 2008: 5) It seems that the government dehumanized indigenous men of Balim Valley. They destroyed the human and cultural values of the community having a grudge against the Indonesian government up to now. In some areas in Balim Valley, children wear *holim* and the practice of initiation for boy is symbolized with *holim*.

*Noken* is the traditional bag especially for women. Girls whose age is around 5-6 years old already carry *noken* in their daily times. It is made from tree barks and carried half over the head of women. Women usually carry it to the gardens, markets, church, traditional ceremony and indeed it is a part of their cultural dress. They use *noken* to carry *hipere*, woods, grasses, and the baby. *Noken* also has higher value among the women when they deliver their baby. It would be explained more in the sub-topic of pregnancy. Traditionally, *noken* symbolize feminism where women will feel ashamed if their husband helps them to carry it. If the public acknowledge it, they would be the talk of the town.

**Figure 5**

**Noken**



**The division of labour between men and women**

Understanding the culture in child development is fully related with the division of labour between men and women in Balim context because it would help the practitioners to understand the power relation of the parents that influenced the education of their children pass down from generation to generation. This division reflects gender bias in economic aspect, social interaction, education of the children, and in the religious aspect. Nowadays, men do not really get in touch with household works. Some participants said that it is the condition because since a long time ago, community in Balim valley used to have wars between the tribes. Indeed, men were the groups who protect the village, *honai*, family members, *wam*, and the ancestor's heritages.

In contrast, women spend their time working in the household. After the garden is ready to be cultivated, the rest would be women's responsibility, for instance, to cultivate with *hipere*, vegetables, peanut, carrots, etc. After the harvest time, they should take care of the plants and sell it to the local market. While growing the plants, they also have to take care of their children as a mother and to prepare *hipere* for their family members (see Appendix 2).

### ***3.1.3 Political Setting***

Indeed, in my view, giving briefly information about the political setting is important because it has big impact to the progress of the intervention program not only for early childhood but also for all development intervention from different sectors.

Indonesian government has integrated many development programs though it is not purely for the interest of the human and area development. In response to it, Papuan society has done several movements to fight against the Indonesian government. In fact, the condition in Papua has affected the development process. Balim Valley has been a witness for the political science and human rights abuse continuing in Papua. Surely, "the issue on Papua has a strong international dimension [...] The existence of multinational companies contributes to the international dimension of the Papuan case" (Elisabeth, 2006: 43). It means that the Papuan case has been determined by the state or non-state actors in terms of internationalizing Papua issue, for instance through lobby and diplomatic relations. For instance, when I did my research, there was a commemoration day of Indigenous People. Papuan society came and celebrated it together and it was also attended by the Papuan Movement Organization. It resulted in a conflict because Papuan people raised the Morning Star Flag at the end of the ceremony. One indigenous Papuan from Balim Valley died during the clash between the military and indigenous people. Interestingly, there were strong debates among the Indonesian government and Papuan Council as well as in the international level on the reasons of the accident and its interconnection with the Papuan Movement.

Indeed, I had experienced these kinds of accidents for several times when lived in Balim Valley. Therefore, from my view, in relation to the development programs for Balim Valley community, it is importantly needed to consider the political sphere of Papuan, including for small programs. The conflict against the Indonesian government has happened because they want to have a true identity as human being without any violence and human right abuse. They have tried to address it with some activities. For instance, in 2000, Papuan society organized Papuan Congress to explore the historical mistake in the Papuan integration to Indonesia in 1962. They also evidenced that Papuan society has different race with Indonesian society. “The majority of Indonesian categorized as Malay group and physically Papuan categorized as Melanesian group of Negroid race in Pacific” (Yoman, 2007: 133). Therefore, we should keep in mind that all the programs should be sensitive to the issue of self-determination of Papuan society. For instance, early childhood’s intervention program is not only related to the needs of the children in the notions of health and education, but also to encourage the children to have freedom to express themselves and to have pride identity of Papuan children as human being. Likewise, (Rahab, 2006: 3) pointed out that “after all, the main problem in Papua has to be identified and solved by an approach that reaches the basic problem in that region: self-esteem and the welfare of the people of Papua.”

### **3.2 The Child Cultural Construction in Balim Valley**

Exploring the general context of Balim Valley, specifically the soci-cultural settings, has given a broad understanding that communities have strong relations with culture that can be seen from the explanation of local child-rearing practice below. Indeed, the general context such as political setting and the issue of Pemekaran which is usually related with budget can help to understand the challenges that government and NGOs faced with in implementing the program.

Yano Asso, one of the development facilitator of WVI Wamena gave an interesting statement in accordance with early childhood’s intervention strategies. He said that:



*“after I observed Pena Emas for two years from the beginning, how was the assessment, how to deal with community’s involvement, how to have the relevant tutors for facilitating the children, how to have a great deal of participation from the children, I realized that home-based approach is the first step in implementing the program.”*

In my point of view, it means addressing the problem of the early childhood should start by assessing the local child-rearing practices. By doing so, the program will be based on the capital of the community. Home-based approach is really appropriate for children in early childhood stage due to the time allocated at home rather than outside. Indeed, “the initiative of home-based are because early childhood spend most of their time with the family, some limited access of information and resource in life skill, and early childhood has higher risks in their growth and development compared with children who has got involve in kindergarten school.” (Moelyono, 2008: 10)

Regarding to examine early childhood’s intervention strategies, the child cultural construction in Balim Valley is explained by the child development stage concept. Indeed, it is started from the conception in birth (how the process, how the involved cultures and actors influence the process) and continued to the next stages.

### ***3.2.1 Pregnancy, infant and ubule***<sup>16</sup>

Exploring this period of stage, I mostly used the interview data at Wosiala village. In Balim valley, *mama*<sup>17</sup> (mother) notices that she is pregnant usually in the age of two months, as in universal characteristics, when she does not experience menstruation. Consequently, she has no sexual relation with *bapa*<sup>18</sup> (father) in period of pregnancy. Coming to the age of six months, *mama* would go to *ubule* (traditional midwife). Culturally, each village in Balim valley has *ubule* who has experiences in helping pregnant women. There are two *ubule* at Wosiala village. And they actually do not have special medical equipment for their works; however they just use their hands to feel the movement of the

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<sup>16</sup> *Ubule* is an elder woman taking care of pregnant woman and helping the process of delivery of her baby. Culturally, the transferred capability is from generation to generation and it perceives as a gift.

<sup>17</sup> *Mama* is a general call to a woman. It is used for married women and elder women.

baby's body by touching the *mama's* womb. Then, they would know whether the baby is normal or not. Indeed, normal refers to the baby's position in the womb.

It is quite often at Wosiala village *ubule* can discovered problems in the baby's position. Hence, *mama* should come to *ubule* every week and meanwhile she is suggested to have intercourse with her husband for several times until the *ubule* says that the baby's position is already normal. Regularly, *mama* visits *ubule* one time in two weeks. Interestingly, when there is problem in the womb, *ubule* would suggest her to go to the waterfall, around 1 meter high, to have a massage throughout the water. Any waterfall will do, and after that *mama* should come and visit *ubule*. Additionally, *ubule* could be paid by money, *noken*, *wam* and sembako (the nine basic necessities); that will be given after the delivery of the baby.

After the delivery, the placenta has to be taken with the baby. Actually this is quite different with the process in hospital where the placenta will be cut before the baby is taken away from the womb. Somehow, in Balim tradition, they believe that *mama* will die when the placenta is taken away without cutting it before. They also have special equipment to cut it down, called *jagat* (small bamboo) and *ubule* is the only one who is allowed to cut the placenta.

Customs of child care in Baliem Valley is very complex. In accordance with (Super & Harkness, 1986: 555), they stated that customs sometimes do not make sense for the community who practices it; however, they believe that it can give positive impact for their life. Indeed, taking for the practices of pregnancy process in Balim Valley, it seems to me that having a massage in the waterfall during the period of pregnancy is not reasonable. However, they believed in this custom because it has been practiced in long periods and they survived through it. Another example which is very relevant to the characteristic of customs which is mechanism institution, they have tradition ceremony for 7 days after the baby was born. The role is some women from the village or outside villages would bring *noken*, *hipere*, vegetables, *wam*, etc. All of them would be preserved during the ceremony. Interestingly, the

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<sup>18</sup> *Bapa* is a call to a man. It is used for married men and elder men.

substitution of *noken* among women has big meaning for them. For example when women bring *noken* to *mama* who just delivered her baby, she would expect that she will get the same treatment in the future when she delivers her baby.

In the notion of customs, community believes that a baby could not be carried outside *honai* before the ceremony to avoid bad effects for the baby. Therefore, the baby would be placed inside the *noken* as a safe place for them. However, in my observation, inside the *noken*, it seems to limit the baby's breathing process. After the ceremony, the baby could be carried to church, market, garden, etc. And during one to two years the baby would be placed inside the *noken*. In addition, *mama* only feed the baby with breast milk from the conception to one year. And, nowadays, few *mama* give porridge that they buy from the market; however it is only for the family who has more money.

### **3.2.2 Yekerek and their image**

After one year old, *mama* bring the child, named *yekerek*, to the *dukun* again, one time per week, to massage their legs and hands in order to have the normal walk of the baby. In this age, child gets more involved with their *mama* although she has to do many activities. On the other hand, in the age of 3-4 years, *yekerek* usually would take care of their siblings (older sisters or brothers) and *teteh* (grandparents). However, mostly *yekerek* spend their times with their mother especially in the morning, afternoon and evening when they sleep<sup>19</sup>. *Yekerek* also spent most of their time in mix friendship with children from different age and sex in the same neighbourhood villages.

In Balim valley context, the introduction of folk stories started when children at the age of 3-6. The stories told by the parents are related with the situation from a long period of time, for instance, the conflicts between tribes, land rights problems, advices from the ancestors, etc. I remembered one of my field workers in Wamena when I was working there. His name is Hofni and he is from Hitigima village. After a discussion with him in term of field work, we

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<sup>19</sup> Yanggerek sleep in female *honai* both for boys and girls. However, after the process of initiation (for several areas) boys have to move to male *honai*.

decided to send him to work at Seima village where the location is close to Kurima district. Several years ago, there was a tribe leaders' conflict between Hitigima and Kurima. It was a past story however the community from Hitigima, until now, still could not feel free to pass by the root of Kurima. Hofni still feel the same fear and he said that he knew the story when he was at 5-6 years old. Indeed, he mentioned that the story was told continuously until he gets older.

Instead of story telling, *mama* would introduce their daughter how to make the *noken*, and *bapa* would introduce their son how to make *sekan* (wooden bracelet), *sikhe* (bow) and *marle*<sup>20</sup> (arrow) as well. Indeed, the way of making *noken* and arrows would be taught after the age of nine. In fact, girls could not make an arrow and boys could not make a *noken*.

Importantly, children in the age of childhood are generally very active and it is the increase of sense of knowing of the new things. While there is settings both physical and social aspects, it is true that adults “determine the kind of interaction children have the opportunity and the need to practice.” (Super & Harkness, 1986: 552) However, in my view, according to *yekerek* developmental process it looks that there is no opportunity to say no in terms of destructing their development. One good example is the story of Hofni, it is good for *yekerek* not to hear that kind of story because then children feel the grudge against Kurima community.

In terms of child development stage, participation in the work of the household is very dominant. Indeed, there is a division of labour for *mama* and *bapa* to teach their children. At the age of above 5, *mama* would teach their daughter all things related with her works, for instance, planting *hipere*, how the way to pull up *hipere* and vegetables in harvest time, washing the *hipere* in the river, cooking *hipere*, lighting a fire and how to take water from the river or water sources. On the other hand, *bapa* have to teach their son, for instance, to build the *Honai*, to open the garden, how to hold the hoe, how to build a fence, and how to make piggery. In terms of helping men to build the *bonai*, children

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<sup>20</sup> Sikhe and marle are the most important materials when it has conflicts between tribes. It is also used to kill wam when it is in Adat ceremony, and hunting.

help to hold the twine in order to tide the woods. Sometimes, if *mama* is already dead, *bapa* could teach the daughter about some works at the garden.

### ***3.2.3 Stage Transition and the Effect***

According to cultural ceremony, *yekerek* is allowed to attend *mawe* (mass marriage), crematorium<sup>21</sup> activity, and *etaye* (mass dance). However, they could not attend the meeting of making decision, for instance, meeting for *mawe*. *Yekerek* and women who have not married yet could not follow this meeting. Indeed, it is only for men and elder women.

In terms of transition, there are different name for *yekerek*. If it is a small girl, it is named *holak yekerek*, and for a small boy named *elege yekerek*. The transition from *yekerek* to *salisik* (youth for girls) and *yekerek* to *alage* (youth for boys) is called *benavi liakinafilagi legaikba*. At Kurulu district, the transition being *salisik* is recognized by her first menstruation while being *alage* is recognized by the growth of mustache. Each transition has different kinds of cultural ceremony for *salisik* called *hotari* and at that time, they will wear *noken* on her head. And for *alage*, the transition name is *apwaya*. The ceremony is only one day and *salisik*'s mother and other women is the most important people who follow this ceremony. In contrast, for *apwaya* ceremony it shall not be attended by his father however *alage*'s uncle and grandfather is the most important. *Wam* or *noken* in these two ceremonies would be given to family who gave *noken* or helps during their delivery.

After the transition, more importantly, the participation in the household has increased for them. And usually parents perceive them as an adult. When the request of marriage from the parent comes, it means that parents have seen them as adults. Parents recognize them not as *salisik* but *tugum* (adult for women), as well as *alage* become *sogue* (adult for men). Actually, there is no exact age to recognize the transition period.

Another impact of this transition is the oppression from parents to marry their daughter as soon as possible. This is related to the dowry that will

be received by the family when they marry their daughters. *Wom esokoba* (dowry) dowry is *wam* around 5-10 and because *wam* is the symbol of wealth family, consequently, the more the family has *wam*, the more people would respect them as a wealthy family.

On the other hand, for *sogue*, the transition means many things for them. Their parents or grandparents would start to test him whether he could be trusted to keep family secret or not. Traditionally, the family secret should be shared to only one young man in family. *Sogue* as a chosen-son have to have a leadership skill. It does not matter oldest, middle or youngest son as long as the *sogue* can keep the secret strictly.

### ***3.2.4 Local Child Rearing Practices in Balim Valley: An Alternative Approach***

After all, comparing child-rearing practices in Balim Valley with the five stages of Child Development developed by PLAN International Philippines (2001), show that the definition of childhood in Balim Valley community is socially constructed. By name, child development has three names recognizing the stages such as *yekerek* for 0-6 year old, *salisik/elege* for 6-12 years old and *tugum/sogue* for 12-20 years old. However, by the process in relation to the culture, it has seven stages that can be seen from the Table 3.

Regarding to Table 3, there is several important points that should be taken into account which can be useful to understand the process of child development in Balim Valley. It consists of involved actors, culture as content/context and involved natural resources. First of all, it gives clear clues about the actors who are directly involved in the process of child development such as *mama* and *ubule*. Likewise, it is also important to take into account that the program should address the whole aspect of the child development especially during the conception, birth and first years which is related to *ubule*. The intervention could be related with their skills, facilities, rewards, etc. In fact, practically, most of the health program refers to the baby and the mother.

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<sup>21</sup> In Balim valley, people who die would have to be cremated. It is very rare to see a cemetery at there. If doing so, it is because of the request of the person before his/her death.

However, in terms of Balim Valley context, addressing the *ubule* is equally important.

**Table 1**  
**The Relation of Cultural Practice and the Process of Child-Rearing**

No. of The Stages	Stages by Process	Child's Experience	Involved Actors in Community
1	Prenatal Period (conception to birth)	During in mama's womb Mama visits ubule 1 time/week No intercourse with bapa except when there is an advice from ubule in order to normalize the baby's position	mama, ubule, bapa
2	Birth to 7 days	Placenta should be cut after the baby is outside the womb; if not mama would die Could not be brought outside honai before 7 days symbolized through organizing of ceremony	only women for the process of delivery, men for arranging the ceremony
3	After 1 year	Named holak yekerek for girls, elege yekerek for boys Both holak and elege sleep in female honai	mama, ubule, bapa, relatives <sup>22</sup>
4	3-6 years	Participate in the works of household based on gender commonness History telling by parents or other relatives	mama, bapa, relatives
5	Above 6 years	Transition from yekerek to salisik for young girls, elege for young boys Boys move to male honai	mama, bapa, relatives
6	9 years	Apprenticeships based on gender Take more responsibility (household works and caring the siblings)	mama, bapa, relatives, siblings
7	Adolescence	Celebrated after first menstruation for woman named tugum, after the emerge of moustache for man as sogue marriage pressure for tugum, leadership practice for sogue Parents tell secret stories of the family	mama, bapa, relatives, friends

Source: Primary Data (2008)

From Table 3, it can be seen that the mapping of culture as a content and context (Gould and Marsh, 2004) period information on several findings known from the cultural stories such as ancestor heritage, land rights problems, conflict between tribes, ceremonial party that can be attended or not particularly for children, etc. It means to me that (hi) story telling is surely familiar among the children. I remembered when I was involved in local child's potential mapping at Kurima ADP<sup>23</sup>, we asked the children to create their own tools called Alat Pendidikan Educatif (APE or Education Toolkits) from local materials such as clay, grass, wood, etc. There were many APEs created by

<sup>22</sup> Relatives refer to grandparents, uncle and aunt who have big influence for the decision of dowry, tribe leaders, neighbourhood in one clan.

<sup>23</sup> Kurima ADP (Area Development Program) is one of program funded by WVI Wamena. I was as Community Development Coordinator at Kurima ADP.

children, for instance, *honai*, cars, *wam*, gun, mobile phone, plane, etc. I surely understood that the APE was created based on their experience of seeing all that kinds of toolkits. After all, the facilitator started to tell stories using all the APEs related with their daily life. Indeed, children was influenced by the story and, as my observation, they used to have the story telling from their relatives. Therefore, I recognize, according to intervention strategies, it is important to create the module and curriculum which is sensitive to the issue of community by story telling as a part of the cultural contents.

Nature is very important for Balim Valley community in terms of interaction, beliefs and functions. For example, in the period of pregnancy and infancy in Balim Valley, the use of waterfall is used to massage mama's body when she finds problem in her pregnancy. Actually, there is no exact reason for this, but this is already a custom for the community which they practice it continually. Likewise, community nurture the forest and the land carefully. They believe that forest and land has "spiritual impact for their daily life" (Alua et al., 2006: 118). More importantly, *hipere* and *wam* have been dependent to the relation with nature. The seed of the *hipere* could not be sow if the land is not produce well. Indeed, *wam* is also dependent to the nature because in Balim Valley, *wam* lives in outdoor farming system.

The household materials such as *noken*, *jagat*, *holim*, *sekan*, *marle*, *sikebe*, are made from natural resources. Indeed, the cultural life of the community is really dependent to those kinds of materials. Moreover, in terms or intervention strategies, natural conservation is need to be considered in creating the module or program for the early childhood education. It is also necessary to keep the philosophy of the nature that is reflected in their culture by creating the curriculum which is sensitive to it.



## Chapter 4

### External Actors Doing Intervention Strategies: Are they culturally appropriate?

*“All culture see children’s development in moral terms, but there are contrasting ideas both about what behaviours should be encouraged in children and how best to facilitate their acquisition.” (Ansell, 2005: 69)*

This chapter would explore the characteristic of intervention strategies organized by the government and NGO which is WVI. It briefly describes the progress information of the program. After understanding the local child-rearing practices and with the ECCD concept, this chapter explains what the challenges faced by external actors.

#### 4.1 PAUD

PAUD has been started in 1998 supported by the World Bank. It has been implemented particularly for the poor in underdeveloped villages in the Province of Bali, South Sulawesi and West Java. Officially, the Regulation Law No.20, 1998 about Educational System in Indonesia, says that PAUD covers the age of children from 0-6 years old. In order to respond to it, the Directorate General of Informal Education and Youth Affairs of Department of National Education of Indonesia facilitated a meeting held on February 21, 2002 attended by representatives from government institutions, academicians, and practitioners (childcare, playgroup). In the same time, “it was agreed that February 21, 2002 was the historical milestone of the establishment of Forum PADU” (FORUM PADU, 2004: 115). More importantly, “philosophy permeated in the establishment of Forum PADU is that development of early childhood covers various aspects with multi discipliner and multi dimension approach, related the aspects of health, nutrition, economy, education, and psychology” (FORUM PADU, 2004: 113). It means the approach of the program is holistic. It also should be handled by many sectors.

There are some programs implemented earlier and are known as formal and informal programs. The formal programs are Taman Kanak-Kanak (TK or

Kindergarten) and Raudhatul Afthal (RA or Islamic kindergarten) targeted to children age 4-6 years, and non formal programs consist of Kelompok Bermain (KB or Playgroup) and childcare centres targeted to children ages 2-6 years who are not served by formal programs. Pos Pelayanan Terpadu (Posyandu or Integrated Health Posts) which focus on health and nutrition, Bina Keluarga Balita (BKB or Infant Family Welfare), and a mother's education program are categorized as informal. However, in Papua Island, practically those programs only exist in urban areas, such as Jayapura, Merauke, Biak, and Wamena. In Balim Valley, education for early childhood is very limited, and the formal programs are basically organized by the "private initiatives" like churches and NGOs. It is only four TKs in Wamena and one TK in Kurulu district.

Furthermore, in December 2006, the number of staffs in the Directorate of PAUD is 76 persons in structural level, as staffs and temporary technician and security. Additionally, the Directorate PAUD has planned the Grand Design of PAUD 2007-2015 which purpose is to give feature for the leader of the Department of National Education, PAUD staffs, etc in order to guide the policy of PAUD in Indonesia. The donor funding for PAUD program is from three sectors, such as World Bank, Dutch Trust Fund, and from the Government budget.

Regarding to the history of PAUD, it is clear that some actors have been involved in this program, such as government, donor funding, community, family and the children. However in terms of decision making, government and donor are dominant actors in determining the program, for instance they have no assessment for PAUD when it started.

## **4.2 Pena Emas/Honai Anak**

The introduction of Pena Emas/*Honai* Anak (child-centre) was started in several villages included Wiaina and Wosiala since two years ago. WVI Wamena as the pioneer of this program started them with assessment. Tutors have responsibility to facilitate children. Again, the learning process is quite informal and the involvement community is the more important. On the other hand, there are only two child-centres that are active till now.

Historically, it was started through an assessment in September 2005 doing mapping for child's potentials in order to find out the educational tools from the local materials. The process of mapping was to develop the models that can empower the children and parents to develop child potentials. It needs to create new things but just facilitate the communities to develop what they have already had. Generally, several reasons why child-centres were started are because there were no preschools in rural areas and many mothers are breadwinner in family, according to monitoring and evaluation document from WVI.

The objective of Pena child/centre has strong relation to the vision and statement of WVI which is "our vision for every child, life in its fullness; our prayer for every heart, the will to make it so". Life in its fullness refers to the accessing the children developmental potentials. Hence, its objective is to ensure the community development by understanding the children' rights reflected from the learning process at Pena Emas/*Honai* Anak. (ECCD socialization presented by Moelyono for WVI Staffs in Wamena).

In addition, there are several places called *Honai* Anak after the first *Honai* Anak at Wosiala village was started, however when I did my research it has only one place which has one tutor. The development facilitator of WVI Wamena should teach at *Honai* Anak before he found someone to replace him. It was difficult for him to teach at *Honai* Anak because he has main job as a WVI who that was responsible in organizing the community and the sponsorship program. Actually, in the beginning, the tutors were the students who are studying in Wamena at senior high school. They were attending the training organized by WVI Wamena and they were encouraged to practice what they learn from the training at *Honai* Anak. It had continually worked out. However, nowadays, they did not teach anymore. One big issue for them is because they are underpaid. During interview of one student who used to teach at *Honai* Anak, she said that they have difficulty to manage their time because they still have to go to school and the location of *Honai* Anak is far from Wamena. She said, first of all, she liked to involve, but because the salary is not really appropriate compared to what they have been sacrificed, they decided to quit from it.

Regarding to the history and the process of implementing child-centres it is clear that there are actors involved in this program such as NGO staff, government, community, family and the children. Therefore, in the process, the involvement of the family and the community has contributed more than other actors. However, it still could be found that there is lack of community participation in the program as one of the challenges.

### **4.3 The Challenges and Recommendations**

#### ***4.3.1 Challenges: Lesson learned from PAUD and Pena Emas/Honai Anak***

PAUD and Pena Emas/*Honai* Anak have brought benefits in terms of giving awareness to the family and community through socialization. Its benefit can be seen when parents encourage their children to attend the program. Meanwhile, if we see from the objective side there are still huge gaps between the objectives and the practices. Many things have to be addressed in terms of the challenges faced by the actors as an institution in community context. In addition, actors as the agent of changes in community can refer to internal i.e. family unit and external actors are the government and NGOs. Certainly those actors have interplay in order to understand the challenges among them. In brief, Table 4 explains the challenges between actors such as among the institutions or with other institutions.

**Table 4**  
**The Challenges in Institutions as Agent of Changes**

Institution Name	External		Internal
	Government	NGO	Community
<b>Government</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- lack of knowledge of the ECCD perspective (pretend program as 'a project')</li> <li>- budget allocation for program (centralized in province)</li> <li>- program as a project</li> <li>- human resource (staffs who responsible for the program has no background in education sectors)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Standardization (lack of coordination between institution)</li> <li>- Dependent to the funding (INGOs)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- top-down approach (no assessment to start the program, no involvement from the family in evaluation)</li> <li>- no respect of diversity among different society (standardization)</li> <li>- lack of facilities (intentionally create less opportunity, related with political settings)</li> </ul>
<b>NGO</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Over lap function in the field (NGO doing State's responsibility)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- budget allocation for program</li> <li>- lack of knowledge of ECCD perspective bureaucratic-sphere at work place (value: talk and discuss as a family)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- limited time and funding to facilitate the tutor in terms of skills and create APE</li> <li>- partial approach, by doing assessment without full implementation</li> </ul>
<b>Community</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- difficult to representative him/her self as local people work as government</li> <li>- lack of trust because of conflict (the issue of political settings)</li> <li>- location of the program in urban area rather than in rural</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- lack of participation (the benefit is not appropriate for them)</li> <li>- dependent to NGO (perceive NGO has a lot of money)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- awareness of the importance of ECCD program (TK is expensive, directly to SD is more effective)</li> <li>- limited of human resources</li> <li>- value: would not follow a new thing before seeing and knowing the results/impacts of it</li> </ul>

Source: Primary Data

In this section, regarding to Table 4, the interplay among the institutions as external and internal actors will be described.

**Between external actors**

First, the explanation is started from the challenges between government and NGO. The notion of standardization is the big issue in this part. Standardization means that there is lack of synergizing the paradigm and approach in manifesting the program particularly in PAUD is the relation between government and World Bank as the major donor. The approach is quite internationalized in order to cover the interest of donor. The parameter of achievement is mostly in terms of quantity rather than quality. The dependency to the funding has created lack of contextual approach from the Indonesian government. Thus, government has implemented the same

program in each place in Indonesia, for example they found that PAUD is quite successful in Java, then therefore it was assume that it would be successful in Papua as well as. Another example, data from my interviews, when they explained about the achievement of PAUD, it started with the number of building that they have built as a class for PAUD program.

Likewise, the challenges of external actors also can be seen from NGO to government. It is true that the role of NGOs as parts of civil society is to participate in checking the function of government in implementing some program properly. They function as a representative of society is to emphasize to government its responsibility. Civil society including NGOs, according to Diamond, Linz and Lipst (1989) is “just as democracy requires an effective but limited state, so it needs a pluralistic, autonomously organised civil society to check the power of the state and give expression democratically to popular interests.” However, in fact, there is over lap in doing the program. NGOs, many times, do program which should be done by government. For instance, the distribution of book from NGO to some schools in Wamena, in my view, it should be the responsibility of the government because they have budget allocation specifically to provide books in each school.

#### **Inside each external actors**

Turn next to the challenges inside the government and inside NGO, the lack of knowledge of ECCD perspective is the most important challenge. Among the government staffs, they pretend the program as a new project for them. It means that it has new funding and new benefit for the own interest of the staffs. Additionally, when I did my interview to government staff, they usually started to explain it from budget, and they miss to explain the planning, process of monitoring and evaluation of the program. They clearly do not know the vision, objective above all the program. In my opinion, problems happen due to lack of knowledge of PAUD which the government staff and NGO staff who has responsible of this program come from different educational background. For example, some of them has no experience with education issues.

It must be kept in mind that the challenges inside the NGO are also related to the bureaucratic-sphere faced by the development facilitators. By interviewing one of development facilitators of WVI Wamena, he explained how he feels working under pressure because the way his senior merely giving direction as a command. I found that most of the development facilitators have protested the leadership of their supervisors, such as the coordinators and the managers. Furthermore, according to them, this condition is contradicted to the values of culture in Balim Valley in terms of relations. One value that Balim Valley community has is they greatly interact with people when they feel friendly and comfortable into the circumstances. For instance interaction inside *bonai* is culturally appropriate because people sit and discuss together as a family.

#### **Between external and internal actors**

Apart from these, other factors must be taken into account is the challenges between government and community and between NGOs and community. If we look at government and community more closely, the notion of standardization that I explained above also gives negative impact to the community. Standardization to each place in Indonesia means there is no respect to the diversity in terms of cultural variety. Similarly, top-down approach is very obvious in which government rarely do their new program by doing assessment that can represent the context. Regarding to the child rearing-practices that I explained in Chapter 3, it is really obvious how culture influence the life of community even though from early childhood. Indeed, how the natural resources has positive impact to the process of child development of Balim Valley children.

In the same way, lack of facilities is also as a big challenge between government and community. It appears lack of facilities in the villages creates less opportunity for the villagers. Then, this condition makes the community refer it to their position as inferiority complex. In my view, for the community, they believe that it has relation with the perspective of Indonesian government that perceive them as primitive society. Consequently, it exactly creates less educational opportunities. The community feel sceptic and they do not want to

obtain higher education. They think that there is no big matter or changes when they obtain education because there is no opportunity for them after school for example having a good job. Similarly, if they keep obtaining education, it is just to understand how to create a proposal for bringing money to their interest which is nowadays it is usually practiced in Wamena. In my point of view, creating less opportunity to community is to enforce community to see the education as material purpose only where it is very conflicting with the education concept of Balim Valley. For them, education is the process to give opportunity to be challenged on how to learn from their mother nature (Alua et al., 2006: 120) and to encourage community in a social relation unit that is dependent each other (Yoman, 2007: 162).

Fundamentally important is the challenges between NGO and community. NGO who has facilitated the program first place, has limited time and funding to train the tutors. It appears, in my view, there are many programs that NGO should achieve. The concentration to other programs as well as sponsorship program has created difficulty to maintain them together. Certainly, the partial approach from the NGO is also as a challenge because they did assessment but it is has lack of implementation in terms of plan of action.

### **Between Internal and External actors**

So far the explanation has been concentrated on the challenges among government and NGO to community, but another point must also be considered in the challenges from community side to government and NGO. To begin with the challenges of community in relation to government is more to the lack of trust of community to government. In my view, it has relation to the political-sphere where the experience of community how violence and human rights abuse has been emerged in Papua including Balim Valley. Because this issue has not resolved effectively yet from Indonesian government, the existing conflict usually gives negative impact to all programs especially program organized by Indonesian government.

Furthermore, the implementation of the PAUD is “mostly provided in urban areas and target children who are better off” (Sardjunani, Ace, & Erika,



2006: 236). This reality is emphasizing that there is less opportunity for community who lives in the village. It seems that the program create horizontal inequality in the community. For example when the government states that the number of people who obtain education is increasing, it should be checked because usually the data refers to community who lives in urban areas only.

As I pointed out above in Problem Statement (Chapter 1), the problem of Pena Emas/*Honai* Anak is the lack of community participation. This condition is one of the challenges from the community to NGO. Indeed, it seems that NGO do not give appropriate benefit to them. For example when a tutor spend her time to teach at Pena Emas/*Honai* Anak, she is underpaid by NGO. Another challenge is that community is dependent to the NGO in terms of their image of NGO. They presume that NGO has a lot of money and when they pretend themselves as a poor community, the NGO will always give assistance to them. The image has created difficulties to achieve the development progress.

#### **Between internal actors**

One final and important point challenges is lack of awareness. The notion of lack of awareness is quite high not only in rural areas but also in urban areas. For instance, staff of Directorate PAUD, stated that the reason why parents do not send their children to kindergarten because they think that the school fee is too expensive for them, and also they assume that directly sending their children to Elementary School is more effective. Another challenge is there is lack of human resources in the community who can teach or facilitate the children.

To sum up, the challenges among the external and internal actors has been emerged mostly because of lack of coordination and the knowledge of ECCD.

### ***4.3.2 Recommendation: Toward alternative perspective on early childhood's intervention strategies***

After examining the challenges, it can be said that the early childhood's intervention strategies needs to be re-designed in terms of the interplay among the government, NGO and community. Hence, some recommendation are provide in order to provide the culturally driven solution as to address the challenges of intervention program.

#### **Understanding the Culture**

Undoubtedly, Balim Valley community has strong interrelation with culture and nature that can be seen from the local child-rearing practices. They have many rich experiences and such materials can be easily found in their environment. For example my experience when I joined an assessment of mapping children's potentials. The collected data and information was from context condition. Indeed, we collected the information with cultural approach which became an appropriate method to discover and explore children's potentials. The mapping was not from children themselves but also from the parents' potentials. Children used clay, small branch of the tree, leaves, liquid color that only can find at certain village, etc to create educational toolkits. And of course, the more creative the facilitators to create story or games, the more useful all the educational toolkits created by the children. Obviously, it does not need to create new things but just facilitate community to develop what they have already had.

Moreover, in relation to education and natural resource, bearing in mind that Balim Valley children need life learning rather than studying. For instance, the need of life skills is more important for them instead of going to school. On the other hand, the education system in Indonesia is very formal as well as less of creativity. This system make student to stay inside class for the whole day and follow specific curriculum which has very few activities done outside class in the natural space. Therefore, in my opinion, intervention strategies such as PAUD and Pena Emas/*Honai* Anak, should develop the curriculum from the rich natural resource of Balim Valley. Indeed, before starting the program, it is greatly needed to start with an assessment in

addressing the cultural practices particularly in early childhood and cultural change and relation among community.

Interestingly, a mother said, during the interview, that the reason taking care of their children carefully is in order to have 'good' children in the future. She defined 'good' is in terms of protecting the culture and ancestor heritage as well as having better job for family's financial security. It is clear that parents send their children to experience with education in terms of investment for protecting their culture. Hence, when we relate it with the approach of intervention strategies, it is conflicted each other. For instance the objective of education intervention is to create a better human resource development in order to contribute in work place to increase the economic growth (Critical approach of development in World Development Report, 2003). In respond to this contradiction, in my view, the external actors should understand the culture that community value in their life, for instance how they define 'good' for a child in their context. Regarding to ECCD concept, the involvement of community is the key point to succeed the intervention program. It means how community practice their culture to their children has be taken into account. Thus, the intervention would maintain effectively, for instance, in the local child-rearing practices, *ubule* is the most important actor in the process of pregnancy. Hence, involving the *ubule* to plan program for children would be very useful because *ubule* understand the cultural practices that children experience with.

### **Avoiding the Standardization**

Government is the important actors to responsible to the need of education of their society. In fact, government due to reach the accomplishment of PAUD, they start to do a standardisation for it. Standardization would make their works easy in terms of monitoring and evaluation. On the other hand, in my view, the standardisation would give limited space to reflect cultural context. Balim Valley as apart of Papuan society, have suffered from the outsiders who underestimate them as Papuan society. It means that Papuan society has experienced with lack of interest from national educational system. As it doesn't accommodate their needs in a consequence they are not able to get

benefits from this educational system and at the same time it is difficult for them to follow the process of national education. “Present educational system is less focused to respect the local cultural diversity and local knowledge. This condition has been harmful to the Papuan society who could not adopt it and tend to be unconscious” (Ondi, Kenny, Yul, Sugiono, & Sapei, 2001: 65). The practices of standardization in Indonesia usually refer to the government in Java. Consequently, the module or the guideline implementing this program does not give space for diversity.

I do not say that the standardisation do not need to be taken into account, because in some case it is still needed in terms of in the same context such as socio-cultural settings, practices and institutions. For instance when a program is implemented in Balim Valley, the standardization could be done all long it refers to the villages which has similar context. In addition, I more concern how government or NGO consider the indigenous knowledge as the fundamental perspective in developing the intervention strategies.

It must be kept in mind that the good result would be happened when the process of democracy are going well. In relation to this, the notion of decentralization would be taken into account. Actually, in Indonesia, decentralization has been implemented in almost sectors but it does not give positive impact for the children. Indeed, the issue of PAUD ‘as a project’ is related with the issue of decentralization. Decentralization usually create new informal structures in which the coordinators pretend themselves as new boss in a ‘project’, they exercise their power in the wrong way. Therefore, in early childhood’s intervention strategies, it should be sensitive in the issue of standardization as well as decentralization. The image ‘as a project’ actually is not only in PAUD but also in all programs in different departments of Indonesian government. In my view, it is greatly needed to have the new paradigm of PAUD. Indeed, it is for bureaucrats and economic purpose but creating a capable generation in the future. Also, it always should remind that good of project is come with great respect.

### **Involving the Local Organizer**

Interestingly, the sustainability of Pena Emas/*Honai* Anak is how the tutors perceive themselves not only as tutor but also they have to be conscious that they are as local organizer in order to create the new generation of Balim Valley community. One good example is Ance, a tutor at Pena Emas at Wiaina village. She said that her motivation in involving in this program is because she is aware that she has to sacrifice something when she wants to see a change in her community. Ance is an evangelist in her village and in my view her religious knowledge is becomes her spirit. And she believes, as her philosophy, that when she assists to develop the child; automatically it would develop the community. She has understood the basic concept of ECCD somehow she still struggles with some problems according to the implementation, such as lack participation from the community and the time management that she has to arrange as a priest and as a tutor at Pena Emas at Wiaina.

Regarding to the community participation, it has relation with the management of Pena Emas/*Honai* anak. From the focus group discussion with development facilitators, they mentioned that the management of Pena Emas/*Honai* anak should involve other local institutions, for instance, church leaders, tribe leaders, women groups, local government, traditional healers in community and the children themselves. Indeed, the more the community invests at the program, the more they would cope with the degree of ownership. They also mentioned about how to choose the appropriate tutors for Pena Emas/*Honai* Anak. In their opinion and I agree as well, the tutors should have some characteristic such as creative in creating the local materials, have the sense of humour, child friendly and young children are familiar with her/him. We seemly do not mention about educational background because in their value of education, all people from different background in their context can be as facilitator as long as it is for the good reasons even though grandparents. From the interviews, they have motivation to do that because they value children as the future generation that should experience better life than their parents.

It must be kept in mind that the substance of ECCD is the most important point to address the challenges. Because understanding that the output of its program is not kindergarten which is informal setting only, it can develop valuable intervention strategies. The substantial concept of ECCD as an entry point into community development is how to create community-based both on centre and home based that can reflect the cultural movement. Cultural movement in this term is to encourage all actors to understand the notion of culture and how it gives great contribution to the needs of the children. Cultural movement should understand in wide perspective, because it refers to social, economic and political aspects. How those aspects can address the challenges in order to have new perspective of intervention strategies developed by government as well as NGO.

## Chapter 5

### Conclusion

In this paper, I have reviewed the literatures on ECCD concept, and have found that assessment on local child-rearing practices is the entry point to understand the effectiveness of implementation of ECCD concept through the intervention strategies. Assessment of local child-rearing practices in Balim Valley should use the Development Niche in terms to understand the influence of culture in the process of child development. Development Niche, which has three major components, has been a theoretical framework to discover the micro-environment of the child in terms of cultural regulation. Because in the case study of Balim Valley shows that culture is the central of life, the use of cultural approach is important to explore how the process of culture in terms of context and contents gives influence to the child development, the involved actors and the relation with the natural resources of the community.

The local child-rearing practices in Balim Valley are impossible to assess without understanding the socio-cultural settings and political settings to show the external and internal actors to address the child development. Socio-cultural settings show how the daily life of the community is still traditional but not in the sense of primitive or marginalized society. However, in my view, it is more to the reactions of preserving the property of culture, such as understanding their own cultural heritage, their local knowledge, and their concern to transfer it to their new generation. Interestingly, exploring local child-rearing practices in Balim Valley gives a new perspective to understand how culture have positive affect to the process of child development until they reach adulthood. More importantly, the process of transition according to the child development depends on gender, and participation in the household works.

It must be kept in mind that developing the intervention strategies should be seen from the findings of exploring child-rearing practices. The findings are the notions of involved actors (*mama, bapa, ubele*), the involved culture in terms of context and contents, and the involved natural resources in

order to give tools to learn at centre-based or home-based. Indeed, these three characteristics from the local child-rearing practices have given important points in order to develop intervention strategies. For example, the intervention strategies should consider the use of natural resources as the educational toolkits.

On the other hand, the existence of PAUD as one program organized by the government and Pena Emas/*Honai* Anak organized by WVI Wamena in order to respond to the needs of children especially in early childhood also has some challenges. There is lack of involvement of the culture in the process of implementing the program. Equally, the lack of community participation is the crucial challenges because ECCD could be worked out effectively when it involves the community. Indeed, it has found that the most important reason is because the substantial of the ECCD concept is not completely understand by the external and internal actors.

To conclude, I purposely explain some recommendations to address the challenges faced by the external and internal actors. First, to understand the context of children when they live is important because it would help to understand the value of the expectation and the value of capabilities from community perspective. Second, to avoid the notion of standardisation is also necessary because it gives limited space to reflect cultural context and the guideline of the program would not give the space for diversity. Finally, it must be kept in mind that to involve the local organizer is equally important in order to participate in each phase of implementing the intervention strategies. It means that the community has space to empower themselves. Indeed, providing more opportunity to the community is the most important course in terms making decision and opening the accessibility. It would also be interesting to explore the appropriate method to increase the opportunity for the community by developing the dialog between external and internal actors in conducting the intervention strategies for early childhood.



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# APPENDICES

**Appendix 1: Population Jayawijaya Regency by Group of Age**

Group of Age	Male	Female	Total
0-4	12,518	11,521	24,039
5-9	12,075	11,000	23,075
10-14	12,201	11,303	23,504
15-19	11,548	10,646	22,194
20-24	10,952	9,996	20,948
25-29	9,929	9,200	19,129
30-34	9,537	8,704	18,241
35-39	8,694	8,043	16,737
40-44	8,097	7,55	15,647
45-49	7,162	6,861	14,023
50-54	6,034	5,844	11,878
55-59	4,839	4,935	9,774
60-64	3,591	3,632	7,223
65-69	2,178	2,254	4,432
70 +	1,499	1,503	3,002
<b>Total</b>	<b>120,854</b>	<b>112,992</b>	<b>233,846</b>

Source: BPS-Statistics Jayawijaya Regency

**Appendix 2: The division of labour between men and women of Balim Valley community**

Gender	Male	Female
Economic aspect	<p>In garden: to loosen the land, make fences from stones, to dig a ditch, to determine harvest time</p> <p>In <i>honai</i>: to provide cordwood, to build <i>honai</i>, to make a fence surrounding the <i>silimo</i>, to maintain <i>silimo</i> yard</p> <p>In tradition ceremony: to arrange the event, to kill the <i>wam</i>, to share <i>wam</i> to the guess, to decide which <i>wam</i> will be killed or give to other families.</p>	<p>In garden: to cultivate the plants, to nourish the plants until the harvest, to sell it to the local market</p> <p>In <i>honai</i>: to clean the house, to provide the grass to cover the ground for sitting and sleeping</p> <p>In tradition ceremony: to collect <i>noken</i>, to provide and cook the meals, to invite people for the ceremony, to feed the pigs, and involve with the meeting of the ceremony when the man ask to join</p>
Social Interaction	To organize and to attend meeting such as pre-wedding meeting, stolen pigs, to plan and to fight in tribe war, to lead the funeral ceremony	Could attend the meeting but as inactive participant. They could share their opinion when men ask them to speak
Children's education	<p>Take attention only for the boy's education</p> <p>To give advice to their children (boys) and also to hit them when they are still at female <i>honai</i></p>	<p>Take attention only for the girl's education</p> <p>To give advice to their children (boys) and also to hit them when they are still at female <i>honai</i></p>
Religious aspect	To decide the time of the ceremony and to provide the pigs which as symbol of ceremony	To follow men's planning, and to provide the ceremony materials that is a part of women's responsibility

Source: (Alua et al., 2006: 121-123)