

The Silent Voice of “Cenderawasih”: Papuan Women’s Struggle for Justice

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Abstract

This article emphasizes the importance of raising the issue of Papuan women’s empowerment and struggle for justice. This research is to answer, what is justice according to Papuan women and how are Papuan women’s efforts to achieve justice for their identity and the land of Papua? In answering questions and the realities faced by women in achieving justice, this research seeks freedom of talks about the rights of Papuan women in the life of the state and society. However, there are a patriarchal system and a state that make it difficult in listening to and responding to women’s voices about justice. It takes time and effort to change this old paradigm. Through the first form of storytelling, we can place the story of the identity of a Papuan woman and her pride as a symbol of Cenderawasih with dark skin and curly hair. Papuan women must not remain silent and must fight for justice.

Keywords: Justice for Papuan Women; Papuan Women Storytelling; Papuan Women; Silence Cenderawasih; Telling Story

Introduction

There have been many studies on Papuan women’s struggle for justice. However, until now, the voice of Papuan women is like a silent “Cenderawasih” as they are unable to express their opinions. We need to remember the political experience of Papua before and after its integration with the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia in 1963, especially when it was legitimised in the Act of Free Choice (*Penentuan Pendapat Rakyat, Pepera*) (1969) by the United Nations (UN) through the inclusion of 1,025 Papuans as a legitimate sign of Papua’s integration process with Indonesia (Saltford 2003, p. 5). To Papuans, however, this political experience does not necessarily guarantee their freedom. Freedom is something rare, especially for Papuan women.

The freedom of Papuans to express their opinions is often limited by the Indonesian government because it is seen as a form of resistance to the legitimate government. One of the bitter experiences of Papuans is the absence of freedom to express their opinions as Indonesians. The right to express opinions in public as stated in the 1945 Constitution does not apply in Papua. Even peaceful protests demanding for the fulfilment of rights and justice for Papuans often led to forcible disbandment and arrest. There are assumptions or suspicions about the aspirations of Papuans. When Papuans talk about

justice, this action is considered as a separatist attempt. Criticisms and inputs are equated or considered as an attempt to separate themselves from the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. One of the spirits of reformation is the respect and guarantee for the right to freedom of expression. However, it seems that the spirit is not shared in Papua. This is due to the separatist stigma that has become a label for Papuans, including women who fight for justice for the people and land of Papua.

In the book *Enough is Enough! Testimonies of Papuan Women Victims of Violence and Human Rights Violations 1963-2009* (Pokja MRP & Komnas Perempuan 2009), it was reported that state violence in the forms of physical, sexual, and psychological violence was perpetrated by the security forces of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (TNI and Polri) against Papuan women in the period 1963- 1998. There were 138 cases (Pokja MRP & Komnas Perempuan 2009, p. 20) and between 1998-2009, there were nearly 40 cases of state violence against Papuan women (Pokja MRP & Komnas Perempuan 2009, p. 31-41). Meanwhile, from 2009 to 2021, there has been no detailed report on state violence against Papuan women. In fact, many cases of state violence against women have not been revealed because many Papuan women victims of violence chose to remain silent and not to reveal their cases. This is because Papuans, especially

Papuan women, are used to being silenced and need assistance to be able to express what they feel and fight for justice for themselves and their communities.

Apart from the political aspect, the deepening of the customary system, which is dominated by Papuan men, is one of the reasons why Papuan women find it difficult to actualise themselves to express their ideas about the concept of justice from a woman's perspective. In September 2021, the Women's Empowerment, Child Protection, and Family Planning Agency in Papua Province reported that there were 47 cases of domestic violence (KDRT) against women and children, which were experienced by both Papuan and non-Papuan women (Papua.go.id). This does not include cases of domestic violence in West Papua Province. According to the report, the highest number of domestic violence were experienced by indigenous Papuan women. Further, it was found that the main trigger for domestic violence in Papua was alcohol, while other reasons were secondary. This report shows that Papuan women are still victims of violence from Papuan men – who still adhere to the patriarchal system, view women as objects, and do not see women as equal partners who also have the right to life and freedom. The number of domestic violence cases mentioned above shows that not all Papuan women have the courage to report their cases. This is because of the strong patriarchal system in Papua, which makes Papuan women accustomed to accepting it as fate if they experience unfair treatments from men. It is clear that in the context of Papuan customs, there is discrimination against women. This is clearly reflected in domestic duties and children's education at home, which are considered as the responsibility of women or mothers. Furthermore, regarding property rights (land, property, and so on) and decision making in the family, it is fully controlled by men. This can be found evenly in all customary areas of Papua. Some customary areas in Papua even allow polygamy for men if they do not get a son who will be entitled to inheritance according to customary law. As a result, in several ethnic groups in Papua, the protection of women victims of domestic violence becomes inconsequential, or in other words, violence against women is tolerated.

On the other hand, Papuan women, especially in urban areas, who have jobs, access to information and technology, as well as formal and informal education, are already aware of their rights as women. They are fighting for women's rights in Papuan customs. Unfortunately, the patriarchal system is deeply rooted in Papua, hence, it is difficult to change the understanding of Papuan men

who uphold the patriarchal system. Therefore, education with a gender equality approach becomes an essential need to encourage social transformation in Papuan society, in order to respect and support gender equality.

Research Methodology

The political situation and patriarchal system faced by Papuan women have become distinctive challenges for Papuan women, especially in the effort to obtain justice and not to live in silence. This is why this research is needed as it tells the stories of some Papuan women who had the courage to stand up against injustices they experienced. Elsa Tamez, a Mexican theologian, said that storytelling method reveals the importance of seeing women's bodies and lives as sacred texts (1998). This study also examines, understands, and describes the nature of women's struggles in obtaining justice and the social interactions that are attached to them (Silverman & Marvasti 2008, p. 14). Furthermore, document analysis (Flick 2014, p. 369) was used to study documents about the experiences of Papuan women as seen through post-colonial theory developed by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (2010).

Resource persons were identified and selected based on their experience in and familiarity with the issue of injustice experienced by Papuan women. The resource persons consist of Papuan scholars and women who are fighting for justice. Information gathering was done using in-depth interview techniques that were carried out until September 2021. The interviews and documentation of stories focused on subjective experiences, which had been hidden because of the lack of the opportunity to be heard. This research aims to assert the voices of Papuan women who fight for justice for women and their communities. It also aims to raise awareness of justice for women in particular and for Papuans in general.

The key issue being addressed in this research is how Papuan women retell their struggles to break the silence in achieving justice. This issue is related to the understanding that it is very difficult for Papuans, especially Papuan women, to express themselves and to come out of silence to fight for justice. Therefore, in relation to the efforts to elevate the stories of Papuan women, this study aims to respond to two key questions, namely: What is the potential method of Papuan women to express their identity? How to empower Papuan women in the struggle for justice?

Discussing and Obtaining Justice for Papuan Women

The discussion of the voice of Papuan women as the silent voice of "Cenderawasih" is important in order to understand Papuan women's struggles to obtain justice. To strengthen the discussion, there needs to be a conceptual basis or a literature review built in this article. There are three conceptual foundations used in this article, namely:

Literature Review on the Concepts of Freedom and Justice

Freedom or independence is one of the foundations of human rights and dignity. Freedom or independence is the right of every human being to act, speak, and think without any pressure or coercion from others. Freedom is also related to the concept of justice. Basically, human beings are creatures who are free to express themselves without any pressure from others. Therefore, women must have the freedom to make decisions to express their identity. The analysis of the issue of attaining freedom and justice for Papuan women will be supported by the theoretical basis of subaltern voice from the post-colonial theory of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, as well as how storytelling is used to understand the struggles of Papuan women to achieve justice.

Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's Post-Colonial Theory in the Struggle for Justice

There is a big problem related to how the voices that are considered as part of the subaltern group are difficult to be heard in the struggle for justice. Subaltern group is deemed second class, marginalised, or a silent group like the voices of Papuan women. This problem is also experienced by many groups (which are considered hierarchical) in the third world societies such as in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The third world societies have a shared experience as ex-colonies of the Western world, experiencing what is called a subaltern group or a subordinate group that does not have the ability to express what they have experienced. The subaltern situation experienced by the third world societies is also experienced by Papuans, especially women. The theoretical basis for this context is reflected in an important article by a post-colonial Indian, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, who wrote *Can the Subaltern Speak?*

The notion of subaltern refers to social groups classified as subordinate or inferior groups that are not part of the elite groups (Spivak 2010). Spivak sees subaltern groups as oppressed subjects. The subaltern

groups are the lowest class that are the targets of insults, hatred, and violence (Spivak 2010). Fundamentally, every human being has the right or capacity to act independently in making decisions for themselves, however, social structures limit one's rights.

Within the framework of Spivak's post-colonial theory, Papuans, especially women, are subalterns. This subaltern condition is materialised from the experience of Papuans to access and to be fully involved in the public sphere. Subaltern groups cannot express their aspirations. Subaltern groups have no space to define their condition, although it is they themselves who have to declare their true existence/situation. Hence, they need intellectuals as mediators, who can encourage them to talk about their rights (Spivak 2010). Spivak tries to understand the question of "can the subordinate or inferior groups speak?". According to Spivak, they can. Subaltern groups can speak through intellectuals, who act as mediators who encourage voiceless groups to voice their rights (Spivak 2010).

If we relate the issue of mediation to speak, Papuan women need Papuan women intellectuals as mediators. Their role is to encourage and empower Papuan women to break their silence and fight for justice as Indonesian citizens – Papuans should no longer be categorised as second-class citizens in Indonesia. The colonial mindset considers Papuans, including women, as subaltern groups because they are outside the realm of power, especially the colonial power hierarchy (Rumaseb 2013, p. 5-7). Papuan women are affected by this categorisation that also labels them as a group of misfortune. From a psychological approach, the subaltern condition makes Papuans, and especially Papuan women, depressed because they do not have the freedom to think for themselves. There are some Papuan elites who prefer to be safe by remaining an accomplice to the authorities. This, as in the post-colonial context, was done by local elites to avoid being accused of resisting the rulers.

The post-colonial theory by Spivak is very useful for Papuan women intellectuals to assess the problem in order for them to be the mediators who help Papuan women who are remain silent and afraid to speak up and demand for their right to life as human beings who have been damaged by the patriarchal customary system that has been rooted in all aspects of Papuan life. The struggles to achieve justice for the people and land of Papua must be seen as a collective work between Papuan women and men.

Storytelling as a Means for Expressing the Silent Idea of Justice

Departing from the need to realise the mediation of voices in Spivak's post-colonial theory, there needs to be another approach to the first storytelling. One theory that can be applied to bring out the voices of Papuan women as the silent "Cenderawasih" is through the storytelling process. Storytelling can be used by Papuan women as a means to express the silent idea of justice. This is due to the large number of political spaces, which are based on a patriarchal system, do not provide a place for women to express themselves.

Storytelling is simply translated in Indonesian as *bercerita*. This is the right method to hear what the narrator is experiencing, thinking, and feeling—as the first subject. Storytelling is a form of the narrator expressing his/her ideas that may have been suppressed or silenced. Elsa Tamez, a feminist Christian theologian from Mexico, asserts that:

"Women's bodies, then, can manifest themselves as sacred text setting out their stories to be read and re-read and to generate liberating actions and attitudes. Women's lives enshrine a deep grammar, whose morphology and syntax need to be learned for the sake of better human inter-relationships." (Tamez 1998, p. 63).

What Tamez said is important because the understanding of a sacred text is always related to the holy books of world religions. However, Tamez points out that women's bodies are truly a sacred text, because women's lives are living texts that can be read and re-read (Tamez 1998). A woman's body language will express what she has been hiding and through storytelling, women are encouraged to express what they longing for. Through Tamez's concept of sacred text and storytelling, there are efforts that can be made to encourage Papuan women to express their ideas. Their voices can be used for the struggle for justice that has been long desired. Of course, the struggles of Papuan women to escape suffering, discrimination, and marginalisation in society is not easy. Papuan women intellectuals can act as mediators to become companions for those who have been silenced. In this understanding, Papuan women, who have been portrayed as the silent "Cenderawasih", can tell what has been their experience to achieve justice.

The Voice of the Silent "Cenderawasih"

The topic in this article is inspired by the Papuan mascot that always glorifies Cenderawasih. Cenderawasih is the name of a bird in Papua known as the bird of

paradise. These birds of paradise live in Papua, Papua New Guinea, and Eastern Australia. Cenderawasih has 43 species, which are characterised by thick feathers with beautiful colours such as black, brown, reddish, orange, yellow, white, blue, green, and purple, with long and colourful antennae (Bariarcianur & Yunus 2011, p. 81-83; Van Hasselt 2002, p. 9-11). Traditionally, Papuans believe that Cenderawasih is a bird from heaven (Permana 2019). Cenderawasih for Papuans is a symbol of greatness and the presence of the highest being in their lives.

Based on the meaning of the name or etymology, Cenderawasih is a combination of two syllables, namely *endra*, which means god or goddess, and *wasih*, which means messenger. Therefore, Cenderawasih means a messenger of God (Permana 2019). Traditionally, Papuans believe that Cenderawasih is an incarnation of a god. In traditional ceremonies, Papuans use feathers of Cenderawasih as traditional hats and clothes. Papuan traditional leaders use Cenderawasih as a symbol of greatness given by the gods. Furthermore, the colour of Cenderawasih is the main form of painting that covers the bodies of Papuans when they perform traditional ceremonies. Papuans compare the colour of Cenderawasih with their skin colour. The feathers reflect the curly shape of Papuans' hair and their dark and tanned skin tones.

Papuans are very proud to be called Cenderawasih. Moreover, Papuan women like to call themselves "Cenderawasih" and women from outside Papua "pigeons". A uniqueness of Cenderawasih is its ability to dance and chirp beautifully. Papuans create traditional dances and songs using the dances and chirps of Cenderawasih. The colour of the feathers is so beautiful that it amazes people who see it. Cenderawasih is an ingenious bird in terms of protecting itself. For example, when a human approaches, it goes to a safer place, such as forest that is untouched by humans. It avoids danger when a threat comes. Unfortunately, Cenderawasih population is decreasing due to hunting and deforestation in Papua. To further protect themselves, these birds have migrated to remote areas of Papua that have not been touched by development.

Papuans, consisting of more than 250 tribes, are united under the symbol of Cenderawasih. Papuans believe that the map of Papua resembles the shape of Cenderawasih. Papuans use Cenderawasih to describe their characteristics and land, both of which are different from other peoples and places in the world. Cenderawasih has a special meaning for Papuans. Papuans view Cenderawasih as a Papuan bird and as a unique symbol

of their identity. Papuans use Cenderawasih to claim their identity. Cenderawasih appears in the song *Sup Mambesak* (Land of Cenderawasih). This song was written by Papuan musicians Simon Wambrauw and Sam Kapisa (Ap 1978, p. 23):

*Sup mambesak Manseren byuk be aya,
ya newen da man be a wawaos
Bon bekaki mandif nary or ro bo
Randak ro so ron isof maroke
Kuker sawarwar swa ruser yena
Manser'n Ryo us aya kada
Sup beryan Manser'n byuk be aya
Kuker payam yum na
Yawaren warek na?*

The translation is:

*The Land of Cenderawasih, which God gave to me
The land that is always talked about
With its high mountains
Stretching from Sorong to Merauke
With all my love and thoughts
God takes care of us
The land given to us
With its natural beauty
Can I take care and protect it?*

Over the centuries, women's lives have faced many obstacles. Women have been discriminated by the state and society. Women around the world have shared the same experience, namely being considered as a second-class group in a patriarchal culture and society. This discriminatory condition is also experienced by Papuan women. Papuan women are struggling to get out of the traditional paradigm that divides people according to sex and gender (social construction). It is also the responsibility of Papuan women to reconstruct their image as women who have dignity as human – without gender bias.

Papuan women's struggle for justice is the topic of this study that seeks to retell the stories of Papuan women, based on their bodies and life experiences. Besides, we can see how they are connected to one another in order to break their silence. The stories of Papuan women became a sacred text. A sacred text is not only about a holy book of every religion, but also the experience of human life. Women's sacred text consists of women's bodies, lives, and experiences as they struggle to escape suffering, discrimination, and marginalisation in society as well as in religious institutions that are still patriarchal.

Telling the Story of Papuan Women Who Struggle for Justice

Telling the stories of Papuan women who are fighting for justice shows that the "Cenderawasih", the symbol of Papuan women, should no longer be silent and must be brave to come out of pressure. This effort will allow Papuan women to freely share stories about their experiences and identity.

The "Cenderawasih" Cannot Be Silent

Based on Spivak's subaltern theory, mediation must be built (Spivak 2010) for Papuan women to tell stories. This effort is made so that the "Cenderawasih" is no longer silent. The voices of Papuan women, which are based on their life stories, will be the voices for justice in Papua. Spivak's post-colonial theory reinforces the concepts needed in this article to assess what must be done to unmask the fears that have been experienced by Papuans, especially Papuan women, to seek justice.

The role of Papuan women intellectuals is very important. They will become motivators and mediators for their fellow women, especially to give them confidence in expressing themselves as human beings. Through this mediation, Papuan women must realise that they, too, have the right to express their ideas without fear of the hegemony of the rulers. One thing that can be done is to get out of the comfort zone, which is silence. The stories of these Papuan women will be a sign that the "Cenderawasih" is still there for their land and country.

The Story of the "Cenderawasih" in the Confinement of the Patriarchal Customary System

Around 1987, when I was still in junior high school, our family was visited by my father's family from the village. During the meeting, the wife of my father's eldest brother said to my younger sister and me: "Why do you have to go to school, isn't a woman destined to marry so that the husband's family dowry returns, and isn't the nature of a woman to give birth to children for her husband and to take care of the kitchen?" At that time my sister and I just looked at each other. However, there was something extraordinary from what my mother said: "Don't be like me, but you two go to school, don't listen to what your aunty says."

Understanding what the wife of my father's brother said describes the figure of a Papuan woman who has truly been indoctrinated with the patriarchal system and

glorifies it. I understand the difficulty for Papuan women to stand up and assert that they have rights. Everything that is said and arranged by men is considered to be true. Unfortunately, my desire to ask the wife of my father's brother if she had ever enjoyed her life as a woman who is subject to a patriarchal order was never materialised because she had died in her silence. However, I am grateful that my mother is a Papuan woman who is able to symbolically tell me that the "Cenderawasih" will not always be silent and silenced. My mother speaks for herself as revealed by Spivak (2010) and corroborated by Tamez's (1998) theory.

Over time, after finishing my studies at the I.S.Kijne Jayapura School of Theology, Papua, and became a Pastor at the Evangelical Christian Church in Papua, I met Papuan Christian women who were like the "Cenderawasih" who were silent and could not achieve justice for themselves. There are several cases that I observe: there are Papuan women who are pressured by their husbands because they do not have sons, there are also husbands who prevent their wives from working. In addition, there are husbands who do not allow their wives to talk about customary matters, especially regarding issues of land rights, inheritance, customary meetings, and many other problems. In fact, a man once told me that: *"A woman, when her dowry has been paid for, is like something that has been bought in a store, and since the price has been paid off, it is up to the buyer to do whatever he wants because it is already a private property."* The man enthusiastically stated that he had paid off his wife according to custom. It is his wife's duty to serve him and give birth to children for him. At that time, I was curious of his wife's reaction. I really expected a protest against injustice, but unfortunately his wife nodded in agreement. I did not know what was in her mind, but I see this as a challenge for Papuan women to voice justice for themselves and other women.

Papuan women must fight to achieve justice for themselves. This struggle needs to be supported by Papuan women's intellectual groups and Papuan men who understand the meaning of gender equality. They need to mediate a conversation between Papuan men who still adhere to the patriarchal system and Papuan women for them to arrive at a common understanding that Papuan struggle for justice must be done together.

The struggle of Papuans is against the state system that still sees Papuans as subalterns or subordinates. This is what I want to share through telling the stories of four Papuan women who are trying to break the silence and achieve justice in the midst of a state system that does

not provide a space for Papuans to express their opinions freely in public.

Telling the Story of the "Cenderawasih" That Speaks Out for Justice

Cenderawasih is indeed a beautiful bird, even Papuans adore it and identify it with the colour of their skin and hair. Yet, in my experience, it is not easy to be the "Cenderawasih" within the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. In 1981, when I was still in elementary school in Ujung Pandang (now known as Makassar), there were several school friends and neighbouring children who called me, along with my relatives and Papuan children who followed their parents who were studying in Makassar, *"leleng pui"*. In the Makassar language it means "dark black." They also called us "barb wire" hair. It turned out that it was not only during my era that there was discrimination against Papuans. Similar incident was also experienced by Papuan students in Surabaya in 2018. This illustrates that racism and discriminatory practices towards fellow Indonesians persist. There is a saying *"To Indonesianise Papuans"*. The question is "What do you want to 'Indonesianise'?" given that Papua is Indonesia. Racism is a threat to democracy, to a common life that upholds justice. The idea of unity and integrity is actually undermined by the existence and spread of discriminatory practices based on race and other identities.

That is why in this section I want to tell you about four stories of Papuan women whose voices were never be heard. However, their voices are important to show how they struggle to achieve justice in the midst of an impossible situation.

The struggle of women as the "Cenderawasih" who are no longer silent in obtaining justice was first found in the story of my mother, EA. She described her experience of suffering as a wife of a Pastor of the Evangelical Christian Church in Papua or West Irian during the Act of Free Choice - PEPERA (1969). She witnessed how Papuans, who refused to integrate into Indonesia, were tortured. My father, PLJ, who was a pastor at that time, defended the rights of Papuans who were tortured by the Indonesian military. My father felt that torture is a violation of the right to life, which is not in accordance with the holy book of any religions. As a result of my father's protests, he was arrested and imprisoned for several months. At that time, my mother was pregnant with her first child. My mother struggled and gave birth alone because her husband was in prison. The only thing that my mother could do at that time was to fight for her husband's

release. However, in such a situation it was not easy for a young woman to fight for justice. Although in the end my father was released from prison, his release was because there was not enough evidence of his involvement in the rejection of PEPERA. My mother had kept this story for a long time and when she retold it, it took her courage to tell the story.

The second story was about a late Papuan mother with the initials YKB. In 1984, during the implementation of the Military Operations Area (DOM) in Papua (previously known as Irian Jaya), Papuan activists, artists, and humanists were arrested. Arnold Clemens Ap (1945-1984), a Papuan humanist, anthropologist, and musician, and Edward Mofu were two of the victims arrested that year. The arrest, which was carried out by the military as part of state's orders, was based on the accusation that the victims were part of the Free Papua group that wants to separate itself from the legitimate government. Prior to the arrest, Edward Mofu lived at YKB's house. Even the family did not know about Edward Mofu's arrest. However, YKB's persistence to fight for justice enabled her to find Arnold Clemens Ap and Edward Mofu who were detained incommunicado by the security forces. At that time in Papua, especially in Jayapura, there was not a single Papuan man seeking justice for the release of Ap and Mofu. Everyone was silent, said YKB. Of course, who wanted to defy death. All Papuans at that time were afraid of the cruelty of the Suharto regime. Even in relation to the death of Edward Mofu, who was declared drowned in Base-G Sea during his escape from prison, the security forces never gave an explanation as to how Mofu managed to get out of the heavily guarded prison at that time. YKB wanted justice and demanded the state be transparent about the death of her brother, Edward Mofu, but she never got it. A few days after the death of Edward Mofu, Arnold Clemens Ap was also found dead. According to YKB, their deaths were a very tragic event and hurt the families and people of Papua. Even though the state is still keeping the truth about Ap and Mofu's deaths, YKB believed that justice and truth will be revealed by themselves. Everything will be revealed in due time.

The third story comes from a young Papuan woman from Merauke with the initials HRG. HRG had a bitter experience as a young girl who grew up in a family with divorced parents. Her father remarried and left her with her mother. Papua's patriarchal customary system allows men to act arbitrarily against women. HRG's mother brought this suffering to the end of her life. After the death of her mother, HRG was forced to live and

be cared for by his maternal grandparents who were Christian evangelists. She sometimes faced violence from her uncle, and she even said that she was almost cut with an axe. HRG struggled to get out of her misery. She tried to stay in school because of her grandfather, who motivated and pushed her to continue to achieve her dreams. On the other hand, HRG also saw that the suffering she experienced in her family was no greater than the suffering of Papuans who demand for justice, rights, and dignity in the land of Papua. She determined to overcome her personal problems and join the struggle to achieve justice for all Papuans. She continued her education and went to college in 2015, and in March 2019, she graduated as a librarian. After she graduated, HRG returned to Merauke-Papua. She opened schools, libraries, was involved in evangelism to educate people in Merauke about gender equality. She is also actively involved in the justice campaign for Papuans through the West Papua National Committee (KNPB). She chose to be involved with KNPB because of her identity as a Papuan woman in fighting against the Papuan patriarchal customary system, as well as the hegemony of the state that pressures Papuans to be silenced – so that her voice can be voiced.

The fourth story comes from a theology student, with the initials FD from GKI I.S.Kijne Jayapura Theological Philosophy School. FD stated that her mother told her that around the 1980s, in Nimboran and Nimbokrang areas of Papua, military posts were established in each district because at that time Papua was a Military Operation Area (DOM). Her mother shared many sad stories about young women in those areas being raped by the military in charge of security. The military posts were established because there were members of the Free Papua Organisation (OPM) there. FD revealed that according to her mother, these young women had the courage to tell what had happened to them, but traditionally they were blamed by the traditional elders, who were dominated by men. The victims were considered as those who provoked the desire to be raped. On the other hand, families and women (victims) did not have the courage to sue the military (rapists) because they were afraid of being intimidated at gunpoint. Many young women withheld all their dark stories. Many Nimborang and Nimbokrang women were silent because they no longer knew who to complain to. Traditionally, they were considered women who have had disgrace and have no morals. Past trauma that happened to young women in the 1980s has become a prolonged scourge. FD said that during 2015-2017, there was a great concern when military posts were

re-established in Nimboran and Nimbokrang areas due to allegations that there were separatist movements there (now there are no security posts). Mothers in these areas did not allow their daughters to walk near military posts and go out at night because they were afraid that what happened to women in the past will happen again. Mothers became worried, and as a result, young women no longer have the freedom to move. From her mother's story, FD realised that women must come out of fear and have the courage to stand up to injustice. Her mother said that FD must go to a good school in order to change this injustice. FD realises that human beings, both women and men, must be equal and have the same dignity. Past trauma must be taken seriously. Papuan women cannot live in conditions of limitations, pressure, and fear. As for FD, continuing her education to a higher level aims at changing the Papuan patriarchal system that is unfair to Papuan women. Good education will give courage to Papuan women, especially those in her region, to come out of past trauma and to be healed. This is the hope of FD as a Papuan woman to see a just future for Papuan women.

Telling the stories of Papuan women in this article makes me realise that it is true what my mother said, "it is not easy to be a Papuan". The word "uneasy" leads to Spivak's concept of "Can the Subaltern speak?", can groups that are considered inferior or subordinates speak? (Spivak 2010). Especially for a Papuan woman to fight for justice in this country. This assumption is true because many Papuan women are reluctant to come out of their silence to tell stories because they are afraid. However, the four stories above show the importance of mentoring so that the hidden stories can be picked up and retold. The stories of women will come to life when being retold through a sacred text, which is their body language and experiences (Tamez 1998).

Every Papuan woman has her own way of expressing her identity. Of course, Spivak's post-colonial theory reinforces the way to tell a number of hidden stories (Spivak 2010) among Papuan women. Rev. Yemima Krey, a Papuan Christian feminist theological figure, encourages Papuan women to fight for their self-identity as a great masterpiece from God. Krey articulated her prayer in an article that said: *God, Papuan women with dark and curly skin are also made by Your hands.* (Krey 1988, p. 162). What Krey stated was a form of encouragement for Papuan women to speak out for justice for themselves and the land of Papua.

Closing

Indonesia as a democratic country in the concept of social justice for all its people remains a mere slogan. Papuan women discover how difficult it is to voice justice in the midst of the life of the nation and state. Papuan women, who are struggling to break their silence, find a way by retelling how they have fought for justice in the midst of a difficult situation. The stories of Papuan women about their experiences are part of a campaign that asserts that Papuan women also have justice initiatives in their own way. Despite being in subaltern conditions and stigma, Papuan women gain confidence through storytelling and have the ability to say that they will speak for themselves and other Papuan women.

The story of the "Cenderawasih", namely Papuan women, is a sign that their identity is being fought for. Those who were previously silent are looking for ways to fight for justice for their land that has been oppressed and marginalised for a long time. The struggle to make the "Cenderawasih" speaks requires the commitment of Papuan intellectual groups from both women and men. This cooperation is needed to reorganise and eliminate the patriarchal system that is rooted in the traditional Papuan order. This struggle also aims to provide freedom for Papuan women to express their ideas. This is an important aspect that needs to be done together, especially by Papuan women and men, to achieve justice for the people and land of Papua. The state's system that silences the values of truth and justice must be abolished so that there is a transformation towards respect for human rights. A short lyric from the song *Tanah Papua* by Edo Kondoligit: "*black skin, curly hair, I'm Papuan. Even when the sky breaks apart, I'm Papua*" becomes an identity that the struggle for justice as a Papuan will continue. The lyric also shows how Papuan women continue to be encouraged to believe that even when the sky breaks apart, the struggle to uphold justice for every human being will continue; the struggle without being divided with a narrow view of gender, race, ethnicity, and religion. All human beings, both women and men, the government and ordinary people, have the same rights to live, work, and express themselves.

The voice of the "Cenderawasih" will echo for those who still close their ears and eyes of the heart. For those who have ears but pretend to be deaf and have eyes but pretend to be blind, the voice of "Cenderawasih" will no longer be silent because it is time to tell a story.

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