

# From Ethno-Nationalism to Nationalism: Portrait of *Indonesian-Ness* High School Students Jayapura

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**Abstract** - Jayapura has several villages bordering the state of Papua New Guinea (PNG). The uniqueness of Jayapura is the existence of indigenous villages amid of urbanization and migration which is the current issue in Papua. Some high school students in Jayapura come from this indigenous village. This study aims to describe from Papuan-ness (ethno-nationalism) to Indonesian-ness (nationalism) of high school students in Jayapura. This study was conducted by using a qualitative research design. The result showed that there were three categories of Indonesian-ness identity of the high school students in Jayapura: primordial collective consciousness, awareness of national symbols, and awareness of national ideology. This study shows the relationships and comparisons between ethno-nationalism and nationalism of students from villages and urban in Jayapura.

**Keywords:** *ethno-nationalism, nationalism, Indonesian-ness, high school students, Papua.*

## I. INTRODUCTION

Papua became a part of the Republic of Indonesia since its integration in 1969, and after reformation era, Papua Province was granted a “Special Autonomy Status” in 2001. Jayapura is the capital of Papua Province as a “front porch” of the Republic of Indonesia bordering with the neighboring country, namely Papua New Guinea (PNG). Demographically, the people in Jayapura were very diverse in terms of several aspects such as ethnics, races, cultures, religions and political ideology. The indigenous people of Jayapura (*Port Numbai/Tabi*) are (*marga/klen*) Enggros, Kayu Batu, Kayu Pulau, Nafri, Tobati, Skouw, and Sentani [1]. Meanwhile, the other Papua tribes from outside Jayapura is Asmat, Biak, Fak-Fak, Kaimana, Manokwari, Nabire, Paniai, Sarmi, Serui, Sorong, Wamena, etc. In addition, the people in Jayapura also come from outside Papua Island, for instance from Sumatera, Kalimantan,

Sulawesi, Jawa-Madura, Maluku, and Timor (Bali and Nusa Tenggara). The ethnic of Papua belongs to Melanesia race, while for non-Papua, this belongs to Austronesia race. The diversity of identity and the characteristics of pluralism lead the people in Papua (especially in Jayapura) to be vulnerable to overcome conflict. Therefore, this may become a cause of the culture conflict among their identity.

*Indonesian-ness* is an idea, and at the same time, it is a work in progress, that is not something taken for granted naturally, but it is a process to become or ceaseless nation building process unless well-maintained would be faded. The faded spirit of nationalism is already felt today, marked by the *Indonesian-ness* identity which decreases gradually. Everyone hears the word “Indonesia”, or says himself or herself to be an “Indonesian,” but there is almost no esoteric atmosphere which emerges it as an identity to be proud of. Sometimes, it comes to mind the memories of friendliness, piety, diversity, natural resources, Pancasila, and heroism, but the memory was immediately deconstructed by various facts which negate it, so the only remaining one is emptiness and despair[2]. Thus, *Indonesian-ness* is not a reality yet, but it is a project of rage. In other word, Indonesia is *in the making*, not *in waiting*.

In the context of citizens empowerment by the state, to this day, the presence of the country throughout the territory of Indonesia is debatable[3][4][5][2]. In relation to the role of *Indonesian-ness*, this is closely related to various efforts to present the essence of *Indonesian-ness* throughout Indonesia. Its basic purpose is to create and to disseminate more concrete dignified justice and civilization throughout Indonesia. The substance of a national identity is the answer of questions who the people and the nation of Indonesia are and what distinguishes them from non-Indonesians. The problem of *Indonesian-ness* is a matter of the *nation building* process which is the problem of all Indonesian citizens. This is based on the nationalism that

was born in the early 20th century which was the construction from various regions in the archipelago.

*Indonesian-ness* in Papua encounters more severe challenge than any other regions in Indonesia. The hardest challenge in Papua is the rise of double nationalism of the Papuans, namely Papuan nationalism and Indonesian nationalism. Papuan nationalism, or the Papuans who demand Papua independence as an antithesis of Indonesian nationalism. Both nationalism should be traced from a historical perspective in order to reconcile in the context of the new Indonesia and Papua in looking at a dignified future.

The contestation of *Papuan-ness* and *Indonesian-ness* identities influenced the way the young generations in Papua think and interpret about the relation of Papua and Indonesia. Therefore, this is very crucial to help the young generation, especially high school students in Jayapura (Papua) to reconstruct the understanding and interpretation or meaning of *Indonesian-ness* through learning history. Thus, the research question is ‘How is the meaning from *Papuan-ness* (ethno-nationalism) to *Indonesian-ness* (nationalism) of high school students in Jayapura, Papua?’

### I. METHOD

This study was a qualitative explanative research based on the facts in the field [6]. Triangulation technique was applied by conducting: (1) an observation of social situation in Jayapura; (2) a deep interview with six respondents of the indigenous Papuan high school students in Jayapura; (3) documentation, including literature resources on *Papuan-ness*, *Indonesian-ness*, national integration, and nationalism; (4) inductive data analysis which constructed theory from the data in the field; (5) a purposive sampling technique was used to determine the informants from the indigenous Papuan students. This study uses the Bourdieu theory framework about the linkage of the concept of habitus, arena, and capital. According to Bourdieu [7] [8] [9] social practice is an integration between habitus, capital and arena. *Papuan-ness* and *Indonesian-ness* of high school students Jayapura formed through capital: ethnics, races, language, ideology, and symbols.

### III. DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

#### A. *Papuan-ness* and *Indonesian-ness*: Two Identity of Indigenous Papuans

In this study *Papuan-ness* and *Indonesian-ness* are constructed through social capital: ethnics, race, language, ideology, and symbols attached to each entity (Table 1).

The end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century is marked by a new phenomenon, namely the disintegration of the national state on the one hand and the rise of the national movement based on ethnicity on the other. In this context, ethnicity according to Van den

Berghe [10], is the spirit of a legitimate community interconnection of his presence on the stage of history. Indonesia's nationalist-faced country faces the phenomenon of the emergence of primordial movements based on ethnocentrism. Indonesia is a country that has diverse ethnicity from Merauke (Papua) to Sabang, Nangroe Aceh Darussalam (NAD). Ethnic diversity in Indonesia must be managed well by the state with the support of all elements of the citizens to minimize the growth of ethnocentrism that leads to chauvinism. Ethnoscetrim is to look at everything in its own group as the center of all things and other things are measured and judged on the basis of the group's reference [11]. In this context the main problem that often arises is the tendency to regard their own ethnic culture as something of a necessity without questioning again and therefore use it as a standard for measuring other ethnic or ethnocentric cultures. Meanwhile, chauvinism is an ideological form of feelings of love, pride, fanaticism of a person against an excessive homeland that demeans other nations.

Table 1 Social Capital of *Papuan-ness* and *Indonesian-ness*

INDICATOR (SOCIAL CAPITAL)	PAPUAN-NESS	INDONESIAAN-NESS
Ethnics	312 tribes in Papua	Multi Ethnic: from Merauke (Papua) to Sabang (NAD)
Races	Melanesian	Multi Races: Austronesia, Melanesia, and others
Language	253 local languages	Bahasa Indonesia
Ideology	Way of life, way of thinking and behavior based on cultural and religious values (culture of Papua & Christianity)	Pancasila & Constitution of 1945
Symbols	Folk songs, regional flags, geographical location, local leaders / national hero from Papua, cenderawasih bird, batik Papua, <i>noken</i> , <i>tifa</i> , food typical of Papua ( <i>hipere</i> , <i>papeda</i> )	National Anthem, Flag, Geographical Location, Figures / National Heroes

The diversity of ethnic groups in Papua is not always able to unite in one common identity. This is because each tribe in Papua also makes an awareness of ethnic identity. The internal struggle about tribal identity provides another strength. Members of the tribe have a double identity of ethnic identity and identity of the Papuan people. According to [12], ethnic identity is stronger than Papuan identity. The impact is the awareness of the identity that is understood to lead to the next consciousness, that there are other parties different from himself, unlike the tribe of his nation. This kind of construction becomes the seed of tribal conflict. Members of the tribe have been formed by the cultural system of the tribe of the nation, so that differences of identity, friction or conflict can rarely be avoided.

In terms of race, indigenous Papuans are Melanesian races, and Austronesia is an immigrant race (non-Papuan) in Papua. The context of the identity struggle has a historical setting that is hard to decipher mainly because of the diverse ethnic life in Papua. The identity of *Papuan-ness*, all along, is more politically and racially visible: that Papuans have been colonized by Indonesia so that Papuans struggle for independence, and Papuans are not an Austronesian race, but Melanesian in terms of skin color and haircut different from the Austronesian race. The construction of race consciousness is almost in all ethnic groups in Papua. This is understandable because racial awareness is regarded as the best way of recognizing and maintaining *Papuan-ness* identity [12]. The construction of these races often influences social, economic, and political relations.

Papua has a diversity of ethnic groups along with its cultural system and each tribe has its own regional language. Based on the study of anthropology Papua has more than 253 languages used daily [12]. The diversity of languages in Papua is one of the obstacles of intercultural communication (tribes/ethnicity) in Papua by using the local language of each ethnic group [11]. In this context the role of the Indonesian language becomes important in communication between cultures (ethnic/ethnic groups) in Papua. In this study, the symbol refers to a feature (sign) or something distinctly owned or existing in Papua that includes: folk songs, regional flags, geographical location of a region in Papua, local leaders (such as ondoafi/ondofolo/tribal chief) or national hero from Papua, bird of paradise, and typical Papuan foods (such as *papeda*, *hipere*).

#### *B. Indonesian-ness High School Students in Jayapura*

*Indonesian-ness*, High School Students in Jayapura based on five capital (ethnics, races, language, ideology and symbols) are grouped into three categories: (1) "Primordial Collective Consciousness", (2) "Awareness of National Symbols", and (3) "Awareness of National Ideology".

First, *Indonesian-ness* "Primordial Collective Consciousness" is characterized by strong local Papuan identity rather than Indonesia. His passion is to nurture and maintain a collective identity with ethnic, religious, mythical, historical, and ideal foundations. *Indonesian-ness* "Primordial Collective Consciousness" attached to Robert and Viktor [13]. Indonesian language is not used in family communication. Not understanding the ideology and constitution of the country well. Growing and maintaining collective identity with ethnic, religious and ideals base. Robert and Viktor are from rural areas (Wamena and Pegunungan Bintang). They are elementary school to junior high school in their home area, with limited facilities and infrastructure. With limitations also in association with friends from outside their groups (ethnicity, language, religion and culture). Robert and Viktor in Jayapura live in their hometown of origin. Thus the environmental influence is still attached to him.

Second, *Indonesian-ness* "Awareness of National Symbols" that the existence of Indonesia is interpreted through the symbol of the state with the spirit of appreciation of state symbols such as: national songs, national flag, Garuda bird, geographical location of Indonesia, national hero. *Indonesian-ness* "Awareness of National Symbols" attached to Nancy and Obed [14]. Indonesian language is used in family communication. Understanding and preserving national symbols. Lack of understanding the ideology and constitution of the country well.

Third, *Indonesian-ness* "Awareness of National Ideology" that Indonesia is interpreted as a multicultural country based on the ideology of Pancasila and the constitution of the 1945 Constitution. Spirit is the attitude, behavior, respect and appreciation of diversity and differences: ethnic, race, language, ideology, and culture in Indonesia. *Indonesian-ness* "Awareness of National Ideology" attached to Nando and Richard [15]. Indonesian language is used in family communication. Understand the ideology and constitution of the country well. Understanding, attitude, behavior of national diversity.

#### *C. From Ethno-Nationalism to Nationalism*

Development of history education in Papua in accordance with local identity (*Papuan-ness*) and multicultural should be done immediately. Materials on Local Identity (*Papuan-ness*) make historical education more meaningful and cultivate students' critical power. The relevance of history education with *Papuan-ness* is the internalization of local history of Papua. *Papuan-ness* "Local Identity" ("Ethno-Nationalism") is important to be developed in High School students. Growing *Papuan-ness* can strengthen the national identity (*Indonesian-ness*). The fact that Indonesian nationalism is made up of a collection of local nationalism (ethno-nationalism).

Historical education, both as part of social studies as well as history subjects, contains distinctive and value-filled material. Historical education in the reform era and Special Autonomy of Papua contributed to the settlement of the problems of localization (*Papuan-ness*) and nationality (*Indonesian-ness*). The content of historical education is a simultaneous integration of *Papuan-ness* and *Indonesian-ness*. Local history has an important contribution to the habituation of *Papuan-ness* as well as attracting *Indonesian-ness* knots. The principle is that local symbols are not a form of sovereignty, and that "umbrellas" are national integration.

#### IV. CONCLUSION

*Indonesian-ness* was identified into three categories: "primordial of collective awareness", "awareness of national symbols", and "awareness of national ideology". The reinforcement of *Indonesian-ness* of the high school students in Jayapura is a necessity, especially in *Indonesian-ness* of primordial collective awareness and awareness of national symbols. If that awareness does not go well in the future, there is a higher awareness in rising opportunities, that is a political awareness or 'Papua nationalism,' which is antithesis of Indonesian nationalism.

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