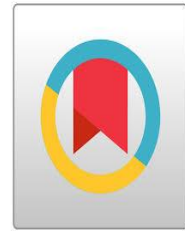**Ethnonationalism and Humanitarian Diplomacy: A Study on the Indigenous Papuan Response to Vanuatu's Advocacy for Papuan Independence**

Etnonasionalisme dan Diplomasi Kemanusiaan: Sebuah Studi tentang Respon Masyarakat Adat Papua terhadap Advokasi Vanuatu untuk Kemerdekaan Papua

Aditya Permana[1]*, Muhammad Awatarino[2]

[12] Department of International Relations, BINUS University, Jakarta, Indonesia

[12] Jl. Kemanggisan Ilir III No.45, Kemanggisan, Kec. Palmerah, Kota Jakarta Barat, Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta 11480

AdityaPermana84@binus.ac.id[1]*; awantarino@gmail.com[2];

Corresponding author: AdityaPermana84@binus.ac.id[1]*

ARTICLE INFORMATION

ABSTRACT
Papua Province's integration into the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) has been marked by historical intricacies, particularly stemming from the prolonged process that spans approximately 14 years. Commencing with the Round Table Conference in 1949 and culminating in the 1969 People's Opinion (PEPERA), Papua's trajectory has been shaped by political dynamics and challenges related to national integration. This paper delves into the complexities surrounding Papua's integration, exploring the impact of the New York Agreement, the PEPERA process, and its subsequent implications for the region's sociopolitical landscape. Drawing attention to the contested legitimacy of the PEPERA process, we examine the dynamics that have contributed to the ongoing conflict in Papua, with indigenous Papuans expressing disillusionment over perceived marginalization and discrimination. In light of these challenges, the emergence of ethnonationalism becomes a focal point, exacerbated by state policies that have further marginalized indigenous populations during periods such as the New Order era and the declaration of Military Operations Area (DOM) status. Central to our inquiry is an exploration of the response of the Indigenous Papuan community to the advocacy for Papuan humanitarian diplomacy by Vanuatu, a prominent member of the United Liberation Movement for West Papua (ULMWP). This study aims to investigate the extent to which the Orang Asli Papua (OAP) or Indigenous Papuan community's response aligns with the values inherent in the concept of ethnonationalism. By addressing these issues, we seek to contribute to the scholarly understanding of ethnonational dynamics, humanitarian diplomacy, and the ongoing sociopolitical landscape in Papua.

ABSTRAK
Integrasi Provinsi Papua ke dalam Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia (NKRI) telah ditandai oleh kerumitan sejarah, terutama yang berasal dari proses yang panjang yang berlangsung sekitar 14 tahun. Dimulai dengan Konferensi Meja Bundar pada tahun 1949 dan berpuncak pada Pendapat Rakyat 1969 (PEPERA), lintasan Papua telah dibentuk oleh dinamika politik dan tantangan yang terkait dengan integrasi nasional. Tulisan ini menyelidiki kompleksitas seputar integrasi Papua, mengeksplorasi dampak Perjanjian New York, proses PEPERA, dan implikasinya selanjutnya terhadap lanskap sosial politik wilayah tersebut. Menarik perhatian pada legitimasi proses PEPERA yang diperebutkan, kami mengkaji dinamika yang telah berkontribusi pada konflik yang sedang berlangsung di Papua, dengan penduduk asli Papua menyatakan kekecewaan atas marginalisasi dan diskriminasi yang dirasakan. Mengingat tantangan-tantangan ini, munculnya

etnonasionalisme menjadi titik fokus, diperburuk oleh kebijakan negara yang semakin meminggirkan penduduk asli selama periode-periode seperti era Orde Baru dan deklarasi status Daerah Operasi Militer (DOM). Inti dari penyelidikan kami adalah eksplorasi respons komunitas Pribumi Papua terhadap advokasi diplomasi kemanusiaan Papua oleh Vanuatu, anggota terkemuka Gerakan Pembebasan Bersatu untuk Papua Barat (ULMWP). Studi ini bertujuan untuk menyelidiki sejauh mana respons komunitas Orang Asli Papua (OAP) atau Pribumi Papua selaras dengan nilai-nilai yang melekat dalam konsep etnonasionalisme. Dengan membahas masalah-masalah ini, kami berusaha untuk berkontribusi pada pemahaman ilmiah tentang dinamika etnonasional, diplomasi kemanusiaan, dan lanskap sosial politik yang sedang berlangsung di Papua.

Introduction

Papua Province, as an integral part of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI), has a history marked by a prolonged and intricate process of integration into Indonesian territory. This process, spanning around 14 years, commenced with the Round Table Conference (1949), followed by the New York Agreement (1962) and culminating in the 1969 People's Opinion abbreviated as PEPERA (Yambeyapdi, 2018). PEPERA, conducted from July 14 to August 2, 1969, was overseen by UNTEA, engaging representatives from eight districts in PEPERA Deliberative Councils (District DMPs). However, issues arose due to the imbalance between population and representation, violating the New York Agreement's principle of "one man, one vote."

This disparity has contributed to ongoing conflicts in Papua, casting doubt on the legitimacy of PEPERA. The indigenous Papuans perceive the integration process as manipulated and engineered (Gault-Williams, M. 1987). Dissatisfaction with discrimination and marginalization by the state and immigrants fuelled desires for disintegration, further advocated by the United Liberation Movement for West Papua (ULMWP). Formed in 2014, the ULMWP, comprising organizations like the West Papua National Coalition for Liberation (WPNCL) and the West Papua National Parliament (PNPB), actively addresses human rights violations committed by Indonesian security forces (Pedrason R, 2022). In the context of civic nationalism and state nationalism, Papua faces challenges from the growth of ethnic nationalism or ethnonationalism. The latter has flourished due to state policies marginalizing and discriminating against indigenous Papuans in development processes, particularly during the New Order era, further exacerbated by the imposition of the Military Operations Area (DOM) status on Papua (Handoko S.T, 2019).

Vanuatu, a vocal ULMWP member, consistently raises the issue of Papuan independence in international forums, emphasizing human rights violations by the Indonesian government (Sabir, 2018). Vanuatu's consistent advocacy for Papuan independence, expressed by former Prime Minister Moana Carcasses Katokai Kalosil, emphasizes a principled approach rooted in human rights concerns. This support transcends political and economic considerations, focusing on addressing rights violations and recognizing Papuans' identity within the broader Melanesian context. Beyond state actors, non-state entities such as the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) have actively voiced concerns about human rights violations in Papua. A recent OHCHR press release (2022) underscored the worsening human rights situation in Papua, emphasizing shocking violations against Indigenous Papuans, including child

killings, disappearances, torture, and mass displacement. Urgent calls for humanitarian access and an impartial investigation into abuses against Indigenous Papuans have been prominent features of the OHCHR's engagement.

Against this background, this research aims to explore the response of the Indigenous Papuan (*Orang Asli Papua*/OAP) community to Vanuatu's advocacy for Papuan humanitarian diplomacy. The study seeks to connect this response to the concept of ethnonationalism, evaluating whether it aligns with the values embedded in ethnonationalism. The research question is formulated as follows: "How did the Indigenous Papuan people (OAP) respond to the Papuan humanitarian diplomacy proclaimed by Vanuatu?"

The preponderance of international support and engagement concerning the Papua issue emanates predominantly from Pacific nations. This is notably exemplified by the United Liberation Movement for West Papua (ULMWP), an amalgamation of antecedent entities active in the pursuit of Papuan independence, including the West Papua National Coalition for Liberation (WPNCL), the Federal Republic of West Papua (RFPB), and the Papua National Parliament (PNPB). Established in Port Vila, Vanuatu, on December 7, 2014, the ULMWP has fervently advocated against human rights transgressions perpetrated by the Indonesian government through its security apparatus (Pedrason R, 2022). Among the staunchest proponents of Papuan independence within the ULMWP is Vanuatu, consistently articulating the issue at the United Nations (UN) council forum, such as during the 68th annual UN General Assembly session in 2013 in New York and the 25th session of the UN Human Rights Council in Geneva, Switzerland in 2014 (Sabir, 2018).

During the 25th UN Human Rights Council meeting in 2014, Vanuatu's former Prime Minister, Moana Carcasses Katokai Kalosil, underscored human rights violations in Papua as the primary rationale for supporting Papuan independence. Kalosil emphasized that this support transcended political or economic considerations, portraying it as a commitment to addressing rights violations and recognizing the Melanesian identity, alongside safeguarding the rights of Papuans as integral members of the citizenry (Kusuma, P. D., Widhiyoga, G., & Murdani, A. D. 2021). This sentiment was reiterated by Charlot Salwai Tabimasmas, the Prime Minister of Vanuatu, who denounced human rights violations in Papua, urging the Indonesian government to heed the Papuan people's voice and their desire for self-determination (RDS & AGE, 2019).

Moreover, non-state entities have significantly contributed to the discourse on human rights violations in Papua, expanding the dialogue beyond the realm of state actors.

In a press release issued in 2022, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) expressed profound apprehension regarding the escalating human rights transgressions in Papua and West Papua. The OHCHR highlighted shocking violations against Indigenous Papuans, including child killings, disappearances, torture, and mass displacement, calling for urgent humanitarian access and an impartial investigation into abuses (OHCHR, 2022). Similarly, the International Coalition for Papua (ICP) and West Papua Netzwerk (WPN) have addressed human rights issues by publishing a report titled 'Increasing Human Rights and Conflict in West Papua' (ICP, 2020). This report comprehensively examines the human rights situation, conflict dynamics, and development challenges in Papua. Numerous international non-governmental organizations (NGOs), such as The Indonesian Human Rights Campaign (TAPOL), Caritas Australia, and Minority Rights Group International, have also contributed to the discourse on Papua (Rosyidin, 2022).

While traditional diplomacy often aligns with state interests, human rights diplomacy involves diplomatic negotiations and persuasion for the explicit purpose of promoting and safeguarding human rights. It engages with diverse actors, each with varying goals and interests related to human rights. Human rights diplomacy seeks to persuade counterparts to implement measures advancing human rights and preventing actions that violate them (O'Flaherty, M., Kędzia, Z., Müller, A., & Ulrich, G. 2011). In situations where ethnonationalist movements seek autonomy based on their ethnic identity, human rights diplomacy assumes a pivotal role in addressing their grievances. By leveraging human rights principles and international norms, this form of diplomacy advocates for the protection of marginalized ethnic communities' rights and promotes an inclusive governance approach. Consequently, human rights diplomacy exhibits a significant correlation with ethnonationalist separatism (Vogelgesang, 1979).

In the context of separatist ethnonationalism, the conceptual underpinning or rationale for separatist movements often aligns with the "ideology" of ethnonationalism. Ethnonationalism, as delineated by scholars such as Nnoli (1980) and Gellner (1983), reinforces the assertion of a distinct ethnic identity while advocating for political autonomy or separation to safeguard or advance the interests of that particular ethnic group (Ratcliffe, P. (Ed.). 2005). A central driver of separatist movements is the notion of self-determination. Defined as a condition in which certain groups perceive themselves as distinct and divergent from others, self-determination asserts their right to shape their own state and governance (Connor, 1973). The principle accentuates that substantial political decisions should be

rooted in the will and interests of the involved ethnic groups. This implies that ethnic groups perceiving unique identities and interests possess the right to chart their own destiny, encompassing the right to political autonomy or even complete secession from the existing state (Smith A.D, 1991). Connor (1973), in *The Politics of Ethnonationalism*, elucidates that ethnonationalism may arise when an ethnic group experiences irredentism, wherein the dominant ethnic group extends beyond national boundaries (Connor, 1973). The demand by ethnic groups for political institutions and borders to be tailored to the best interests of these groups is a phenomenon with global implications.

This emphasis on self-determination is further underscored by the ethnic-separation movement. According to Brubaker (2014), ethnic separation is a manifestation of identity conflict. Ethnic boundaries play a pivotal role in fostering internal solidarity and loyalty within ethnic groups, subsequently intensifying the yearning for separation or segregation. Instances such as the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia during the 1990s and in Aceh, Indonesia, exemplify this dynamic. The Yugoslav conflict involved numerous ethnic groups striving to assert their independence and form a state grounded in their ethnic identity. Struggles for ethnic supremacy and separatist movements emerged among ethnic groups like Serbs, Croats, Bosnians, and Kosovo (Beširević, 2010). In the case of Aceh, the separatist ethnonationalism found expression in the Free Aceh Movement (GAM), aspiring to detach itself from Indonesia and establish an independent state known as Negara Aceh Darussalam (Schulze, 2004). This movement drew inspiration from ethnonationalist contentions based on Aceh's identity as a distinct ethnic entity with a unique history, culture, and especially religion. Supporters of the movement demanded Aceh's independence as a means to safeguard and advocate for the rights of an ethnic group they perceived as marginalized under the central government (Niksch, 2004).

Religion and ethnonationalism exhibit a close correlation in various case studies, particularly when a religion is deeply intertwined with the culture and traditions of a particular ethnicity. Among academics, two distinct terms are employed to characterize the amalgamation of religion and ethnonationalism: *Ethno-religious Nationalism* and *Religious Ethnonationalism*. Ethno-religious nationalism is delineated as a more specific manifestation of ethnonationalism, distinguished by a set of transcendental ideals and norms that underpin ethnonational values, politics, and identity (Travis, 2013). This form of nationalism draws on religious identities and myths to delineate the nation and its objectives. According to Juergensmeyer (2019), in the early 21st century, a growing number of scholars

perceived the ascent of ethno-religious nationalism not only as a repudiation of modernity but also as a rejection of a form of postmodernity, i.e., globalization.

Ethno-religious nationalism encompasses the quest for political recognition and national sovereignty, with strong manifestations featuring a nation whose primary identity is defined by religion (Grzymala-Busse, 2019). Empirical studies on ethno-religious nationalism underscore its impact on national identity and conflicts. As per Oddie's M (2012) investigation, the ethnic diversity in the region resulted in struggles for independence, with the country's religious identity playing a contributing role. Oddie argued that religion often wielded a substantial impact on the shaping and preservation of national identity, providing rationale for behaviours that, under normal circumstances, would not be sanctioned by religion, including acts of violence, terrorism, or even genocide.

This phenomenon is also quite evident in the empirical study of India, where the ideology of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) group is founded on animosity towards minority religions, particularly Muslims. The RSS employs this perceived 'enemy' as a means to consolidate Hindus (Siddiqui, 2016). Additionally, Sarigil, Z., & Fazlioglu, O. (2013) in his study on the Kurdish ethnic movement in Turkey, identified messages of ethno-religious nationalism wherein religion is leveraged to legitimize political positions and delegitimize opponents. In Israel, ethno-religious nationalism is utilized as a doctrinal tool for nation-building, reinforcing educational programs that emphasize Jewish identity. This narrative legitimizes the ethnic and religious superiority of Judaism over non-Jews, with ethno-religious nationalism invoked to justify land acquisitions on the basis of divine promise to Jews (Oddie M, 2012; Sarigil, Z., & Fazlioglu, O. (2013).

The nexus between ethnonationalism and violence, especially in the form of armed conflict is tightly interwoven. According to Zdeb (2019), the amalgamation of ethnonationalism and conflict is often encapsulated in the term "ethnic conflict." Ethnonationalism signifies a robust ethnic identification and a belief in the interests and political rights of ethnic groups. When ethnonationalism proliferates in a society, especially with claims to a distinctive and exclusive ethnic identity, armed conflict frequently becomes a plausible outcome.

Divergent perspectives exist among scholars regarding the relationship between ethnonationalism and conflict – oftentimes involving armament. Some argue that ethnonationalism can be the primary catalyst for armed conflict. Beširević (2010), for instance, contends that ethnic strife, hatred, and enmity in the countries of the former Yugoslavia did not pre-exist before the outbreak of conflict; instead, these were

manufactured by political elites, particularly through media manipulation. This aligns with the views of Brass P R (1991), Fearon, J. D., & Laitin, D. D. (2000), and Lecours A (2000), who posit that political elites employ strategies to gain power or oppose political adversaries by manipulating the masses to align with their goals. Brass P R (1991), asserts that ethnicity and nationalism are not inherent but social and political constructs, creations of the elite to secure political and economic benefits for their group and themselves. Lecours A(2000) further emphasizes the role of political elites in ethnonationalism, delineating three main stages: (1) the creation, transformation, and crystallization of ethnic identity; (2) defining interests; and (3) politicizing and mobilizing ethnic identity, with elites playing a crucial role in all these stages.

On the contrary, some scholars perceive ethnonationalism as a factor influencing armed conflict. Cederman, L. E., Wimmer, A., & Min, B. (2010) conducted an empirical study analyzing ethnic strength factors in ethnic conflict, revealing that exclusion and competition against ethnic groups were strongly linked to internal conflict. This study suggests that once ethnic politics is conceptualized, ethnonationalist civil wars are more likely to occur. Yilmaz M.E (2018) further expounds in his study, concluding that the rise of ethnic nationalism triggers numerous ethnic-driven conflicts, characterized by competition between groups feeling culturally distinct. This competition can escalate into open conflict when these groups perceive their relationship as unfair within the existing political order, prompting them to seek change through conflict, ranging from the recognition of cultural rights to autonomy, political separation, or complete independence. In all of cases, ethnic nationalist movements often find their ideological basis in the concept of ethnic supremacy. This idea posits the superiority or absolute rights of one ethnic group over others that viewed as their inferiors. This perspective, rooted in the false belief that a particular ethnic group is superior in terms of intelligence, race, or culture, fosters a sense of entitlement to govern or subjugate other ethnic groups within a nation. Several case studies illustrate how the notion of ethnic supremacy can propel political movements seeking the political dominance or separation of their ethnic group from others. In the Ivory Coast, the "young patriots" movement during the First Ivorian Civil War exemplifies ethnonationalism based on ethnic supremacy. Examined by Richard Banégas R (2006), this movement expressed hostility toward France, immigrants from neighboring countries, and Ivorian citizens deemed questionable in their origin, ancestry, religion, or family name. The movement, rooted in the 1990s land issue, evolved into a manifestation of ethnonationalism, altering inter-community relations and intensifying tensions based on region of origin,

culture, and religion. Another case study involves the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) in Bangladesh, where ethnic conflict emerged as a consequence of the failure of national integration. In this instance, Bengali efforts to establish a homogeneous state dominated by Bengalis led to protracted ethnic conflict, with the conflict gaining international attention in the 1980s. The conflict encompassed issues of autonomy, identity, and land disputes, highlighting the challenges of national integration.

Changes in the ideas of nation, nationality, and nationalism have been noted in the larger context of the global resurgence of ethnic nationalism. A major factor in the creation of societal stereotypes and images is ethnic awareness, which includes self-identification and group views of ethnic or national traits. Ethnic nationalism's comeback has produced both positive and negative effects, such as racism, chauvinism, and animosity towards other groups. Positive effects include pride in group accomplishments and a strong sense of connection to the past. Studies on ethnonationalism case studies typically commence with a delineation of ethnicity. Scholars often define ethnicity as a community grounded in shared ideas, values, and interests. It is characterized by a collective awareness of being an ethnic group, demarcating itself from others (Nnoli 1980; Gellner 1983) (Ratcliffe, P. Ed. 2005). Ethnicity is not a static concept but rather a complex identity whose prominence and features hinge on the context (Barker, E. 2024). Connor (1973) perceives a close correlation between ethnicity and nationalism, asserting that the modern era has witnessed an upsurge in ethnic collectivity, compelling members of ethnic groups to cultivate significant self-awareness and subjective identity. For Connor, this constitutes the essence of ethnonationalism, propelling the expression of nationalist sentiments. Self-awareness is further delineated (Lee, L. K. 2002) as a manifestation of cultural affinity embodied in linguistic, religious, racial, or other markers that enable an ethnic group to differentiate itself from others. National self-awareness is a product of the 19th century, and what truly matters is the idea that becomes a fervent cause and source of action. Ethnic nationalism or ethnonationalism, as posited by Smith (1991), involves mobilizing ethnic groups through language, ethno-history, religion, traditions, and customs. Smith contends that the rediscovery of the ethnic past can inspire ethnic communities to assert their rights as a nation.

The encounter with ethnic concepts gives rise to ethnic awareness, a concept encompassing self-identification and popular perceptions of ethnic or national characteristics associated with the group (Drobizheva, 1996). Ideas about a group's origins, history, language, culture, traditions, standards of behavior, customs, and art all contribute to the formation of stereotypes and underpin a collective image. Positive emotional facets

of ethnic awareness encompass pride in the group's accomplishments and a profound interest in and connection with its past. Negative aspects may involve hostility toward members of other groups, chauvinism, and racism. Additionally, Connor (1973) and Olayode (2010) elucidate that the central political principle of ethnonationalism is the right to self-determination for every ethnic group globally. In international relations, this principle may lead to policies and movements advocating for irredentism to establish a common state based on ethnicity. Hence, ethnonationalism is defined as the allegiance and identification of people with specific ethnic groups within a nation-state. There are at least four variables that indicate an association between ethnic background and the way they see themselves as a nation, and how they have a conception of separating themselves from other identities, i.e. (1) conception of ethnic identity; (2) self-awareness regarding who is "us" and who are "them"; (3) self-determination; and (4) ethnic separation, as the final step in realizing the relationship between "us" and "them". 1). The concept of Ethnic Identity is a comprehensive notion that revolves around an individual's recognition and understanding of themselves within a specific ethnic group. This profound sense of affiliation is rooted in shared characteristics, including descent, language, culture, religion, and historical background. The indicators for ethnic identity encompass descendants, language, culture, religion, and history, drawing insights from the work of Smith, A. D. (1991) in the realm of National Identity. 2). Self-awareness, on the other hand, manifests as a form of cultural affinity expressed through linguistic, religious, racial, or other distinctive markers. This allows an ethnic group to differentiate itself from others. Self-awareness involves an awareness of ethnic identity, experiences of discrimination, and a deep sense of group loyalty. The indicators include an awareness of ethnic identity, the experience of discrimination, and group loyalty, drawing from the perspectives presented by (Lee, L. K. 2002). 3). The concept of Self-Determination encapsulates the right of a distinct group of people to autonomously decide the country they will inhabit and the form of government they will adopt. The indicators include political autonomy, recognition of cultural and identity, and control over resources. Connor, W. (1973), in his work on The Politics of Ethnonationalism, provides valuable insights into this dimension. 4). Lastly, Ethnic Separation plays a pivotal role in fostering internal solidarity and loyalty within ethnic groups, thereby intensifying the desire for separation or segregation. Indicators include geographical separation, the use of language and cultural identity, and social and political segregation. This concept is elucidated by Brubaker, R. (2002).

Method

In this research, the authors opted for a descriptive qualitative methodology to delve deeply into the phenomena under investigation and to illuminate the questions at hand. This approach is centered on the detailed depiction and interpretation of qualitative data derived from sources such as interviews, observations, and document analyses. Its aim is to elucidate the characteristics, patterns, and contextual nuances pertinent to the research subject.

The data collection process will encompass diverse sources, including pertinent literature, policy documents, official statements, and primary sources such as interviews conducted with key figures, members of the Indigenous Papuan community, and other stakeholders. The interview design adopted for this study adheres to a structured format, where respondents are presented with a predetermined set of questions. This design ensures uniformity in the information gathered; however, the rigidity of the set questions may impose limitations on the breadth of information extracted, as respondents cannot introduce new queries. The resultant qualitative data will offer a nuanced understanding of individuals' perceptions, attitudes, and responses concerning disintegration diplomacy. Subsequently, the collected data will undergo analysis to unveil emerging patterns, themes, and relationships within the context of the ethnonationalism of Indigenous Papua (OAP) and its implications for Papua's disintegration diplomacy as articulated by the state of Vanuatu.

Result and Discussion

Human rights diplomacy on the issue of Papua has been manifested through Vanuatu's actions. Vanuatu has taken a firm stance, advocating for the protection and promotion of human rights in Papua. Through diplomatic channels, Vanuatu has raised concerns about alleged human rights violations and called for international attention to the situation. The country has engaged in bilateral and multilateral discussions, making use of private and public diplomacy to address the issue. Vanuatu's human rights diplomacy in the Papua context demonstrates its commitment to ensuring the rights and well-being of the affected population. By highlighting these concerns on the global stage, Vanuatu aims to bring about positive change and accountability for human rights abuses in Papua.

Ethnic Identity as a Driver of Human Right Diplomacy

Ethnicity, as a contested concept, is considered a new term. Its initial presence in the dictionary was in the Oxford English Dictionary in 1972 (Isiksal, 2002). The definition of

ethnicity has a long history of debate among academics, generally this view is divided into two main streams namely primordialism and constructionism. Primordialism sees ethnicity as something that is inherent and attached to individuals. Ethnic identity is seen as something that is born from primordial factors such as race, heredity, religion, or hereditary culture (Coakley J. 2018). Meanwhile, the view of constructivism sees ethnicity as the result of social construction and the process of forming a collective identity. Ethnic identity is considered as the result of social interaction, cultural interpretation, and historical narrative (Chandra, K. (Ed.). (2012).

In the context of ethnic identity in Papua, we will examine the relevance between primordialist and constructivist views in OAP's response to Vanuatu's disintegration diplomacy. This comparison was made to understand whether OAP tends to regard their ethnic identity as something that is hereditary and primordial, or whether they see ethnic identity as a social construction that is influenced by contemporary factors such as politics, the economy, and the social environment. By analyzing these two views, this section aims to gain deeper insight into how OAP understand and respond to their ethnic identity in Papua. The author has conducted interviews with 6 respondents from various backgrounds.

The majority of informants associated Papuan ethnic identity with a constructivism view. The majority of sources stated that ethnicity in Papua was created as a response to the construction of Indonesian ethnicity which had influenced their identity and experiences. Ethnic identity in Papua cannot be separated from Indonesian identity as stated by Uswanas, our respondent from Special Staff Assistant to the President of the Republic of Indonesia for Innovation and Disadvantaged Regions, who said, "Pancasila (Indonesia's State ideology) is actually explored not from the outside but actually extracted from all values or culture that exist in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia including Papua". Brubaker in *Ethnicity without Groups* (2002) argued that ethnicity was not created and has existed since birth but is the result of a continuous process of social construction. However, Barth, F. (1998) although he sees ethnicity as the result of social construction and the process of forming a collective identity, he also recognizes the importance of primordial factors in shaping ethnic identity. This is in line with the view of Wirata, student and member of the Papuan Talent Management, she stated that there is a lack of ethnic ties between Papua and Vanuatu. According to her, although Papua and Vanuatu have ties as Melanesians, there is no significant language and cultural similarity between the two. Uswanas expressed the same thing in the Field of Innovation, Education and Outermost Regions. He revealed that there is a bond in the mystical atmosphere because Papua and

Vanuatu are both from the Melanesian race. However, he explained that Papuan ethnic identity is also influenced by Pancasila values. For example, he exemplified himself as a Fakfak native who has a very tolerant culture of life, and this is very much in accordance with the articles or precepts in Pancasila. Also included in Papua are the values of Pancasila which are actually applied in the life of the people there, so when it comes to identity, Pancasila ideology has a major influence on ethnicity in Papua.

Even so, there was a different nuance given by one of the respondents, Yobee, as Regional Autonomy Organizer, Ministry of Home Affairs. He stated that Vanuatu's diplomacy, which carried the value of ethnic identity, greatly influenced his views. He negates the value of ethnic Papuan identity with race. According to him, Vanuatu and Papuans are both black and curly. There psychologically he could not get in Indonesia. Even though he stated that Papuan ethnicity has been recognized in Indonesia, as native Papuans one cannot ignore how we look. He likens it to people from other regions in Indonesia, OAP is automatically different ethnically and physically which is immediately visible to the eye. So, when Vanuatu carried out a diplomatic movement that brought ethnicity, according to him, it really affected the mentality of the Papuan people. Yobee's statement is more in line with the primordial view, as stated by Gellner in his book "Nations and Nationalism" (1983) which put forward the primordial view in understanding ethnicity. He argues that ethnicity emerges from primordial ties which include factors such as language, religion, and shared history. According to Gellner, ethnicity is a strong identity and is closely related to collective experiences that are passed down from generation to generation. In this limited description, by far we can conclude that ethnic identity in Papua is more inclined towards constructivism. Barth's concept which emphasizes the role of social interaction in the formation of ethnic identity Barth, F. (1998), and Brubaker's concept which highlights identity construction as a result of political and historical processes (Brubaker, 2002), provide a more comprehensive understanding of the dynamics of ethnic identity in Papua. Ethnic identity in Papua is not only based on primordial factors such as race or descent but is also formed through a process of social construction involving politics, culture, and contextual change.

However, it appears that there is an ethnonationalist sentiment in the responses of the informants. The majority of the interviewees saw Vanuatu's diplomacy related to ethnic identity as an understanding that ethnic identity is an important foundation in forming group unity and affirming the uniqueness and pride of the group. The responses of these sources saw Vanuatu diplomacy as an influential effort in strengthening ethnic identity, especially because Papua and Vanuatu have the same racial lineage and are part of the Melanesian

culture. They see a bond in the spiritual atmosphere between Papua and Vanuatu, given their similar ethnic backgrounds. In addition, the use of ethnic identity diction in Vanuatu diplomacy is considered as an important factor that must be respected and acknowledged.

Ethnic Awareness

Ethnic awareness was first defined by Barker in National Character and the Factors in Its Formation (1927), where he used the self-conscious diction of ethnic groups and stated that ethnic groups could be easily distinguished by outside observers, but group members. The ethnic group must be aware of the uniqueness and separateness of this group. This was then followed by the opinion of Barth, F. (1998), who stated that there is no ethnicity unless a group has minimum contact with other groups and considers each other different. Barth defines ethnicity as a categorical presupposition between 'us' and 'them.' Barth's views are in line with Connor's in The Politics of Ethnonationalism (1973), in which he states that in order to be able to define ethnic consciousness, one must presuppose awareness of other groups. Unique or different tastes need referents, i.e., the concept of 'us' needs 'them' without the knowledge of the existence of foreigners in a foreign way. In our context, the majority of sources stated that there was no feeling of being separated from Indonesian identity, because the uniqueness of Papuan identity is also formed by Indonesian values. As explained by Uswanas earlier, Papuan identity is related to Indonesian identity, which according to him is unique to Papua. With this identity, the Papuan or Melanesian language of eastern Indonesia has a Malay-Papuan or Malay-Melanesian accent. According to him, the ideology of the nation, i.e., Pancasila, and Bahasa Indonesia language has its own magic as unifying factors. Papua does not have a unifying language, considering the plurality of ethnic groups who live separately and have minimal contact due to the vast and unexplored topology of the Papua region. When speaking with different tribes, Papuans use Malay or Indonesian. Smith in *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (1986) states that ethnic communities can be recognized not only by 'objective' cultural characteristics but also by myths, symbols, memories, and values such as religious movements, social discrimination, or even a specific territorial location, can bind clans and tribes together into a cohesive ethnic group, even without centralized state action. In the Papuan context, a history of discrimination creates strong ties of ethnic identity between ethnic groups, this can be seen from all the answers from the interviewees who stated that they had experienced discrimination. One of the respondents, Difinubun, an Education Activist and Coordinator of the Kitong Bisa Learning Center stated that she experienced discrimination while studying in Malang, East

Java, Indonesia. When she wants to look for boarding houses, the owner of the boarding house informs her that the boarding house is full even though there are still vacant ones. According to her, she really faced feelings of discrimination. Even though she wears a hijab as signifier of her acquaintance to the majority religion in Indonesia, Islam. This is also felt by Yobee. He himself has personally felt discrimination since high school when he first left Papua.

On the other hand, Wirata, a fair-skinned straight-haired Papuans, stated that the responses given often made her feel discriminated against, such as "...you Papuans can wear clothes?", "Why are Papuans can be white?", or "How come the Papuan people have straight hair?" Such things have broken the spirit of Papuan children and made them feel that they are being treated unfairly. Even in administrative matters with the central government, similar experiences often occur. Sources revealed that such treatment had a negative impact on the mental state and self-confidence of Papuan children. Discrimination is experienced only based on their physical appearance or regional origin, which should not be a parameter in judging someone. This points to the need for greater awareness and understanding of cultural diversity in Indonesia.

Self Determination

Self-determination can be understood as the right of a group of people who consider themselves separate and different from others to determine for themselves the country where they will live and the form of government they will have (Connor, 1973). Olayode (2010) also explained that the main political principle of ethnonationalism is that every ethnic group on earth has the right to self-determination. In the Papuan context, self-determination refers to the political aspirations of some Papuans to have the right and freedom to determine their own destiny. This involves a desire to have greater political autonomy, manage their own natural resources, and maintain their cultural identity and traditional way of life. Self-determination in Papua is often linked to demands for independence or greater autonomy, as well as the right to determine the form of government that suits the needs and desires of the Papuan people.

Regarding self-determination value, the majority of interviewees said that currently Papua is not ready for independence because there is still much works to be done, especially regarding human resources. However, the majority of interviewees agreed that if Papua continues to be mistreated by the Indonesian government, it would be better for Papua to be independent. This is in accordance with the views of Difinubun. For her, some people really

want independence and become a separate entity from Indonesia. However, it should be considered that if they separate, they will face enormous challenges in rebuilding all aspects of their lives. Dependence on resources from Java such as companies, food and infrastructure will be a complex issue. Separating themselves will bring them back to square one, where they have to start from scratch in building everything. Until now, the promises and rhetoric made by supporters of separation have not been fully realized. The people of Papua will face enormous challenges in rebuilding the infrastructure and economy they need. However, Yobee has a slightly different view. He revealed that Vanuatu's diplomacy regarding self-determination was very helpful because the Papuan people would feel that someone wanted to speak out about the Papuan people's unrest so far. "We already have a brother, Vanuatu, who wants to speak out about problems in Papua, of course this brings joy to the Papuan people because finally someone listens and wants to voice their concerns in the international arena." However, he reminded that is Papua ready to face things in the future because building a country is not easy. Just a small example of building a province, in Papua just dividing the province is not easy, that's just one province that was built. So, indigenous Papuans feel that this is a breakthrough because so far no one has spoken out or dared to talk about Papua in the international sphere. Uswanas' view is more comprehensive by explaining that the government has given greater political autonomy to Papua. The government already has many instruments to achieve justice in Papua. One of these is the Special Autonomy Law (OTSUS), which gives authority to the Papuan government to determine the justice they need. In addition, various affirmation programs and policies have been enacted. However, Papua as the last province cannot be viewed from a top-down perspective. The government's technocratic approach can be used, but the principles of decentralization and the bottom-up approach must also be considered so that development disparities can be immediately pursued. When talking about the atmosphere of mysticism and the violations that occurred in Papua, of course there are feelings of regret and anger. However, regretting and getting angry is not the answer to development. What needs to be done is to see the opportunities that exist in Papua provided by the government, and how the next generation can enjoy something their ancestors have never experienced. This atmosphere reflects acceptance of destiny that has never chosen to be born as a Papuan and witness various violence and injustice. However, they also do not choose to live in Papua within the Republic of Indonesia. Therefore, it is important to accept destiny and try to use existing tools to achieve progress.

Ethnic Separation

Connor (1994) defines that ethnonationalism often encourages ethnic separation as an effort to maintain the identity and political autonomy of ethnic groups. Ethnic segregation can be considered as a form of political expression of the desire of ethnic groups to maintain their existence, culture, and identity. This was later emphasized by Smith in *Myths and Memories of the Nation* (1999). He argued that ethnic separation in the context of ethnonationalism can be seen as the result of the struggle of ethnic groups to achieve political autonomy and independence in the geographical areas they consider as land. their water. Ethnic segregation can be a means for ethnic groups to maintain their cultural and political identities. Then this view was emphasized by Horowitz who studied inter-ethnic conflict and observed that in some cases, ethnic separation could be considered as a desired solution by conflicting ethnic groups. Ethnic segregation is considered a way to reduce conflict and create a more stable life for the ethnic groups involved (Horowitz D.L, 2000).

The majority of respondents explained that Vanuatu's diplomacy regarding Papuan independence was not very strong, there is no further desire for independence and the influence of Vanuatu diplomacy is very weak as it does not provide a clear solution on how to go after Papua independence. As explained by Uswanas who said Vanuatu's diplomacy regarding Papuan independence had not been able to have a strong influence, apart from the support of several countries that had an interest in the issue. Large countries may be more inclined to prioritize their economic interests, which are linked to capitalist interests. Meanwhile, smaller countries may be more influenced by their internal considerations. For example, Vanuatu and the Solomon Islands have often been vocal voices on the issue of Papuan independence at UN sessions. However, in his opinion, this was not enough to influence the situation, because global interests were not solely focused on Papua. The United Nations and other countries will see the living conditions of Papuans in Indonesia in a more holistic way. In this context, Vanuatu's diplomatic efforts can be considered as a lawsuit against the UN, because Papua joined Indonesia through an international agreement, not through unilateral action or without a written agreement. Therefore, in his view, the issue of Papua does not become an urgency for the world unless a major event occurs that exceeds the boundaries of human rights. Faced with this situation, attacking each other, and using old narratives is no longer interesting enough, because strong arguments can answer allegations of rights violations decisively.

This is in line with what was explained by Bosawer, Miss Indonesia West Papua 2023, who said that in the context of ethnic separation, personal sources currently do not

support it. Diplomacy carried out by Vanuatu also does not support this separation. The reason is because there are still many problems that need to be resolved in Papua, especially related to increasing the capacity of human resources. According to sources, Papua still needs to improve many aspects and sectors that are important for indigenous Papuans. Therefore, now is not the right time to consider ethnic segregation. In this light, Wirata also expressed the same thing. She did not fully support the social and political separation proposed by Vanuatu for Papua. But for her, if Papua continues to receive such an unfair method from Indonesia, it is better for Papua to be separated from Indonesia than to always be like that. She also said that everyone is aware that the origins of Indonesia's wealth, like that of Papua, mostly come from PT Freeport, American mining company operating in Papua. If the situation continues and we continue to be neglected in cultural and other terms, it may be better to consider social and political separation.

Conclusion

From the discussion, it can be concluded that the majority of OAP responses are related to Vanuatu's disintegration diplomacy in accordance with ethnonationalism values. In the context of ethnic identity in Papua, the majority of interviewees associated Papuan ethnic identity with constructivism. They see ethnic identity as the result of a social construction process that involves contemporary factors such as politics, the economy, and the social environment. Nonetheless, several responses from the informants also seemed to emphasize the importance of primordial factors in shaping Papuan ethnic identity, such as the Melanesian race. They see Vanuatu's diplomacy, which carries the value of ethnic identity, as an important factor in strengthening Papuan ethnic identity. They regard ethnic identity as something hereditary and primordial, involving factors such as race, physical appearance, and spiritual ties.

In terms of ethnic awareness, some interviewees felt feelings of separation and discrimination. They state that there are differences that are felt psychologically, both in the context of Papuan identity in Indonesia and in the context of interactions with other ethnic groups inside and outside Papua. The discrimination they experience, whether in the form of unfair treatment or degrading stereotypes, has affected their ethnic consciousness. This reflects the importance of awareness of the uniqueness and differences of ethnic groups in shaping ethnic consciousness. However, there were also interviewees who stated that they did not feel a sense of separation or discrimination. They associate Papuan identity as part of Indonesian identity. They emphasized the importance of unifiers such as Indonesian,

Malay-Papuan languages, and the philosophy of Pancasila in shaping Papuan ethnic consciousness.

Then related to self-determination and ethnic separation. Self-determination in Papua includes the political aspirations of some Papuans to have the right and freedom to determine their own destiny, including greater political autonomy and maintain their cultural identity. However, the views of OAP are divided regarding ethnic segregation. Several sources highlighted the challenges that would be faced in rebuilding all aspects of life if Papua seceded, while others saw Vanuatu's diplomacy as an important support for Papua's aspirations for independence. Despite the desire for ethnic segregation, the majority of interviewees acknowledged that now was not the right time to consider segregation. They highlighted the importance of increasing human resource capacity, solving existing problems, and developing important sectors for the Papuan people before considering separation. They also acknowledged that Vanuatu's diplomacy has not yet had a strong influence on the issue of Papuan independence, and that the Papuan issue does not become an urgency for the world unless a major event occurs which transcends the boundaries of human rights.

This reflects the view of the majority of OAP which prioritizes development and improving conditions in Papua before considering separation. Although there are aspirations for self-determination, they are also aware of the complexities and challenges that will be faced in building a new nation. This shows that the values of ethnonationalism in Papua are not only focused on separation, but also on fulfilling the needs and justice for the people of Papua under Indonesia. In this conclusion, different views on self-determination and ethnic separation are reflected in the discussion of OAP. This shows the importance of listening to diverse voices and involving the entire community in decision-making processes related to Papua's future. It can be seen that the majority of OAP are in accordance with the values of ethnonationalism related to self-determination and ethnic separation. However, they also recognize the importance of developing and improving conditions in Papua before considering separation. OAP's views reflect the desire for justice and progress for the Papuan people under Indonesia. In conclusion, most of OAP's responses are related to Vanuatu's human rights diplomacy which is in line with ethnonationalism values. The limitation of this research is that the responses of the interviewees may not fully represent the diversity of opinions and experiences that exist in society regarding the construction of ethnicity in Papua. In addition, the limited number of sources can also affect the diversity of perspectives obtained in this study.

Acknowledgments

Reference

Barker, E. (2024). National Character: and the factors in its formation. Taylor & Francis.

Banégas, R. (2006). Côte d'Ivoire: Patriotism, ethnonationalism and other African modes of self-writing. African affairs, 105(421), 535-552.

Barth, F. (1998). Ethnic groups and boundaries: The social organization of culture difference. Waveland Press.

Beširević, N. (2010). Ethnic conflicts in the former Yugoslavia as a consequence of nation-state building. Razprave in gradivo Treatises and documents, 61(1), 38-58.

Brass, P. R. (1991). Ethnicity and nationalism: Theory and comparison. New Delhi: Sage Publication.

Brubaker, R. (2014). chapter one nationalising states revisited–projects and processes of nationalisation in post-soviet states. New Nation-States and National Minorities, 11.

Chandra, K. (Ed.). (2012). Constructivist theories of ethnic politics. Oxford University Press.

Cederman, L. E., Wimmer, A., & Min, B. (2010). Why do ethnic groups rebel? New data and analysis. World politics, 62(1), 87-119.

Coakley, J. (2018). 'Primordialism'in nationalism studies: theory or ideology?. Nations and Nationalism, 24(2), 327-347.

Connor, W. (1973). The politics of ethnonationalism. Journal of International affairs, 1-21.

Connor, W. (2018). Ethnonationalism: The quest for understanding

Drobizheva, L. (1996). Russian Ethnonationalism. In R. G. Leokadia Drobizheva, Ethnic Conflict in the Post-Soviet World: Case Studies and Analysis. Routledge.

Fearon, J. D., & Laitin, D. D. (2000). Violence and the social construction of ethnic identity. International organization, 54(4), 845-877.

Gault-Williams, M. (1987). Organisasi papua merdeka: the free Papua movement lives. Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars, 19(4), 32-43.

Grzymala-Busse, A. (2019). Religious nationalism and religious influence. In Oxford research encyclopedia of politics.

Handoko, S. T. (2019). Relasi Nasionalisme Etnik, Nasionalisme Negara dan Nasionalisme Kewarganegaraan di Papua. Jurnal Sejarah Citra Lekha, 4(2), 100-110.

Horowitz, D. L. (2000). Ethnic groups in conflict, updated edition with a new preface. Univ of California Press.

Isıksal, H. (2002). Two perspectives on the relationship of ethnicity to nationalism: comparing Gellner and Smith. Alternatives: Turkish Journal of International Relations, 1(1).

Juergensmeyer, M. (2019). Religious nationalism in a global world. Religions, 10(2), 97.

Kusuma, P. D., Widhiyoga, G., & Murdani, A. D. (2021). Analisis Dukungan Vanuatu terhadap Upaya Kemerdakaan Papua. Jurnal Pena Wimaya, 2(1), 45-61.

Lecours, A. (2000). Ethnonationalism in the West: a theoretical exploration. Nationalism and Ethnic Politics, 6(1), 103-124.

Lee, L. K. (2002). Changing selves, changing society: Human relations experts and the invention of T Groups, sensitivity training, and encounter in the United States, 1938–1980. University of California, Los Angeles.

Niksch, L. (2000). Indonesian separatist movement in Aceh. Economic Review, 36.

Oddie, M. (2012). The Relationship of Religion and the Ethnic Nationalism in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Occasional Papers on Religion in Eastern Europe, 32(1), 3.

O'Flaherty, M., Kędzia, Z., Müller, A., & Ulrich, G. (2011). 1. Introduction. Human Rights Diplomacy Contemporary Perspectives. In Human Rights Diplomacy: Contemporary Perspectives (pp. 1-18). Brill Nijhoff.

Pedrason, R. (2022). Counter-Propaganda on the United Liberation Movement of West Papua (ULMWP) in Internationalizing Papua Issues in Online Media Through Digital Diplomacy. International Journal of Multicultural and Multireligious Understanding, 9(1), 587-593.

Ratcliffe, P. (Ed.). (2005). Race, ethnicity and nation: International perspectives on social conflict. Routledge.

Sabir, A. (2018). Diplomasi publik Indonesia terhadap Vanuatu dalam upaya membendung gerakan separatisme Papua. Jurnal Hubungan Internasional, 11(1), 91-108.

Sarigil, Z., & Fazlioglu, O. (2013). Religion and ethno-nationalism: Turkey's Kurdish issue. Nations and nationalism, 19(3), 551-571.

Schulze, K. E. (2004). The Free Aceh Movement (GAM): anatomy of a separatist organization.

Siddiqui, K. (2016). A critical study of 'Hindu Nationalism'in India. Journal of Business and Economic Policy, 3(2), 9-28.

Smith, A. D. (1991). The nation: invented, imagined, reconstructed?. Millennium, 20(3), 353-368.

Travis, H. (2013). Ethnonationalism, Genocide, and the United Nations. Routledge.

Vogelgesang, S. (1979). Diplomacy of human rights. International Studies Quarterly, 23(2), 216-245.

Yambeyapdi, E. (2019). Papua: Sejarah Integrasi yang Diingat dan Ingatan Kolektif. Indonesian Historical Studies, 2(2), 89-95.

Yılmaz, M. E. (2018). The rise of ethnic nationalism, intra-state conflicts and conflict resolution. TESAM Akademi Dergisi, 5(1), 11-33.

Yobee, Yunasila (2022). *Interview with Regional Autonomy Organizing Manager, Ministry of Home Affairs*. Interviewer: Muhammad Awatarino.

Zdeb, A. (2019). Ethno-nationalism and political conflict in Bosnia (Europe). Ratuva, Steven (szerk.): The Palgrave Handbook of Ethnicity. Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 595-612.