Construction of Nationalism on Papuan College Student in Surabaya Indonesia in Multicuturalism Perspective

Darsono

Doctoral Student of Social Sciences
Faculty of Social and Political Sciences
University of Airlangga
Surabaya, Indonesia

Associate Professor
Faculty of Language and Sciences
University of Wijaya Kusuma
Surabaya Indonesia

Abstract

This research is motivated by contestation between nationalism of Indonesia and Papua that gave birth to prolonged conflict in Papua. Focuses of research is construction of nationalism on Papuan college student in Surabaya in multiculturalism perspectives. By using theory of constructive nationalism, that used in perspective of multiculturalism. As a qualitative research, it uses ethnographic approach with emic-ethic perspective. By taking location in Surabaya-Indonesia, data were collected from 35Papuan students with observation, in-depth interviews, FGD, and surf blogs, facebooks, and twitter. The findings is that consciousness as a nation and Papuan nationalism is constructed on the essential-primordial elements, who is influenced by agents of change, colonization, exploitation, marginalization, and the violence and human rights violations, with proceeds through the development of Papuan college student organization that later became the pioneer rejection of government programs and demands for independence, and meaningful cultural reorientation of modern Papua.

Keywords: Papuan nationalism, multiculturalism, Papuan college students, construction, reorientation of political-cultural, multicultural-nationalism-constructive

1. Introduction

Indonesia, with 17,508 large and small islands, so rich of ethnic communities and ethnic diversity (Koentjaraningrat, 1993: 1) and the plurality of cultures is a multination-state that is developed through a variety of ethnic social organization with an unique and individual characteristics: geographical, historical uniqueness, race, culture, religion, and language. As a nation that is not based on ethnic unity, Indonesia "only" united by passion and determination to be together and united, "no less, no more" (Magnis-Suseno, 1998). Determination was grown and developed through the creation of national symbols Indonesia (Foulcher, 2000) in the long history of shared experience that most of the history of suffering and oppression by colonialism that gave birth to the experience of common struggle for independence and the subsequent live in unity and solidarity with the motto Bhinneka Tunggal Ika.The motto of unity in diversity is an important key to the national culture of Indonesia (Sedyawati (2008: 46). Although it has long historical roots, Indonesian nationalism as a result of the creation of a symbol is relatively new, around the beginning of the twentieth century with the birth of the first national organization called Budi Utomo (1908). Sumpah Pemuda which is claimed as one of the symbols of nationalism professed in 1928, which recognizes "one country, one nation, and one language: Indonesian" that was born of compromise ethnicity associations are urged by the need to unite together. The need and passion to unite and together it beat the origins of their ethnicity, forget the differences and diversity, and imagine the greatness of Indonesian. This is what Anderson (1983) referred to as the imagined political community, a community that is seen as the nation's political discourse unimaginable. In this perspective, a community can be distinguished from other communities, not because of the uniqueness of its origin or authenticity, but by the way they imagine themselves and their communities.

As the spirit and determination together (Magnis-Suseno, 1998) from various ethno-nation, meaning newly created symbol of nationalism that can fade, change, or loss. Various SARA[1]conflicts can be interpreted as fading phenomenon, changed, or the loss of nationalism. There is the fragility of the spirit and determination to be together in the unity of Indonesia and an increase in primordial. Latency of disintegration as a nation of Indonesia is great. Unlike pragmatic view of economists who believe that economic progress will end the selfish ideology and ethnic identity, ethnic movements that have occurred since the 1970s resulted in an increase in ethnic conflict (Koentjaraningrat, 1993: 2) and even lead to a "ethnic separatism movement "especially in" Aceh and Irian Jaya"(Koentjaraningrat, 1993:19). With a variety of backgrounds, resurrection ethno-nationalism becomes widespread phenomenon that dealing with state nationalism developed in the framework of NKRI. In the case of Aceh and Papua, ethno-nationalism is evolving towards independence demands that resulted in conflicts among ethnic communities in the country. Research of Hadi et al. (2007) of the various phenomena of disintegration in Aceh, Papua, Maluku, and East Timor, suggesting the presence of background variations, shapes, movements and demands of "separatism". In contrast to the Aceh problem that has been solved through special autonomy (otonomikhusus), conflict in Papua is still raging today and apparently has not shown a clear direction of the settlement have been enacted anyway despite special autonomy for Papua. Conflicts that led to demands for independence which rose in the reform era, not just a question of ethnic identity, but related to the dominance of Papuan nationalism derived from "seeding with the background, process, and its impact on the people of Papua years 1925-1962" (Meteray, 2012:271) and is the basis of various Papua college student demonstrations.

In view of the Papuan college students, there are some things that lead to the development of Papuan nationalism with demands for independence, both in the people of Papua and among college students from Papua who study outside Papua. First, the problem about their perspectives on Papua, which in fact, living with "Papuan nationalism" that has long been instilled by their parents past history Netherlands promised that they would be sovereign in their own earth. Second, the failure of development for the people of Papua in various fields, such as education, health, and other basic needs is the problem. Third, public confidence in the ability for independent Papua stronger, considering Papua very rich in natural resources and the increasing number of young people of Papua are an education. Fourth, the issue of marginalization of the Papuan people's life, are social, political, economic, and cultural. Based on this background, the focus of this research is the construction of nationalism on Papuan college students in Surabaya in the perspective of multiculturalism with the formulation of the problem: (1) essential-primordial elements as national identity Papua, (2) the factors that influence the development of the construction of the Papuan nationalism, both in the political and cultural fields, (3) Papuan nationalism construction process, and (4) the meaning of the Papuan nationalism constructed for Papuan college students in Surabaya.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1 Nationalism

In the Encyclopedia Britannica (1956: 14), nationalism is defined as a mental attitude in which the supreme loyalty of the individual is to the nation. Nationalism is the strong devotion to one's own nation (Hornby, 1974: 561). In Encyclopedia of Indonesia found that the limits of nationalism is seen as a political and social attitudes of groups of a people who have a common culture, language, and region as well as in common ideals and goals, and thus feel a deep loyalty to the nation. More than a mental attitude or social and political attitudes, nationalism is a belief as written Kenneth Minogue (in Kuper and Kuper, 2004: 694-695) that every nation has the right and obligation to establish himself as a country. The problem is there is a lot of trouble to make the specification "whether that nation", although among the cornerstone of a nation is the shared cultural and linguistic unity. When the nation is seen as a cultural community or cultural nation, the language, religion, history, and myth become an important part. In this case, the language is most important role in maintaining the spirit and determination of nationality, either as functional requirements as well as the reference identification as a nation (Delanty, 2001). When traced in some literature, the concept of the nation is still being debated. It is recognized by E.J. Hobsbawm (1990) in his Nation and Nationalism Since 1780. There is no satisfactory criteria that can be obtained to decide which of several human collectivity is called as a nation (Hobsbawm, 1990:3-4).

---

[1] SARA: suku, agama, ras, antargolongan (ethnic, religion, race, and intergroup), is the term use by new order Indonesia to prevent conflict.

The problem is "there is no way to show researchers how to distinguish the nation from another unity a priori" (Hobsbawm, 1990:5). Likewise written Benedict Anderson (1983:4), those despite the facts that there was clear, an explanation of the nation, citizenship or nationality, nationalism or national understanding, become a long-term dispute because it proved difficult to define, let alone described. Hobsbawm (1990) consider the other grounds that can be used. He wrote that the alternative to an objective definition is something subjective, collective good (according Renan "a nation is a daily plebiscite ") and individually, in the styles of the Austrian Marxist, who said that 'nationality' can be attached to people , wherever they live or with whom they live, at least if they choose. That is, nationalism requires so much confidence in what they are not. By quoting of Renan, Hobsbawm asserts that "mistakenly believe that history is part of being a nation". Anderson (1983: 5-60) using the point of departure on the view that nationality or it may be better, all nation-ness, as well as nationalism, is a special kind of cultural artifacts. To understand it required careful consideration of how specific cultural artifacts was ridiculous, how meanings change over time, and why, today, they arouse the validity of such emotionally devastating. Anderson argued that the creation of these artifacts is a spontaneous distillation on "crossing" of various historical forces, but once created, these artifacts to be 'modular', can be implanted with various degrees of self-consciousness to a wide variety of social expanse, to merge and merged with a series of political governance and broad ideological anyway.

The difficulties experienced to provide a satisfactory concept and definition of nationalism was caused by the tendency of people to imagine nationalism with N-large. Therefore, according to Anderson (1983), the problem of nationalism (with n-small) will be easier to be treated as if he shared a room with a "kinship" and "religion" and not with "liberalism" or "fascism". Nation is "imagined political community and as something that is inherently limited as well sovereignty". Nation is something that is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know and will never know most of the other members; they also will not face to face, and never even meet of them.Ernest Gellner definition which says that "nationalism is not the rise of self-consciousness of a nation; nationalism that making the nations where they do not exist", according to Anderson imperfections. Gellner hurry to show that nationalism became robes woven from the fibers lie, so he uses the term "make" which means falsified, not "create" or "creation". That way, as if the communities those are in true away from the nature of the national community. In fact, according to Anderson (1983:9), all of the community, as long as it is larger than primordial villages where members each other face to face every day is the imagined community.

In line with Anderson, this study uses the concept of nationality and nationalism as special kind of cultural artifacts. Indonesian national spirit are cultural artifacts created and the spontaneous distillation on "crossing" of various historical forces, then implanted with various degrees of self-consciousness to a wide variety of social expanse, to melt and fused with a series of political governance and broad ideological anyway. These cultural artifacts have aroused profound sense of attachment so as to create a feeling of mutual, shared culture as Indonesian. Thus, the Indonesian nation itself is a totality of ethnicity, race, ethnicity, and religion so as to create harmonious social relations and coherent with the equality and kinship principles. This means that all the interest groups institutionalized into various social organizations, political, economic, or religious in order to eliminate the superiority among ethnic groups and, especially colonial superiority. Indonesian nationalism, therefore, linked to the Indonesian people as a collectivity that demands loyalty, both individuals and ethnic groups contained therein. This means that the supreme loyalty of individuals and ethnic groups only to the nation of Indonesia. This loyalty arises because of the awareness of the importance of collective identity as a nation of Indonesia is different from other nations. Collective identity is what drives the desire to live together or "willingness to unite" (a living and active corporate will) which is the most important substance of nationalism. Not always a willingness to unite the community to grow in a multiracial, multilingual, multicultural, and multi-religion likes Indonesia. From this side, the nation is not a static concept and given, but dynamic and evolving in accordance with the dynamics forces give birth or forces that fought in the interaction between individuals and ethnic groups found in Indonesian nationality.

2.2 Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism can refer to two different things, multiculturalism as a reality and multiculturalism as a theory of reality(Lemert, 2001: 297). Multiculturalism is also often confused with the term of postmodernism. Agger (1997) writes that multiculturalism is a variant of the theory of difference (West, 1988; Collins; Lemert 1993) which takes the idea of the postmodern notion that human difference analytically is more important than their similarities. Multiculturalism (Agger, 1997) is a variant of the most political of American postmodernism.

Therefore, the presence of postmodernism is also a spirit of multiculturalism that requires acceptance of differences and otherness in the social arrangement. Multiculturalism was departing from Derrida (1988), which follows the ideas of Saussure (1983), namely that the word and the concept has meaning only in relation to other words and concepts that distinguish them (Agger, 1997:140). From this point, multiculturalism developed a critique of society and the concept of an alternative society to celebrate difference as a framework to appreciate the many groups and their typical narratives about their experiences. According to Agger (1997) multiculturalism is actually fix the politics of identity by encouraging every oppressed group to narrate their experiences of oppression different to experience the oppression of others; thus it arises the diversity of narrative that allows members of oppressed groups to formulate a rational personal identity based on their membership in agroup. Multiculturalism, thus, in addition to use to describe the unity of the people of different ethnic groups within a country (Lemert, 2001), it actually makes the person as a major political agenda. This has implications for the treatment multiculturalism on social phenomena such as class, race, gender, education, and religion, as a variable which is at the individual level (Agger, 1997: 143). Thus, multiculturalism is similar to Weber on individualistic assumptions about the meaning of class, race, and gender. The difference, if Weber measure sociological effects of individual characteristics, multiculturalism using individual experiences as a typical narrative makers on their personal.

There are several different views of the theorists of multiculturalism. Glazer (1997), more frequent use of the word multiculturalism as "a political weapon", while Arthur Schlesinger (1991) imposed a contestation of multiculturalism within ethnic groups, as occurred in the US in 1980. Ethnic resistance that occurred in the United States is a relatively common rejection of the notion of general culture and a single society/community (Lemert, 2001: 301). According to Schlesinger, treatment of national identity in society it gave birth to the loyalty of the group on ethnic identity among the people of Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, and Latin America, as well as in other societies. Multiculturalism in this study is used as a paradigm once believed that groups of ethnic or cultural can coexist peacefully in coexistence principle characterized by a willingness to respect other cultures in terms of rediscovering ideas. The idea that a more sensible about how a pluralistic society in Indonesia can be developed in a public conception of "colorful" which is not only characterized by participatory but also emancipatory. Thus, multiculturalism is not only characterized by coexistence but rather on pro-existence (Sparringa, 2007). Through this multiculturalism politics, both individuals and ethnic groups, capable of reinventing themselves and learn how to understand the experience of oppression themselves by reading and listening to the narrative of the other group members (Agger, 1997:141).

2.3 Constructivist-Multiculturalist Nationalism

As a social entity and at the same time as a social identity of nation, nationalism can be seen as something that is real and developed throughout the history of the nation, but can also be seen as something that is constructed. This gave rise to a debate between the two main groups of theories of nationalism (Kellas, 1998; Beatty, 1999; Delanty, 2001) with different variants, namely the essentialist/primordialist theory and group of constructivist theory. Essentialist/primordialist perspective developed by Anthony Smith (1971; 1986; 1991; 1995) that nationalism as authentic cultural traditions (Delanty, 2001) is based on the ancient cultural or raw material and developed through a process called self-contained cultural process (Kellas, 1998) so that the existence of ethnic history cultural ensure the existence of nationalism. According to this perspective, a people (nation) is based on primordial essence, (b) the authentic cultural traditions can be explained by history, and (c) the strength of the tradition of the nation is a discourse that evolved throughout the history of the nation's traditions (Delanty, 2001). Thus, nationalism is continuous and ongoing throughout history. In this perspective, the roots of nationalism are the elements that make up the nation, namely in the form of tangible elements of identity, such as language, religion, territorial and intangible elements that are psychological, such as emotional bond that is formed from experiences, beliefs, and values together (Kellas, 1998). Constructive perspective, with a different perspective, an important part in the theory of nationalism as a new perspective that saw the nation as a social construction (Delanty, 2001).

This perspective was developed by Benedict Anderson with imagined community (1983), Eric Hobsbawm (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983; Hobsbawm, 1990, as in Delanty, 2001: 437) with the concept of invention of tradition, Ernest Gellner with the concept of fabrication as true community in post-traditional form of cohesion (Gellner, 1983; 1987; 1994), Billig (1995) through the banal nationalism that by Delanty (2001) called post-historical nationalism, George Mosse (1975; 1985; 1993) with the concept of cultural logic of nationalism (Delanty, 2001: 477), and John Breuilly conducting politics by mass mobilization (1982 in Delanty, 2001: 477). Unlike the essentialist, constructivist perspective view that nationalism is not formed simply because the elements of nature primordial biological conception and contextually injustice, but through social engineering, strategic creative elite to exploit the primordial heritage and social settings, political, cultural contextual they are facing. In this view, there are two important components involved, namely the leader/leadership and organizations that use nationalism to mobilize the masses. Because nationalism was constructed by social actors, it is can't be explained only through historical references. A nation is a discourse/narrative discourse that is always open to be formulated in accordance with its objectives.

When Anthony Smith who essentialist more emphasis on the a priori view that the existence of ethnic and historical aspects of the core of nationalism, Hobsbawm that constructivist, by contrast, saw nationalism as "primarily a modern construction, a creation of strategic elites" (Delanty, 2001:473) which uses nationalism to mobilize the masses. The main nationalism is a modern construction, which is different from the traditional culture and historical, that the modern construction created by the elite. Thus, nationalism associated with "invented tradition" (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983 in Delanty, 2001:473). Anderson (1983) including constructivist though criticized Hobsbawm since its invention tradition and replace it with the imagined community. He formulated the thesis that a nation can be seen as a discourse unimaginable (imaginary discourses). A community may be distinguished from other communities, not because of the uniqueness or originality (the origin) of his, but by the way they imagined themselves and their communities. "The imagined allow individuals to the territory of the nation without having personally to encounter it and its inhabitants." Thus, nationalism is seen as one of cognition and cultural significance to the concept of nation building (in this case: to-Indonesia's) is an ideal imagery and the need to unite the spirit of defeat origins of their ethnicity, forget the differences and diversity, and imagine the greatness of Indonesia.

Ernest Gellner (1983; 1987; 1994 in Delanty, 2001; Sykora, 2009; O'Leary, 1997) saw nationalism in modern society through the concept of post-traditional form of cohesion. According to Gellner (Sykora, 2009), more nationalism refers to the ability to describe cultural forms, reshape, and make a new identity, a new community, without forgetting the continuation of the past. Analysis of nationalism must consider the balance in modern society that nationalism is a political principle by placing the parallel existence of the identity, traditions, and culture. With reference to Karl Deutsch (1953), Gellner writes that intensive communication in modern society will produce nationalism (Delanty, 2001: 476). Michael Billig (1995) through terminology banal nationalism explains that nationalism can be found and embedded in daily life because nationalism refers to something that is natural in parts of everyday life, such as those seen in the media. Tourism and the sport are two obvious examples of areas of everyday life that articulates a nation. By Delanty (2001), such a perspective is referred to as post-historical nationalism, with the understanding that a shift in the discourse on the nation, of history to the post-industrial popular culture. This is in line with George Mosse (1975; 1985; 1993, as in Delanty, 2001:477) who proposed the concept of the cultural logic of nationalism. According to Mosse, some factors, such as ethics respectability lower-middle class, political aesthetic, and combined (fusion) between nature and the nation, is the discourse of nationalism which gave birth to nationalist movements. This is also confirmed by John Breuilly (1982) who saw nationalism as a political tool to mobilize the masses. So far, in view of constructivist theorists of nationalism, nationalism is not the aspects or components are static and given, but it seenas a dynamic construction and mobilization. Hobsbawm (1990) with strategic Elites for the mobilization of the masses, Anderson (1983) through imagined, John Breuilly (1982) by conducting politics by mass mobilization, George Mosse (1993) with the progressive movement, including Hecter (1975) which uses nationalism in the term strategic goal of nationalist leader in the sense that the more nationalist movement seen as the ability to maximize the benefits from the support of the masses, and Elie Kedourie (1993) who saw nationalism as a movement caused by the ideology of nationalism, are theorists who see nationalism as construction and mobilization.

By following the tradition Hobsbawmian and Gellnerian (Sykora, 2009) which focuses on the role of social transition as shown in industrialization, the birth of capitalism, and the centralization and globalization, it is important to emphasize or at least complement mobilization constructivist conception of nationalism is the cultural elements that called cultural nationalism. This approach is referred to JoepLeerssen (2006) who used the term cultural nationalism and the cultivation of culture to see that more nationalism refers to the ability to describe cultural forms to reshape and make a new identity or community, without forgetting or as a continuation of the past. In connection with the national community is then arises the question of how the relationship among cultural diversity that exists, especially between unity and diversity. Following Gerald Kernerman (2005) when discussing multicultural nationalism in Canada, that on the one hand is needed in common citizenship treatment of various cultures, ethnicity, race, language, religion, gender, etc., are on the other side needed distinction because of the various peculiarities, both rules, procedures, symbols, and specific political system. In other words, there oppositional between similarity and differences citizenship, similarity and asymmetry distribution of federalism, the equality of citizenship and citizenship plus, individual rights and collective rights, representations impartial and base-groups, and others. Instead of putting the two groups are oppositional who contested especially opposite, Kernerman put them in dialectically interrelated position. Thus, multicultural nationalism is a website polarization driven by proprietary mutual understanding on the units of identity, in which groups, nations, or people feel exist in the collective understanding of the political community. Nationalism covers parts and overall conception in establishing identity. Diversity is understood as part of a distinct identity and the difference was significant in the variation of the identity category called "the logic of identity". Identity itself built grounded in the "refusal of alternity, a denial of complexity, in favor of reified, and simplified identity categories" (Kernerman, 2005: 6). In this context, multiculturalism submitted by Parekh (2000) is relevant.

3. Research Methods

3.1 Research Perspectives

As a belief or ideology, Indonesian nationalism, can be understood from two main perspectives, cultural pluralism and multiculturalism (Koentjaraningrat, 1993; Sedyawati, 2008). This study uses the perspective of multiculturalism who believe that ethnic and cultural groups with a diversity of individuals within it can coexist, not only through the principle of coexistence that is characterized by a willingness to respect the cultural differences and participatory, but more than that, through the principle pro-existence, multiculturalism characterized emancipatory (Sparringa, 2007). Thus, Indonesian-ness not only seen in the concept of difference, but it gives the assertion that with all the differences and otherness the various groups not only have the same opportunities to exist in public space (coexistence), but also encourage minority groups to exist (pro-existence) in interaction with a larger group. In accordance with the conceptual and theoretical framework, the paradigm used in this study could be referred to as the eclectic paradigm. The paradigm used is the paradigm essentialist used to dissect authentic cultural traditional, contextual paradigm for social and historical context of modern when ethnic groups face of injustice and discrimination, the constructivist paradigm to discuss that nationalism was the result of a social engineering, and imagined community paradigm. Thus, an eclectic approach is seen as the most appropriate approach to study the problem of Indonesian nationalism, especially Papuan nationalism.

3.2 Nature and Types of Research

This study uses the paradigm of social definition (Ritzer, 1984) through a qualitative approach as written Bryman (2004: 265-417), Sarantakos (2002), Neuman (2000: 344-442), the shape-descriptive qualitative study (Lincoln & Denzin, 2000) due to the characteristics of this research is leading to qualitative research. These characteristics appear on multiculturalism perspective used, dialectical approach chosen, and the use of inductive logic as a framework for research. In addition, research data in the form of discourse and process analysis conducted through the interpretation of discourse is a characteristic of qualitative research. Such research requires data collection is in-depth, complex (complexity), and rich/complete (richness).In the process of data collection, subjects were placed as the expert (Kasper, 1994). Researcher relationships with research subjects are emancipatory and reciprocity, not "top-down” and "exploitative" (Oakley, 1981, in Sparringa, 1997: 60). Expected subject can reveal matters relating to the social construction of nationalism, as happened in his life, even the most feelings. Way of extracting data that is open (open-ended-interviews) requires patience researchers to silence and listen attentively and invisibility (Kasper, 1994) on the subject of research in the interview process. By using ethnographic approach (Fettermann, 2010) this study adopts measures ethnographic research methods.

3.3 Location, Target, and Subject of Research

This research was conducted in the city of Surabaya Indonesia with target Papuan college students who study in Surabaya as part of a youth who was doing "educational pilgrimage" (Anderson, 1983) and after completing his studies, they become educated citizen. This well-educated citizens, will be workers who master the art and will occupy important positions within the profession. Although not always go back to the homeland ethnic, Papua, which means they can wandered not only to all parts of Indonesia, but also to all parts of the world, the student will receive a title as"Putra Daerah" of Papua. Beginning with the snowball techniques and selected purposively in accordance with the characteristics of the study, subject of this study is 35 Papuan college students.

3.4 Data Technique Collection and Analysis

This study used qualitative research methods (Bogdan and Biklen, 1982: 27-28), which researchers are trying to describe and understand the specific community groups as well as groups of people themselves perceive themselves. Thus, groups of people who were subjected to observations seen as subjects who have the creativity, opinions, attitudes and ideals about themselves and the world outside themselves, especially in constructing nationalism in them. Data was collected through observation, in-depth interview, either directly, by phone, and via e-mail, and focus group discussion (FGD). The results are documented with field notes, diary, recording with a tape recorder and then transcribed, and records of telephone interviews. Data were also collected from the internet through blogs, facebook, twitter, or other forms of posting. The analysis was done in ethnography (Fettermann, 2010).

4. Result

4.1 Construction of the Essential-Primordial Element as Papua National Identity

For a group of people who have things in common, from the direct similarity looks like race and geographic region with a variety of natural resources, to the pattern of life that make the culture together, such as history, religion, language, and traditions that descry on various symbols and cultural attributes, and tied by blood-descendants later called the nation, the essential elements of primordial be shared identity as a community of nations. Identity with the community of this nation understood as a "legacy" ancestor that need to be maintained and preserved for the continuation of the life together as a nation. Moreover, as a "legacy" of ancestors, the essential elements of the primordial considered as "owned" them together, both individually and collectively. Therefore, when the "legacy" ancestors who had their "own" the intervention by others who ascribed outside their community, consciousness as a group of people called the nation to some extent strengthened the resistance bore. That's what happened to the people of Papua which they referred to as the Papuan people in Papua. An understanding of the essential elements of primordial consciousness that gave birth as a nation of Papua is a construction that developed throughout the history of Papua. It is undeniable that the essential elements of primordial is the "legacy" of their predecessors, but how to explain the heritage that formed the feeling of "having" or "feel theirs" which gave birth to the feeling entitled to process and use it for the benefit and welfare nation of Papua is a construction.

Papuan nation was born as a product of the similarity of construction on the essential-primordial elements covering history, race, geographic region with a variety of resources or potential natural, lifestyle forming together with diverse ethnic culture, language, religion, and traditions which descry the various symbols and cultural attributes, which later gave birth to a common identity as a unique community of Papua and understood as a legacy of their ancestors and are considered as belonging together, both individually and collectively. When the Papua essential-primordial elements intervened by people from outside the community that gave birth to them excessive inequality and marginalization which then lose their identity as a nation of Papua, Papuan nationalism would strengthen and give birth to resistance. Consciousness as a nation of Papua and the developing of Papua nationalism are the construction of the development of a thriving throughout the history of Papua. There are three important things pertaining to the historical context, namely (a) re-use Papua name which is considered as the name of national identity that embodies the opposite of Irian Jaya which is deemed as the Government of Indonesia, (b) the end of Netherland colonialism in preparation Papuan independence, and (c) the time the referendum (Penentuan Pendapat Rakyat/PEPERA) was considered critical times because it does not represent the wishes of all the people of Papua. Thus, the Papuan nationalism initially developed in line with Indonesian nationalism experienced a strengthening of post-merger Papua into the Republic of Indonesia and vice versa, Indonesian nationalism weakened what called de-nationalism of Indonesia.

4.2 The Development of Construction Incentives Papuan Nationalism

The historical process is able to give birth to young people who are different, in the sense that each generation has a view, desires, and expectations differ according to his time. This includes student criticism over various changes in social, political, and cultural in its time based on the dynamics of their thinking. Not to forget also the dynamics of the issue of nationality and nationalism are closely associated with historical issues, territorial, ancestry, religion-ness, linguistic, and tradition-ness which manifest in a variety of symbols of nationalism, ethnic nationalism even in the recent era back to the fore. When these things intertwined with political and economic issues that are sensitive and direct contact with everyday people's lives, and in which the public feel the injustice, especially violence and oppression, the revival of the ethnic problem that manifests itself into ethnic nationalism becomes a necessity. Various political, economic, and cultural constructions to drive the development of Papuan nationalism among Papuan college students in Surabaya. Birth of Papuan nationalism construction, which is believed not only to the students but also to the people of Papua, driven six following: (a) awareness that the college student is an agent of change, (b) colonization of Papua through migration process, especially mass transmigration from Java, which gave birth to the dichotomy Papuan native and non-native or newcomer (c) exploitation of natural resources which do not involve native people of Papua, (d) occurs and widening economic inequality and injustice, social, political, cultural, and education, (e) the marginalization of people Papuans through various policies, such as the spread of HIV/AIDS, and (f) the more violence and human rights violations against indigenous people of Papua.

The college student awareness on the issue of Papua, namely the issue of economic inequality, social and cultural backwardness, underdevelopment of education, and the politics that led to the militarization of military violence, gave birth to two different views, were (a) the unity of Papua with the Republic of Indonesia is a historical necessity and must be received so must find a way out that can be accepted by both parties and (2) the struggle for independence and the separation of Papua from Indonesia is a necessity.

For this conceptcan be formulated following propositions as follow.

1. Because the student is perceived as agent of change and they are the young, initiative, transformative, future leaders, and intellectuals, it is growing awareness to act and act in accordance with their intellectual ability and must doing the things that come into contact with the people of Papua.
2. Colonization Papua through mass migration, especially from Java, that resulted in the emergence of the dichotomy of "indigenous Papuans" and "not genuine" or "new comer" and constructed a negative because it does not bring prosperity to the people of Papua, gave birth to "hatred" of the Java community and the stigma of the Javanese as the enemy and invaders.
3. The militarization of politics and the influx of migrants and political extermination of the indigenous Papuans resulting inequality and degradation of life (economic, political, social, and cultural) as well as the alienation of the spiritual life of the people of Papua, coupled with corrupt ruling elite Papua, causing apathy and denial radically different forms of development.
4. Violence and violations of human rights against Papuans in the long term and the emergence of a colonized people feeling able to raise awareness and form the nation of Papua.
5. The realization that internally Papua is diverse with many ethnic groups, languages, customs, religion and belief systems, and the perception of natural resources, coupled with the fact that the differences are also often the cause of fights between groups, externally it is defeated by their similarity construct, namely race, history, and a similar fate, that they currently have the same passion to become a nation of Papua.

4.3 Process: From Agent of Change to Nationalism of Papua

Various essential-primordial elements Papuan nationalism constructed by college students from Papua and the factors that encourage the development of the construction process to be Papuan nationalism construction on Papuan college students studying in Surabaya Indonesia. Papuan nationalism construction process is ongoing throughout the history of Papua and even stronger viability of post-merger of Papua with the Republic of Indonesia. The Papuan nationalism proceeds through (1) the development of Papua College Student Organization as Papuan nationalism construction process, (2) a variety of student activities, (3) a radical rejection of the development program of the Central Government, at least include (a) denial of formation of new provinces, (b) rejection of special autonomy status, (c) rejection Unit of Accelerated Development in Papua and West Papua, and (d) rejection of all development policies, (4) international contacts, and (5) independence Papua.

Based on concepts found, can be formulated following proposition.

1. Through the understanding of the role as agents of change and join the Papuan college student organizations by conducting various activities and movements, Papuan students to drive social change, political, economic, and cultural communities in Papua.
2. The stronger the Papuan nationalism followed by the weakening of Indonesian nationalism called de-nationalism of Indonesia as the contrast, the more extreme measures taken, which is a radical rejection of the development programs implemented by the Central Government in Papua. In this process, the following sub-propositions can be formulated.
    a. Regional divisions are not in accordance with the wishes of the people of Papua, only driven by the desire of individuals to power, do not have eligibility standards territory, population, and natural resources, and is seen only to divide the population will be radically rejected.
    b. Special autonomy (otonomikhusus), plus special autonomy (otonomikhusus plus) even though, if do not touch the root of the problem in Papua and not implemented consistently, so that only resulted in the politicization and deprived of basic values that have been established and are not supported by the necessary institutional capacity, the special autonomy will not solve the problems of Papua and will be rejected.

4.4 Meaning: Cultural Reorientation and Development of Modern Papua

Construction of Papuan nationalism that has developed among Papuan college students who study in Surabaya and is believed to also develop in people of Papua are then constructed as a nation is the antithesis of de-nationalism of Indonesia. This construction is born from the primordial-essential components, driven by various factors, and proceeds throughout the history of Papua, especially the last years of Netherland colonialism, the period before and during the process of consultation of the people (the Act) of Papua, and a relatively long period of post-unification of Papua into the Republic of Indonesia. Period after joining the Government of the Republic of Indonesia would be a long process that grow and develop Papuan nationalism which later gave birth to a prolonged conflict unresolved to this day. Papuan nationalism and the conception of the Papuan people who are in contrast to Indonesian nationalism and the nation of Indonesia, is closely related to the meaning of nationalism is for the people of Papua. In the construction of the college student, meaning this Papuan nationalism, at least include a few things, namely (1) the cultural and political reorientation of Papua, (2) recognition of the history of Papua, (3) development the people of Papua, (4) the economic welfare of the people of Papua and (5) development of socio-cultural atmosphere of modern Papua. Political and cultural reorientation in Papua will be implemented if the present state, not just the Homeland with legitimacy unity based military banner, but a democratic unitary state with consideration, attention, and develop the culture and politics of the people of Papua.

Propositions that can be built from the meaning of Papuan nationalism as follows.

1. By staying within the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia or immediately get right into the State of West Papua's independence, has been a common understanding that the root of the problem lies in the integration of Papua into Indonesia's Papua sharpened by the management of post-integration Papua wrong direction, then the spirit as a nation of Papua and Papua nationalism will raise awareness to political and cultural reorientation of Papua.
2. History of integration that is not acceptable, experience double colonialism, and demographic transformation of indigenous Papuans cornered into marginal groups resulted in the development of Papuan nationalism and encourage cultural and political reorientation.
3. The loss of the history and identity of the plurality of Papua in narrative construction of the nation and the Homeland spawned demands recognition of the history of Papua with a variety of distinctive cultures and structuring Papua with "heart".
4. Development of Papua with the perspective of "colonial" or make Papua as "new colonies" exploitative without involving indigenous people of Papua, will only distort the meaning of development, from efforts to increase prosperity, into the exploitation of natural resources and the process of impoverishment and marginalization.
5. Development empower the people of Papua, whatever umbrella used, economically will be able to improve the life of the people of Papua, politically able to put the people of Papua in strong bargaining position of politic, including to become leaders in their place, socially able to elevate the status of the Papuan people to par with other groups which developed first, and culturally capable of creating behavior Papuans more modern.

V. Conclusion

Related with the research findings have been presented in the previous section, in this section formulated the four conclusions as follow. First, the essential-primordial elements constructed by Papuan college students in Surabaya include history, race, geographic region with a variety of resources or natural potential, and the lifestyle that form along with diverse ethnic culture, language, religion or religion, as well as a variety of traditions which descry the various symbols and cultural attributes of Papua. These elements are constructed into a national identity Papua thus giving birth to the conception of the nation of Papua. Consciousness as a nation of Papua and Papua development of nationalism is a growing construction throughout the history of Papua and there are three important things pertaining to the historical context, namely (a) re-use Papua name, (b) the end of Netherland colonialism in preparation Papuan independence, and (c) the time the Act (PEREPA) was considered critical period. Since it is considered as the heritage of their ancestors and are considered as belonging together, both individually and collectively, then when the essential-primordial elements of Papua, especially those relating to geographical areas and all the wealth of natural resources contained therein, intervened by people from outside excessive their communities, hence the birth of inequality and marginalization which then lose their identity as a nation of Papua, Papuan nationalism would strengthen and give birth to resistance. Therefore, the original Papuan nationalism evolved in line with Indonesian nationalism experienced a strengthening of the post-merger Papua into the Republic of Indonesia and vice versa, Indonesian nationalism actually weakened who called de-nationalism of Indonesia.

Second, the birth of Papuan nationalism, driven by the six factors: (a) awareness that the student is an agent of change, (b) colonization through migration process, especially transmigration mass from Java, which gave birth to the dichotomy of indigenous Papuans and non-native or newcomer(c) exploitation of natural resources which do not involve native people of Papua, (d) occurs and widening economic inequality and injustice, social, political, cultural, and education, (e) the marginalization of indigenous Papuans through various policies, such as the spread of HIV/AIDS, and (f) the more massive violence and human rights violations against indigenous people of Papua. Third, the construction process Papuan nationalism in Papua college student who was studying in Surabaya, take place throughout the history of Papua and even stronger viability post-merger Papua with the Republic of Indonesia. The Papuan nationalism construction proceeds through (1) the development of Papuan student organization with a variety of cultural and political activity, (2) a radical rejection of the central government development programs, including (a) rejection of formation of new provinces, (b) the rejection of special autonomy status , (c) rejection Unit for the Acceleration of Development of Papua and West Papua (UP4B), and (d) rejection of all development policies, (3) international contacts, and (4) the demands for independence. Papua development perspective "colonial" or make Papua as "new colonies" exploitative without involving indigenous people of Papua, will only distort the meaning of development, from efforts to increase prosperity, into the exploitation of natural resources and the process of impoverishment and marginalization. Regional divisions are not in accordance with the wishes of the people of Papua, only driven by the desire of individuals to power, do not have eligibility standards territory, population, and natural resources, and is seen only to divide the population will be radically rejected. Special autonomy, plus special autonomy even though, if do not touch the root of the problem in Papua and not implemented consistently, so that only resulted in the politicization and deprived of basic values that have been established and are not supported by the necessary institutional capacity, the special autonomy will not solve the problems of Papua and will be rejected.

Distortions in the history of integration, violations of human rights, and the failure of the concept of development, making Papua disappointed and more skeptical and do not believe in the Central Government and the Republic of Indonesia, to build nationalism that culminated with the demands for independence. The loss of the history and identity of the plurality of Papua in narrative construction of the nation and the Homeland spawned demands recognition of the history of Papua with various distinctive culture and arrangement that puts human Papua humanely. This is what they refer to as structuring Papua with "heart". Fourth, Papuan nationalism and conceptions of the nation of Papua as constructed by Papuan college students in Surabaya, which is a contrast of Indonesian nationalism and the Indonesian people, for the people of Papua meaningful as cultural and political reorientation of Papua, Papua historical recognition, development Papua, the economic welfare of the people of Papua, and socio-cultural development of the atmosphere of modern Papua.

Political and cultural reorientation in Papua will be implemented if the present state, not just the Homeland with legitimacy unity based military banner, but a democratic unitary state with consideration, attention, and develop the culture and politics of the people of Papua. The spirit of a nation Papua and Papua nationalism will raise awareness to political and cultural reorientation of Papua. Development that empowers the people of Papua, whatever umbrella used, economically be able to improve the life of the people of Papua, politically able to put people of Papua on strong political bargaining position included to be leaders in their place, socially able to lift the status of the people of Papua for the equivalent of other groups which developed first, and culturally capable of creating behavior Papuans more modern.

References

Agger, Ben,(1997),Critical Social Theories: An Introduction. London: Westview Press.

Anderson, Benedict, (1983),Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. London: Verso.

Arndt, H.(1986),"Transmigration to Irian Jaya". In May, Ron J. (ed.) Between Two Nations: The Indonesia-Papua New Guinea. Border and West Papua Nationalism. Robert Brown and Asociatess, Bathurst, New South Wales. Page 161-174.

Beatty, Rachel, (1999), "Review Essay: Primordialism versus Constructivism". http://www.nationalismproject.org/books/bookrevs/beattyrev.htmAccessed at November 18th, 2013.

Billig, Michael, (1995), Banal Nationalism. London: Sage Publications.

Bone Jr., Robert C. (1952), The Dynamic of The Western Nieuw Guinea (Irian Barat) Problem. Ithaca: Cornel University.

Brown, David, (2006), "Contending Nationalism in South-East Asia". In Gerard Delanty and Krishan Kumar (ed.). The SAGE Handbook of Nation and Nationalism.

Brubaker, R. (1996), Nationalism Reframed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Calhoun, C. (1997), Nationalism. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Chauvel, Richard, (2005), Constructing Papua Nasionalism: History, Etnicity and Adaptation. Washington: East-West Center.

Conversi, Daniele, (2006), "Mapping The Field: Theories of Nationalism and The Ethnosymbolic Approach". InNationalisme and Ethno symbolism.

Delanty, Gerard, (2001), "Nationalism: Between Nation and State". In Ritzer, George and Barry Smart, (2001), Handbook of Social Theory. London: SAGE Publ.

Fetterman, David M. (2010), Ethnography: Step by Step (Applied Social Research Methods Series). Third ed. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Flynn, M.K. (2002), "Nationalism: Theory and its Discontents". In The Global Review of Ethnopolitics. Vol. 1, No. 3, March 2002, pp. 67—75.

Geertz, Clifford, (1963), "Primordial and Civic Ties". In John Hutchinson & Anthony D. Smith (ed.), (1994), Nationalism. New York: Oxford University Press.

Gellner, Ernest, (1983), Nation and Nationalism. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Gellner, Ernest, (1997), Encounters with Nationalism. Oxford: Blackwell.

Hadi, Syamsul, at all. (2007), Disintegrasi Pasca-Orde Baru: Negara, Konflik Lokal, dan Dinamika Internasional. Jakarta: CIReS FISIP UI and Obor Indonesia Foundation.

Hobsbawm, E.J. (1990), Nation and Nationalism Since 1780.Cambridge: The Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge.

Hobsbawm, E.J. dan David J. Kertzer. "Ethnicity and Nationalism in Europe Today". InAnthropology Today. Vol. 8, No. 1, February.

Horsman, Mathew & Andrew Marshall, (1995), After the Nation-State: Citizens, Tribalism, and New World Disorder. London: Harper Collins Publishers.

Hutchinson, John, (1994), Modern Nationalism. London: Fontana.

Hutchinson, John and Anthony D. Smith (ed.), (1994), Nationalism. New York: Oxford University Press.

Hussain, Asifa dan William Lockley Miller, (2006), Multicultural Nationalism: Islamophobia, Anglophobia, and Devolution. Oxford: Oxford Universiy Press.

Kedourie, E, (1993), Nationalism. 4th.ed. London: Hutchinson.

Kellas, James G (1998), The Politics of Nationalism and Ethnicity. London: MacMillan Publisihing Ltd.

Kernerman, Gerald, (2005), Multicultural Nationalism: Civilizing Difference, Constituting Community. Toronto, Vancouver: The University of British Columbia.

Kivimaki, Timo dan Rubern Thorning, (2002), "Democratization and Regional Power Sharing in Papua/Irian Jaya: Increased Opportunities and Decreased Motivations for Violence,". InAsian Survey, Vol. XLII, No.4.

Koentjaraningrat, (1970), Keseragaman dan Anekawarna Masyarakat Irian Barat. Jakarta: Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia.

Koentjaraningrat, (1993), Masalah Kesukubangsaan dan Integrasi Nasional. Jakarta: UI Press.

Kohn, Hans, (1944), The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in Its Origins and Background. New Jersey: Transaction Publishers.

Kuper, Adam and Jessica Kuper, (2004), Encyclopedia of Social Sciences.3rdEd. New York: Roudledge.

Leerssen, Joep T. (2005), "The Cultivation of Culture: Towards a Definition ofRomantic Nationalism in Europe". Working Paper European Studies Amsterdam, Opleiding Europese Studies, Universiteit van Amsterdam.

Lemert, Charles, (2001), "Multiculturalism". In Goerge Ritzer and Barry Smart. (ed.), (2001), Handbook of Social Theory. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Leoussi, Athena S. (ed.), (2005), Encyclopaedia of Nationalism. New Brunswick (USA) and London (UK): Transaction Publisher.

Magnis-Suseno, Franz, (1998), Mencari Makna Kebangsaan. Yogyakarta: Kanisius.

McGibbon, R. (2004), Secessionist Chalenges in Aceh and Papua: Is Special Autonomy the Solution? Policy Studies No. 10. East-West Center, Wasington, D.C.

Meteray, Bernarda, (2012), Nasionalisme Ganda Orang Papua. Jakarta: Penerbit Buku Kompas.

Minogue, Kenneth, (2004), "Nationalism". In Adam Kuper dan Jessica Kuper, (2004), Encyclopedia of Social Sciences.3rdEd. New York: Roudledge.

Nairn, Tom, (1997), Faces of Nationalism: Janus Revisited. London: Verso.

Oommen, T.K. (2006), "Nation and Nationalism in South Asia". In Gerard Delanty and Krishan Kumar (ed.). The SAGE Handbook of Nation and Nationalism.

Pouwer, J. (1999), The Colonization, Decolonization And Recolonisation Of West New Guinea. The Journal of Pacific History 34 (2). Pp.157-179.

Renan, Ernest, (1882), "Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?" Translate by Ida Mae Snyder. In John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (ed.), (1994), Nationalism. New York: Oxford University Press.

Sedyawati, Edi, (2008), Keindonesiaan dalam Budaya. Jakarta: Wedatama Widya Sastra.

Singh, Bilveer, (2008), Papua: Geopolitics and the Quest for Nationhood. New Jersey, New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.

Smith, Anthony, (1986), The Ethnic Origins of Nations. Oxford: Blackwell.

Smith, Anthony, (1991), National Identity. Oxford: Penguin.

Smith, Anthony, (1995), Nations and Nationalism in the Global Era. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sparringa, Daniel T. (1997), Discouse, Democracy and Intellectuals in New Order Indonesia: A Qualitative Sociological Study. Ph.D. Thesis Flinders University.

Sparringa, Daniel T. (2007), "Multikulturalisme dari Pembiaran dan Koeksistensi Menuju Proeksistensi". Dalam Diskriminasi di Sekeliling Kita: Negara, Politik Diskriminasi, dan Multikulturalisme. Yogyakarta: Dian Institut.

Sykora, Vera, (2009), "National Identity and The Representation of The Past in Nineteenth Century Greek Historiography". Paper Conference. Fromicp-forum-gr/wp/wp-content/…./vera-sykora.pdf. Accessed atNovember 15th 2013.

Widjojo, Muridan S., et all, (2009), Papua Roadmap: Negotiating the Past, Improving the Present, and Securing the Future. Jakarta: LIPI, Yayasan TIFA, and Yayasan Obor Indonesia.