Resisting the Stigma of Being Papuan: Comprehending the Roles of Identity, Social Contribution, and Popular Culture Through Papuan Youth Organization in Yogyakarta

Alfath Bagus Panuntun El Nur Indonesia¹, Gilang Ramadhan²

Received: October 16th 2023 | Accepted: March 19th 2024 | Published: April 16th 2024

Abstract

This article shows the stigmatization of Papuan youth in the Special Region of Yogyakarta (DIY). The Papuan youth in this research is represented by a youth organization called The Mappi and Puncak Griya Sekar Aji Family Association (Ikatan Keluarga Mappi dan Puncak Griya Sekar Aji - IKMP GSA), which has made extensive efforts to create a unique identity of the indigenous people of Papua or Orang Asli Papua (OAPs) through various initiatives, such as social contributions and participation in popular culture. This study’s extensive ethnographic data over four years revealed that OAPs gradually deconstruct the prevailing negative stereotypes attached to Papuan students in DIY. The success could be attributed to OAPs’ collective efforts in establishing and running IKMP GSA. The members also exhibit a high level of self-awareness and actively participate in social activities and mainstream cultural elements in their daily lives. The results provide empirical evidence of effective, repeatable strategies to help improve Papuan students’ social lives across Indonesia.

Keywords: Stigmatization; Papuan; Youth Organisation; Identity; Social Contribution

¹ Department of Politics and Government, Gadjah Mada University. Email: alfath.bagus.p@mail.ugm.ac.id
² Department of Politics and Government, Gadjah Mada University. Email: g.ramadhan@mail.ugm.ac.id
Introduction

Minority groups in social communities are often subject to discrimination, marginalization, and a negative stigma. On the one hand, this stigmatization often makes them unable to thrive under certain sociocultural conditions. On the other hand, it “forces” them to form a social construction resistant to discriminatory practices perpetuated in the system and structure (Becker & Arnold, 1986; Becker & Barreto, 2019). They turn the stigmatization into a motivation to fight the narrative with real, impactful actions (Verma et al., 2018). Such resistance provides theoretical significance as it shows how a marginalised group can change stigmatization and people's views on a minority group through symbolic expressions and strategic actions.

This article explains the strategies used by Papuan students in DIY to counter the negative narrative and stereotypes attached to their group. These strategies are important because they can break the stigma related to identity and ethnicity that underlies the assumptions and assessment of a certain group (Dalimunthe et al., 2020). Assessments based on ethnicity are irrational and anecdotal in nature, resulting in irrational social discrimination (Eylem et al., 2020; Howarth, 2006). However, the assessment of a group based on ethnicity factors may not be very relevant without real actions. This research aims to capture the latter as the manifestation of the former.

The increasing number of students in DIY coming from various regions has transformed the culture and social dynamics to become increasingly more heterogeneous. Heterogeneity makes a society more
multicultural and diverse (Faist, 2013). On the other hand, it also creates ethnic polarization, which is a source of inter-group conflicts (Sanjaya et al., 2023). The polarization between the “native Jogja” and “immigrants” is prevalent among students, which often ends up in a conflict. For example, when a commotion transpires in a public space in DIY, society often assumes “immigrant” students to be the masterminds of the commotion, which stigmatises these students. The “source of commotion” in DIY is stigmatization that indicates systemic discrimination against certain social groups (Kirkinis et al., 2021).

One of the fundamental problems regarding the negative stigmatization of a group reflects the failure of the existing power to manage diversity and multiculturalism (Faist, 2013). This has become an obstacle resulting in stagnation in the state process and negative perceptions of migrant communities. However, the formation of a paradigm in social life cannot be separated from the context of majoritarianism (Modood, 2020). With the majority group feeling entitled to a certain degree of primacy, judgments against certain communities, such as those Papuan students in DIY, have become increasingly inevitable.

Stigmatization hinders a group’s ability to develop and network in a particular social situation. Negative judgment toward a group not only closes social space but can also form certain boundaries of trust that make them unable to find their place in society (Sutin et al., 2015). Over time, this results in systemic discrimination (Phillips & Jun, 2022). In the case of Eastern and indigenous Papuan students, the deep-seated
stigmatization makes it difficult for them to engage in activities, including in their studies (Viartasiwi et al, 2018).

Negative stereotypes can be changed through various strategies, including activities with outputs that contradict the existing perceptions in the community. These include strengthening identity and political expressions. Identity in politics is a vital instrument that can help communities change narratives and stereotyping (Fukuyama, 2018). This is how Eastern students in DIY try to change the various negative stereotypes attached to them. They are involved in activism and engage in academic and non-academic activities.

Stigmatization toward Eastern student groups is often caused by the perceived low quality of individuals, associating them with being uneducated (Indonesia, 2021). Therefore, they build a narrative of resistance by improving their capacity and quality of self in accordance with the idea of nation-building. This aims not only to develop group entities but also to improve the quality of their social lives (Bendix, 2017).

In this article, Papuan youth can be an integral part of the nation and state development, which can be accomplished through identity building, solidarity, and quality and sustainable education. In this case, we can see how the narrative of resistance to the stigmatization of a minority community can be overcome with consistency and self-determination. The strategies include improving self-quality, being socially active, and contributing to the advancement of education. Education is not only a means of development for Eastern students in Yogyakarta. It can also be an effective method
to counteract negative labels attached to their group. The stereotypes related to community image have shaped the mentality to prove the opposite. In this case, the successful attempt to transform society's stigma in DIY can become a benchmark to improve other students' self-confidence in Indonesia.

**Literature Review**

A community is where a group develops its capability on an individual level and collectively. Ramadhan et al. (2023) argue that communities have a crucial role in driving social transformations, including conflict resolution or the alleviation of structural racism. The association between a community and a group is vital because both have a powerful connection. In addition, most organizational or group activities are identical to communal and cultural activities.

Communities also play a role in fighting the formation of stigma or societal stereotypes toward a group. The community-building approach is one of the best ways to develop an organisational process. Negative stigma may emerge in the process (Tyler & Slater, 2018). Therefore, community building often aims to preserve a group's image and make the process effective and well-organised (Stovall, 2020). This community development can substantially improve the quality of the community and counter stigma among them.

However, a group's quality depends on its relation to another group. For example, re-territorialization is a political strategy for a community to build solidarity, and it needs to be extended to another group to gain more confidence and legitimacy.
In other words, in addition to a group’s strategy, power relations with other communities are vital. A group needs to expand its position in the community to improve its quality.

Based on the description above, this research uses the concept of community building to understand the “epistemic anchor” of a group's resistance to a negative stigma. The relationship between one community and another can facilitate community building, both in terms of quality and solidity, in order to create a resistant group with a core value (Alhusen et al., 2016). The dynamics and changes in social conditions are also vital in countering the negative narrative and working effectively toward better societal order (Kastoryano, 2018).

**Theoretical Framework**

**Identities in Community Building**

Identities are the underlying factor in the formation of organizations, which include diverse interests, similarities in fate, and a shared eagerness to achieve specific goals. Gibson et al. (2018) argued that identities are vital in determining long-term strategies and forming a robust organizational structure that can overcome changes in existing circumstances. Apart from becoming the foundation for organizational characteristics, strategies, and structure, identities can also maximize the political system in response to public issues (van Doeselaar et al., 2018).

A strong identity can help a community to adapt to certain social conditions. It is a vital aspect that determines a community’s success in overcoming problems, especially
in relation to social challenges (Allen, 2024; Milan, 2015). A community with a strong identity can carry out various impactful social movements and breakthroughs. According to Fukuyama (2018), in the modern era, a strong identity in a social community makes it more ready to adapt to the various currents of debate in social dialectics.

The process of identity formation is supported by several factors. Milan (2015) explains that this factor comes from harmonious relationships between individuals to create a sense of collectivism. In addition, an identity may also function to present “common sense”, manifested in various ways, including common goals (Nagel & Ayoob, 2015; van Doeselaar et al., 2018). A strong identity creates a solid community (Nagel & Ayoob, 2015). A solid community not only increases the capacity of each member but also serves to express their various interests (Brammer et al., 2007; Nagel & Ayoob, 2015). This aspect is important because it improves the quality of the organization, which leads to a solid group identity. In other words, the relationship between identity and solidity is socially and politically useful to enhance the group’s credibility.

Adjusting an organizational identity in considering and resolving social problems can build community resistance amid the current developments. Jacobs et al. (2013) emphasize that individuals' internalization of their organizational values can develop new organizations constructively and discursively, offering a multimodal way of understanding dominant organizational identities while resolving potential problems. Apart from determining corporate management strategies, individual modality
can also support community dynamics that provide opportunities to develop interpersonal identity.

**Organization and Social Contribution**

Community building is necessary to improve the quality of social life and allow for the formation of a group's identity and organizational solidity that are socially impactful. Apart from being a medium for developing individuals and groups, organizations have their own agendas and social contributions. Organizations have multiple functions, including a medium for a group to accomplish social goals (Gilad et al., 2015). The social goals involve collective actions to express culture, pursue capital, and even become the public's control over the ruling power.

A strong identity can support organizational capacity building as it supports the formation of a strategic organizational mindset with a catalytic power towards social development (Honadle, 2018). Strengthening organizational identity provides social and political capital and bargaining power to change the face of the organization and improve its image (Swanson et al., 2015). Therefore, organizational improvement must start from the body of the organization by strengthening the cultural values as part of its identity.

The process of forming an organizational identity can start in various ways, including from the cultural side. Organizations provide education about their identities, which include internal and external factors. Internal factors are related to the cultural image, which significantly determines the performance and institutional design of the organization. Meanwhile, external factors include public
engagement for various purposes (Mumby, 2016).

An organization is a manifestation of various individuals who collectively express their identity. The causality between identity and organization can be seen in the social dynamics that connect identity and culture as instruments of social contribution (Brenner et al., 2014; Hamidi et al., 2024). Individual members can carry out activities and networks which improve the dynamics of development in their environment through various existing contribution models, including voluntary activities (Woolley, 1998). Volunteerism is when collectivism becomes a bargaining power and forms a sense of security in the organization's members.

The relationship between community building and social contribution has a strong correlation to the improvement of the quality of the community. Increasing the quality of an organization will have an impact internally and externally. Internally, capacity building becomes a symbol of identity, where each individual feels more confident and is able to participate in various social activities (Allen, 2024). Externally, strengthening the identity will have a positive impact on the public’s assessment of a community (Hogg, 2016). Organization becomes important and has certain social implications.

The interests of an organization certainly intersect with various aspects, including capital, which is not only defined in economic terms but also in social terms where the orientation of the organization benefits others and society in general (Mishra, 2020). A socialization process is central to
building social capital that allows organizations to contribute socially and provide advantages (Korte & Lin, 2013). An organization is an association where people can achieve diverse goals based on their resources, knowledge, and identity. Organizations play a role in the social transformation (Hatch & Cunliffe, 2013, 90). Three vital aspects underlying the relationship between organizations and social transition are politics, economics, and demography, all of which influence the dynamics of social change (Crotty & Schmitt, 2014; Yüceşahin & Tulga, 2017).

It should also be noted that the role of an organization varies. From a paradigmatic point of view, the function of the organization is to change the perspective of individual members to understand their respective roles better, including in important decision-making (Smircich, 2017). If an organization has a strong role in supporting a group’s activities, then the social adaptation process by the community will be adjusted to the various social changes (Tankard & Paluck, 2016). In a way, an organization can be the engine of a group to strengthen its identity and carry out social transformation in a more positive and impactful direction.

**Pop Culture Implementations: From Sports to Music**

Organizations have different styles, including the one with an expression of popular culture. Mihailidis and Viotty (2017) explain the importance of connecting culture, organization, and expression in responding to social transformations and providing momentum to enhance the organization. Expression, reflection, and articulating connections build an
organizational identity in a sustainable discourse that constructs organizational culture and image.

Motivations for an organization to express its creativity and achievements may vary, for example, to improve the organization’s image amid the increasingly complex and heterogeneous societal developments. Several instruments, such as sports and music, enrich these relationships. Utami (2015) notices that “popular culture” is one of the most common communicative actions among the general public.

Popular culture can be an instrument for the OAP organization to counter-narrate stigma and provide conflict resolution for some social issues. The educational context is the key to achieving this. In addition, organizations also play a role in improving the quality of human resources and acting as instruments of justice in upholding human rights principles (Chazan, 2022; Struthers, 2015).

The continuity between organizations and popular culture provides theoretical implications for assessing community and public association. Arts is no longer just a unit of culture but is also related to aspects of popular culture, which contain multiple meanings. Art as an instrument of expression symbolizes that distinctive cultural communities have distinct identities and deserve recognition for their social status (Amalia & Agustin, 2022). Popular culture applied as an organizational identity provides momentum for communicative actions in transforming social stigma in society.

**Methodology**

This research aims to explain the relationship between the
community as a cultural organization and the efforts of Papuan students in fighting negative stigma attached to them in society. The relationship between capacity building and stigmatization needs to be understood because it is intertwined with one another. Implicitly, communities with strong identity-building can change the public’s view of them, as well as fight against negative narratives attached to them (Stovall, 2020). This aspect is explored in this study, where the efforts of Papuan students to build their community identity become a symbol of their resistance. The efforts do not have to be confrontational but subtle through positive actions, such as being socially active and achieving in the field of education.

This article employs qualitative research to help understand society's real lives, including what motivates the attitude patterns. They underlie actions in response to particular social conditions (Abdussamad & Sik, 2021). Choy (2014) explains that qualitative research captures individuals’ experiences and reflections in a specific socio-historical context.

Qualitative methods allow researchers to explore the views of homogenous and diverse groups to assist in unpacking these differing perspectives within a community. Because social capital is relational—it exists between people—asking a group of people to respond to specific questions and hypothetical circumstances may produce additional nuanced information than data derived from surveys (Choy, 2014, p. 102).

More specifically, this study uses an ethnographic approach to reveal the meaning behind the phenomenon obtained directly
from informants based on their experience (Windiani & Rahmawati, 2016). This method is also helpful for understanding social facts within a specific period to explain a social phenomenon comprehensively. The application of ethnographic methods helps understand the dynamics of change that occur among Papuan students living in DIY, both in terms of improving the quality of individuals and the organization. By joining the lives of the research’s participants, researchers can improve the accuracy of the observation results as they experience first-hand the real conditions in the field.

To achieve the study’s objectives, researchers observed the progress of around 25 Papuan students who are members of Ikatan Keluarga Mappi dan Puncak Griya Sekar Aji (IKMP GSA) or The Mappi and Puncak Griya Sekar Aji Family Association in DIY who consistently build counter-narratives on the stigma attached to them. IKMP GSA is a community and organization owned by Papuan students who live in DIY. This community has various activities and main objectives, including a forum for capacity building, a channel for social contribution, and a platform for political and social activism. In addition, the organization also helps strengthen the identity of Papuan students in DIY.

Furthermore, this research also reveals an alignment between the ideas brought by OAPs and the nationalist values embedded in organizational activities. Three underlying assumptions in this insertion of nationalist values are as follows. The first is to create a good Papua image. The second is to demonstrate the emergence of alternative political spaces for
movements initiated at the individual and community levels by Papuan students. In this case, IKMP GSA functions as a group-strengthening platform. Through this organization, Papuan students have succeeded in the world of work, developing interests and skills, advocating for themselves and resisting the negative stigma in order to achieve upward social mobilization. The third is to provide a perspective concerning the actual conditions of Papuans in interpreting and living Indonesian values. In this case, the implementation of the nation-building concept aims to develop Papuan students’ social capabilities and contribute to the management of various national problems. This aligns with the government’s actions to ensure the nation's integration remains checked, including in higher education settings. Lastly, the organization also helps Papuan students comprehend their identity, contribute to the social environment, and apply it to the contemporary development of popular culture.

Findings and Discussion

Papuan organizations and the Eastern Identities

Coming from the eastern part of Indonesia to DIY, OAPs use various methods to adapt to sociocultural changes, including forming a community. IKMP GSA is a Papuan youth organization that attempts to welcome OAPs from Mappi Regency, South Papua, and Puncak Regency, Central Papua. There are at least three main reasons behind the formation of this organization, namely: (1) creating a social space for OAPs to connect, (2) creating inclusive channels to express and develop members’ capacity, and (3) creating an
intellectual forum to resolve various social problems.

The board members at IKMP GSA emphasize aspects of Papuan culture because they believe this organization can help them recollect their collective memories. Solidarity is a powerful motivation, and cultural building helps IKMP GSA achieve this value. The organization is then understood as an organization and a home for OAPs studying DIY. One of the informants, PCK, confirmed:

"IKMP GSA is a necessary organization for us to create a community in Yogyakarta. This organization was built with a spirit of togetherness. All members of our organization are delighted about that, as well as about being able to shape ourselves together in positioning ourselves in Yogyakarta." (19/09/2023)

Another informant, EY, also exemplified how important it is to interpret Easterners' identity as an integral part of the IKMP GSA's cultural identity. She emphasized that identity reflected in the Papuan positive lifestyle is necessary to fight negative stereotypes. In addition, the organization helps recall the collective believer memories of the OAPs, which gradually manifested in their lives in Java.

"Our identity as Easterners has been held for a long time. For me, this identity will never disappear. I am glad to carry my Eastern identity to Jogja. IKMP GSA encourages all that... I am happy." (21/09/2023)

Papuan students are inseparable from their cultural values. Therefore, this cultural aspect is strategically integrated by OAPs into the organization's identity. Members make
conscious efforts to revive the image of OAPs as part of the organizational branding, such as in the organizational jargon. One of the participants, JL, stated:

"IKMP GSA brings many benefits for me because I can meet Papuan friends and grow together here... I have learned much in this organization, from learning computers and English, to developing talent and social interest activities. Wow, there are so many I can learn here." (21/09/2023)

The role of IKMP GSA as an organization extends to another dimension, such as in interpreting the relationship between Papua and Indonesia. The term dual nationalism may be the closest term to describe the efforts to bridge the value of the Papuan with its inherent principle of statehood. It is a social strategy to unite cultural identities with citizenship practices (Soetjipto & Yunazwardi, 2021). Whether directly or indirectly, Papuan students attempt to unify these two “worlds” by making the OAPs’ identities both culturalist and nationalist. One of the participants, PCK, said:

“...It is essential for Papuans to understand their culture. This culture has sacred ancestral values, which we must carry everywhere. It is hard for Papuans to forget their culture because it is deeply rooted in their identity as individuals and Indonesian citizens.” (19/09/2023)

The IKMP GSA strives to form political attitudes based on this organizational identity. The pattern of the organization's activism aims to promote their values as much as attempting to respond to problems, such as discrimination cases against Papuan students in DIY. The social mobilization carried out by
OAPs also refers to collaborating with other social entities to address local and national issues. The resistance of OAPs through IKMP GSA by developing social mobilities in Yogyakarta built a new social movement style that promoted the idea of egalitarianism and equality among the members. As the movements are mainly cultural, discrimination can be minimised.

The IKMP GSA activities are divided into academic and non-academic domains. Activities in the educational field include training in soft skills, namely English classes, communication, and presentations, and writing classes. Non-academic activities include sports and music, such as volleyball, futsal, badminton, and music. Meanwhile, concerning technology, IKMP GSA, assisted by several other institutions, such as the Gadjah Mada University Papua Task Force (GTP UGM) or community organizations, consistently runs

**Picture 1. IKMP GSA Participating in Indonesia Independence Day**

Source: Research documentation
computer classes. Additionally, to support academic activities for Eastern students, academic tutors from UGM, consisting of students from several faculties, moved to assist Papuan students in increasing their capability. This movement is essential as education reinforces identity and improves the quality of individuals and organizations (Chazan, 2022).

**Papuan Organizations and Social Contributions**

IKMP GSA in DIY also carries out consolidations and responds to several social problems. The organization has taken at least two actions. First, it teaches socialization strategies to Eastern students in DIY and the communities in general. Second, this organization provides a channel for social mobilization in responding to various problems. In other words, the role of IKMP GSA is vital in managing the lives of Eastern students in DIY. One of the participants, BYK, stated:

"We people here (IKMP GSA) are glad because we can express ourselves to the maximum... I participate in various social activities because now I am a resident of Jogja. Almost every time there is an activity, I try to participate in it because I believe I can project an amicable impression to the people around me."

(19/09/2023)

Socialization strategies are essential for organizations to penetrate and integrate into various social structures. Socialization is also needed to understand environmental circumstances, study them, and use this knowledge to improve the organisation’s adaptability (Van Maanen, 1978). The IKMP GSA strategy to analyse the sociocultural situation in DIY can be interpreted as a strategic approach. The organization uses
cultural adjustment to maintain regional social dynamics.

IKMP GSA often utilizes social mobilization to respond to social issues, including providing narratives of resistance to stigma attached to Eastern students, especially Papuans. The narrative to fight the stigma is built around achievements and direct, impactful contributions to society. One of the UGM students, PCK, portrays the image of a model Papuan student who has many academic achievements. According to Paulina, her characterization as an “outstanding student” also illustrates that there is no disparity between OAPs and non-OAPs in academic achievement.

“I believe that, in education, everyone is equal, whether they are Papuans or not. Everyone has the same rights in education”. (19/09/2023)

The social mobilization accomplished by IKMP GSA to gain social legitimacy, especially for the DIY society, also refers to social collaboration. On certain occasions, members of the organization often carry out activities with the community, such as community services, cooperation in improving village infrastructure, and other activities related to festivities and celebrations, including the National Independence Day. To maximize the social contributions, they build synergy with other parties. As such, IKMP GSA’s social expressions can be realized and felt by various
Social collaboration is a strategy that focuses on building connections between internal parties and external elements in a community, thus forming a participatory community and co-existence (Waddock, 1989). Placing IKMP GSA as a cultural entity that can assimilate with the social life of Yogyakarta’s society allows for a transformation where collaboration builds synergy between various elements and functional social relations and indirectly corrects the stigma.

The position of IKMP GSA has become increasingly strategic because it has received positive assessments from society. It has also indirectly transformed the perspectives of DIY citizens towards OAPs. At this point, the social contribution of IKMP GSA by being involved in social activities has a reflective meaning. The focus is to provide social impact in an inclusive reality that frames the social dynamics. This reality becomes the hallmark of the success of IKMP GSA as a Papuan youth organization in responding to social problems and identifying bullying, discrimination, and racism against specific identities.

**Fighting Social Stigma: From Education to Popular Culture**

As explained in the previous section, IKMP GSA is a Papuan youth organization whose mission is to fight stigma toward
Papuan communities in DIY. The resistance is exercised, among others, in education and popular culture. Through this, a positive image of OAPs in society is maintained ethically and OAPs can adapt to sociocultural circumstances in DIY.

IKMP GSA utilizes education to present a good narrative to the public about OAPs in DIY. Activities carried out by IKMP GSA’s members correct the stigma attached to Eastern students, who were considered lazy, troublemakers, and even uneducated. Students live in an organic, discursive, and inclusive dormitory culture, which supports students’ education. Therefore, the outcome of the organization members can be accounted for academically, as stated by PCK:

"This community prioritizes an educational and democratic organizational culture. Here, we learn together about all matters related to education. With education and achievement, we can oppose the societal stereotypes and prove that Papuans also have strong competitiveness."

(19/09/2023)

IKMP GSA is the leading organization in developing Papuan students to become more concerned about education and competitiveness. They believe that education is the key to upward social mobility (Indonesia, 2021) and minimising social gaps, where Eastern students are considered inferior. The discrimination of OAP students in DIY is immediately refuted by the large number of students at IKMP GSA, who have achievements and competitiveness.

JT is an example of a student and IKMP GSA member who has achievements in both academic and non-academic areas. In academics, he accumulated high
grades and participated in various academic activities on local and national levels. Meanwhile, in non-academic areas, JT actively participates in internship and social contribution programs to acquire practical learning and experience for his post-university life.

“I am currently participating in an internship program, and I have learned many things there. Starting from creating social empowerment activities and so on. Wow, there is a lot. From this, Papuan students are competitive if they dare to take advantage of the existing opportunities.”

(21/09/2023)

One form of discrimination in DIY is OAPs’ access to decent job opportunities, which is subdued by the stigma attached to OAPs. However, having Janius as a successful representative of OAPs presents a narrative of resistance that indirectly corrects the stigma in society. Gradually, the consistency of Papuan students in strengthening their positive identity enhances the public's perception of them.

Another accomplishment of the IKMP GSA is adapting popular culture and artistic expression as a strategy to immerse in the community. BYK, one of the organization’s members, is a student at the Faculty of Agriculture and a musician/disk jockey. He often expresses his complaints through typical songs—a combination of hip-hop and reggae music written in the Papuan language.

“I prefer music to express my creativity and skills. As an Easterner, I have always been raised with music, friendship, and brotherhood, which continues to make me who I am today. I also believe that Papuan culture can be better known to the public
through music. because all Indonesians like music!”. (19/09/2023)

Popular culture is influential in framing social problems uniquely so that people can understand the message the creator expresses. Popular culture is also an effective strategy for specific communities in branding organizations through creative channels so the public can easily receive their messages.

Another vital aspect in fighting stigma attached to Eastern students is activism. In recent times, especially when Papuans experience societal discrimination, cultural solidarity has emerged as a control mechanism. IKMP GSA's position is to help rectify stigma and manage conflict resolutions. Paulina explained that the position of IKMP GSA is as a means of advocacy for Papuan students in facing various social problems. He stated:

"Often, when discrimination against Papuan students occurs, we all come to them to give our support. Nevertheless, that does not mean we defend them; if they are wrong, then they are wrong and deserve to be punished, but if not, we will try to help the victim."

The strong activism traditions at IKMP GSA have also become a political statement supporting the creation of democratic values. Several members of this organization have also become activists and are involved in various sympathetic actions in DIY. Their actions are motivated by the desire to position themselves as Papuans who care about the country and exercise public control in initiating various kinds of national issues.
Conclusion

This research concludes that IKMP GSA, as a representative of the Eastern Student Organization, can offer a counter-narrative to stigma attached to Papuan students in DIY. The resistance strategy begins with self-capacity development activities (capacity building) through an influential educational culture, which produces intelligent and competitive Eastern students.

The three factors underlying the development of Papuan students’ self-capacity at IKMP GSA are understanding identity, social contribution, and popular culture. First, understanding identity internalizes the values of Papuan students' locality, where they place themselves as both OAPs and Indonesian citizens residing in DIY. This aspect of identity forms an image of competent 'dual nationalists' and empowers OAPs in various Indonesian cultures.

Second, the social contributions help OAPs increase community acceptance and secure a higher place in society for the organization. Indirectly, the contributions of Papuan students have gradually built a positive social image. Furthermore, the synergy with residents built by IKMP GSA in carrying out social contributions confirms that collaboration can minimise social disparities. The contribution has directly reconstructed DIY people’s perception, which became more positive in framing the behaviour of OAPs.

Third, popular culture becomes an instrument for Eastern students to express their Papuan identity. Eastern people are well-known for their music and sports, so OAPs use this as leverage in the process of cultural synchronization that emerges.
The public can quickly grasp the message expressed through the medium of art and positively respond to what is described. The appropriation of values between popular culture and activism among Papuan students also contributes to their good reputation.

The implication of this research is that good organizational capacity building can help a community to counter the stigma against them. This research also notes that understanding the stigmatization of a group should not be based on sentiment alone but should be based on more rational reasons. This illustration can serve as a frame of reference for future research on ethnic discrimination that occurs in Indonesia and DIY, focusing on a community's efforts to improve its capacity and quality and a social capital that has real implications for the dynamics of social change in a particular area.
References


