



LUND
UNIVERSITY

Department of Political Science

STV003
Tutor: Anders Uhlin

On the Transnational Interaction Between Nationalist and Cosmopolitan Actors

The West Papua Example

Jens Bölling
Alice Johansson

Abstract

As a reaction to the failing decolonization process in West Papua, Indonesia, in the 1960s, a domestic movement was created that demanded their right to an independent nation. In the decades to come, a transnational solidarity network responded to, and developed around, the West Papuan resistance.

This essay takes its departure in the West Papuan solidarity network, a concept referring to different groups interacting transnationally to improve the situation in West Papua. Drawing from previous literature, as well as from reports and statements from activists, it concerns the interaction between groups expressing conflicting values, i.e. nationalism versus cosmopolitanism, however sharing a concern for the situation in West Papua. Identifying this particular interaction, and by using theories sprung from traditional social movement research as well as recent transnational activism research, this essay challenges the common assumption that activists within transnational advocacy networks are bound together by shared norms and values.

Conclusions drawn from the analysis state that by strategically framing contention in ways resonating with domain solidarity discourses and by highlighting issues rather than values, activists expressing conflicting values can focus on the overall objective, thus enabling interaction.

Key words: transnational advocacy networks, framing, cosmopolitanism, nationalism, West Papua

Table of contents

1	Introduction	1
1.1	Related Research.....	2
1.1	Research Questions and Purpose.....	3
1.2	Central Concepts: Cosmopolitanism and Nationalism.....	3
1.3	Theoretical Framework.....	4
1.3.1	Collective Action Frames.....	5
1.4	Method and Material.....	6
1.5	Disposition.....	8
2	Historical Context - West Papua	9
3	Nationalism in West Papua	11
3.1	Nationalist Groups and Diaspora Activities.....	11
3.2	Collective Action Frames Within the Nationalist Movement.....	13
3.3	Nationalist Values Expressed in the West Papuan Independence Discourse.....	16
3.4	Construction of Ethnic and Territorial Borders.....	17
4	Cosmopolitanism in the West Papua Solidarity Network	19
4.1	Actors in the West Papua Solidarity Network.....	19
4.1.1	West Papua Solidarity Groups and Diasporas.....	20
4.1.2	International, Regional and National NGOs.....	21
4.1.3	Churches and Development Agencies.....	22
4.1.4	Scholars and Research Projects.....	22
4.2	Cosmopolitan Values in the West Papua Solidarity Network.....	23
5	Unified Collective Action Frames	25
5.1	Diagnostic Framings.....	26
5.1.1	Human Rights Frame.....	26
5.1.2	Indigenous Rights Frame.....	27
5.1.3	Return to Democracy Frame.....	27
5.1.4	Environmental Justice, Anti-Hegemony, and Health Frames.....	28
5.1.5	Responsible Actors.....	29
5.2	Prognostic Framings.....	29
5.3	Motivational Framings.....	30
5.4	Transnational Advocacy Networks in Perspective.....	30
6	Conclusion	32
7	References	34

Appendix 1. Map of Papua Province/ West Papua, Indonesia.

Appendix 2. Interview guide

Appendix 3. Questionnaire - Methodology

1 Introduction¹

On the basis of the desire of our people for independence, we urge through the mediation of the Komite Nasional and our popular representative body, the New Guinea Council, that the governments of Netherlands New Guinea and the Netherlands take action to ensure that, as of November 1 [1961],

our flag be flown beside the Netherlands flag;
our national anthem, Hai Tanahku Papua, be sung along with the Wilhelmus;
the name of our land become West Papua;
the name of our people become Papuan.

On this basis we the Papuan people demand to obtain our own place among the other free peoples and nations. [In addition,] we, the Papuan people, wish to contribute to the maintenance of the freedom of the world (*The Manifest Politic*, quoted in Chauvel 2005 pp. 22f).

The quote above was expressed in a document referred to as the Manifest Politic written by 17 elected Papuan leaders representing different regions, tribes and religions in 1961. The document was formulated in a time when the United Nations (UN) was debating the process of decolonization and illustrates the first attempt of Papuans to demand national sovereignty and establish an independent state (Chauvel 2005 p. 23). However, the Papuan dream of independence was not met and through diplomatic negotiations, in which the Papuans were given little influence, the Dutch colonial power was transferred to Indonesia within a few years.

Today the aspiration of putting West Papua's political status on the political agenda is widespread among the population, and the opinions expressed in the Manifest Politic still remain central in this struggle. What was originally an independence struggle led by the Organisasi Papua Merdeka/the Free Papua Organisation (OPM), has developed into a growing discourse on human rights, environmental rights, and indigenous rights-ideas and has stimulated a worldwide, though yet limited, transnational solidarity network.

When looking deeper into this transnational network of activists, working together to improve the situation in West Papua, groups stressing nationalistic as well as groups stressing cosmopolitan values can be identified. Carried out as a case study, this essay takes its departure in the West Papua solidarity network and will show how interaction between activists stressing different values is made possible through the strategic use of collective action frames.

¹The official designation of the province in focus of this study has recently changed from Irian Jaya to Papua. However, in this essay we refer to the province as West Papua, which is the designation dominating the discourse of the groups active within the West Papua solidarity network.

1.1 Related Research

This section presents an overview of contributions and scarcities in related literature and identifies the place for our study in contemporary research. By critically discussing previous research, relevant and original research questions can be identified.

The assumption that different activist groups in the West Papua solidarity network seem to be formed around what is often thought of as conflicting identities, namely national respectively cosmopolitan identities, has inspired this essay.

The phenomenon of nationalist movements interacting in transnational networks is not often referred to in contemporary literature. This can be seen as a result of a theoretical emphasis on global issues and an ignorance of such aspects not intuitively expected to be transnational. Meanwhile, in literature on nationalism, such movements are offered little attention to its resemblance to, and interaction with, other forms of contention (McAdam et al 2001 pp. 229, 234).

Because nationalist movements stress issues or values not intuitively expected to be transnational, such movements do not fit into the perception of transnational activists and therefore have been conceptualized as a purely domestic phenomenon. Therefore, their transnational dimension has been ignored. Today, however, many nationalist struggles tend to be transnational. Even though their goals may be local, the organisation depends on transnational support and the construction of horizontal networks, involving migrant communities in other countries (Kaldor 2004 pp. 169f). As we shall see below, such pattern is highly evident in the West Papua solidarity network.

A common assumption in transnational activist literature is that actors in transnational advocacy networks are bounded together by shared values, a common discourse, and dense exchanges of information and services (Keck, Sikkink 1998 p. 2). Increasing interaction between activists involved in transnational networks is believed to contribute to the development of common identities, which are inclusive and recognize the positive quality of differences, thus reducing national particularism (della Porta, Tarrow 2005 pp. 10, 12).

This essay challenges such assumptions by showing how the West Papua solidarity network involves groups stressing nationalistic values, grounded in a strong national identity, and solidarity groups, stressing cosmopolitan values grounded in what could be referred to as a cosmopolitan identity.

In research on transnational networks, minor attention has been paid to the constituent mechanisms and dynamic processes that enable activists to operate transnationally (Tarrow, McAdam 2005 p. 121). Moreover, most scholars and activists have stopped at the ideological differences that divide social movements. Few examples in social movement literature describe how activists work through certain divisive issues and reformulate divisions in ways that actually reinforce unity (Checker 2004 p. 174).

Recognizing these facts, the importance of studying interaction between groups expressing conflicting values, however sharing certain overall objectives, is emphasized and has resulted in the research questions posed below.

1.1 Research Questions and Purpose

The purpose of this paper is two-fold. Firstly, by investigating the existence of two conflicting sources of value being present among actors within the West Papua solidarity network, we challenge the common assumption that activists in transnational networks are bound together by shared norms and values (Kriesberg 1997 p. 9). Secondly, we turn to study the relational mechanisms that link groups based on different identities within transnational networks.

In order to understand the relational mechanisms making such interaction possible the following research questions will be examined:

- Is it possible to distinguish conflicting values among activist groups in the West Papua solidarity network?
- How can interaction within a network between activist groups based on national respectively cosmopolitan values be explained?
- How do such networks construct collective action frames to enable interaction between groups based on conflicting values?

Recognizing that network actors are not merely carriers of existing ideas and meanings, though rather signifying agents actively engaged in the negotiation, production and maintenance of values and ideas, framing has shown to be crucial if interaction is to be understood. While the initial formation of networks may depend on environmental opportunities, their fate is rather shaped by their actions (McAdam et al 1996 p. 15).

The first question aims at creating an empirical discussion investigating and illustrating the existence of various values within the West Papua solidarity network. Thereafter, through examining the following two questions we strive to explain how such groups make interaction possible through the strategic construction of collective action frames.

1.2 Central Concepts: Cosmopolitanism and Nationalism

In this section the aim is to discuss the conflicting elements being apparent in the general suppositions of cosmopolitanism and nationalism, and to outline two definitions that are useful as analytical tools in the discussion that follows.

A common account of cosmopolitanism is the understanding of the world as one single moral community where individuals are detached from national or regional entities. Cosmopolitan values are here defined as a consciousness of forming a borderless community of world citizens detached from territorial and ethnic borders, and the sense of belonging to this global community (Kurasawa 2004 pp. 236f; Kymlicka, Straehle 1999 pp. 82f).

Criticism is often raised toward the cosmopolitan notion as requiring cultural universalism (Kurasawa 2004 p. 240). Our idea of cosmopolitanism includes egalitarian universalism, though with an acceptance of cultural specificity and differences. We also add to the conception, the detachment from any kind of borders, be they territorial, linguistic or ethnical.

Nationalism on the other hand is often considered as having great potency in creating group identity, characterised by the strong sense of belonging to a nation. Such identity politics is assumed to produce narrow, sectarian, and divisive movements, unable of broadening pleas and negotiating with prospective allies (Tarrow 1998 p. 119).

Guibernau (1996 p. 47) defines the nation as a “human group conscious of forming a community, sharing a common culture, attached to a clearly demarcated territory, having a common past and a common project for the future and claiming the right to rule itself”. A nation though cannot refer to any objective set of factors, “A boundary marks the beginning and end of a community in so far as it encapsulates its identity” (Guibernau 1996 p. 80). However, national identity is difficult to use as an analytical tool without any knowledge of the essence given to the nation. The examination below, of the existence of national values among groups within the West Papua solidarity network, is thus structured along the lines of Guibernaus definition.

Our notion of cosmopolitanism and nationalism is based on cognition and feelings. However, in order to bring out this study we assume that such feelings take their expression in form of activities. Recognizing that activists stressing cosmopolitan as well as nationalist values are interacting transnationally today, it is not the transnational interaction in itself that distinguish cosmopolitan groups from nationalist groups. Rather, it is the detachment of any borders, expressed through activities concerned of the pleading of causes for all people, however territorially, cultural, or ethnically distant they might appear.

When investigating the existence of cosmopolitan and nationalist values amongst the groups within the West Papua solidarity network, we will examine their process of identification as well as their goals and activities.

1.3 Theoretical Framework

The questions above raise questions concerning the importance of collective action frames when explaining interaction. The theoretical framework adopted to answer the research questions draw from theories sprung the social movement research, and the more recent literature on transnational activism.

Framing processes have been common in traditional social movement theory as a means of explaining interaction between groups of activists. More recently transnational activism studies have adopted framing theories when explaining transnational interaction and contention.

1.3.1 Collective Action Frames

In order to establish a network, transnational activists must be brought together, organised, and equipped with common ideas and forms of collective action (Tarrow, McAdam 2005 pp. 122f). In order to campaign on an issue it must be inverted into a “causal story” (Keck, Sikkink 1998 p. 27). Events and experiences of the “reality” must be connected so that they are kept together in a relatively unified and compelling fashion (Benford, Snow 2000 p. 623). Interpretive processes that simplify and condense aspects of a complex world, in order to mobilize support and organize action, have been referred to as collective action frames. Local political entrepreneurs attempt to market their political cause abroad, engaging in framing activities that will link their local political concerns with existing discourses that can bring them both political and material support. This can be achieved through the strategic use of framings but also through framings that appear without being part of a strategy (Adamson 2005 p. 41).

Success and failure in the development of interaction between movements is often explained as a question of framing. Benford and Snow (2000 p. 615) have identified three core framing tasks. These are formed around the creation of a shared understanding of a situation, identification of responsible actors, encouraging of collective action and the affecting of a situation to a desirable development, and are referred to as diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framings.

Diagnostic framings refer to the identification of sources causing the situation in focus and the identification of a responsible agent. By showing that a given state of affairs is neither natural nor accidental, activists know whom to direct their actions at (Benford, Snow 2000 pp. 615f). However, consensus regarding the source of the problem does not follow automatically from agreement regarding the nature of the problem. Activists may also engage in processes that seek to define boundaries between “good” and “evil” and construct movement protagonists and antagonists (Benford, Snow 2000 p. 616).

Prognostic framings include the presentation of a possible solution to the problem or a plan of action. This is often connected to diagnostic framing as the identification of key actors and sources of contention affecting what strategies are successful and reasonable. As for any kind of framings, prognostic framings develop and change due to the context and how the opponent acts (Benford, Snow 2000 pp. 616f).

Motivational framings serve to motivate collective action, which includes the construction of appropriate expressions to motivate support. By constructing different vocabularies activists are motivated to take part in the contention. Four common vocabularies of motive among movement activists have been identified

as providing compelling accounts for engagement in collective action: *severity, urgency, efficacy, and propriety* (Benford, Snow 2000 pp. 616f).

Theories of framing processes are applied below to explain interaction amongst activist groups stressing different values within the West Papua solidarity network.

Collective action frames are often limited to the interests of a particular group. Some collective action frames, however, have a rather broad scope, and appeal to many different groups (Benford, Snow 2000 pp. 618f). By looking at how different groups have framed their concerns in terms of causes of conflict, responsible actors, and solutions, and by examining their vocabularies of motives and resonance with target audience, we strive to explore the existence of common collective action frames that can explain how interaction between the groups can be explained.

For a movement to be effective in any given framing, they have to match with the targets of mobilization in terms of beliefs, values, and ideas. Framings must resonate with the personal, everyday experiences of the targets of mobilization and not be too abstract or distant from their every-day lives. Moreover, resonance with the targets' culture, domain assumptions, and inherent ideology is important (Benford, Snow 2000 p. 622).

Often, the ability of local groups to gain support and resources depend on their capability to interpret and present particular problems and issues in ways that gives them transnational meaning (Olesen 2004 p. 264). If the causes resonate with pre-existing features of a transnational solidarity regime, chances of gaining support increases (Clifford 2001 p. 314).

Collective action frames such as rights frames, injustice frames, environmental justice frames, culturally pluralist frames, hegemonic frames, and a "return to democracy" frames, have been identified as master frames enabling involvement of a diverse range of actors (Benford, Snow 2000 p. 619).

1.4 Method and Material

To enable a detailed study of the interaction between nationalist groups and cosmopolitan groups within the West Papua solidarity network, a single case study appears to be the most suitable design for this purpose of this study.

Since this essay investigates interaction between groups based on different sources of value, a phenomenon usually not believed to be common within transnational networks, we argue that an in-depth analysis is needed if valid explanations are to be found. This is an ambition that would have been more difficult to fulfil with quantitative or comparative methods, which would force us to pose questions on a higher level of abstraction to enable investigation of multiple cases. We do not deny that other methods could have been used to investigate similar phenomenon, but we do argue that they would have been less useful and difficult to apply when seeking to answer our research questions.

Whilst literature on West Papua in general is limited and literature on the West Papua solidarity network in particular is almost non-existent, this study will require an extensive and comprehensive gathering of empirical material. Before initiating the analysis, an empirical groundwork has to be constituted. Such should be drawn from the literature, i.e. scientific articles, articles published in newspapers, and statements from websites related to the network.

These sources of information will be complemented by interviewing a distinguished individual possessing extensive insight in the West Papua solidarity network in general and the OPM in particular.² We have also formulated a questionnaire that has been sent to groups connected to the West Papua solidarity network.³

We argue that this combination of sources is useful when seeking an answer to the research questions posed above. Conventional literature has mainly been used to investigate to existence of a national identity in West Papua, as well as providing theories connected to transnational activism and identity. Statements from activist websites, the interview, and the questionnaire represent important sources of information to contemporary interaction within the network, as well as how activists comprehend interaction.

Approaching the theoretical dilemma of nationalist and cosmopolitan activists interacting within the same network, not often referred to in research, requires the adoption of an eclectic theoretical approach, and thoughtfulness when searching for useful theories. By combining different methods and sources we believe a single case study design helps us generating an analysis that is multilayered (Snow, Trom 2002 pp. 149f). Moreover, the complex constituent mechanisms and dynamics being apparent in interactive processes require an in-depth analysis, if answers to the research questions posed above are to be trustworthy. In this essay, existing theories used within social movement theory will be applied to explain interaction, mainly connected to framing and tolerant identities. Theories connected to identification and values, in this case nationalism and cosmopolitanism, will be applied to characterize movements as well as developed.

There are several reasons for focusing on the West Papua solidarity network. Most importantly, this network constitutes a good case to illustrate the purpose of our study. A domestic movement exist that struggles with various strategies in order to achieve its goals and solidarity movement scattered around the world. Furthermore, it is working on the issue and should be considered well updated with the situation and development in the province. As will be described below, these movements carry what is often believed to be conflicting identities, which makes it an interesting case to investigate and explain. Showing some similarities with other comparable struggles and supportive mobilization, a case study on the West Papua solidarity network can bring relevant insights applicable on a range of other progressions.

As pointed out above, the sources of information will consist of various literature, statements from websites, an interview and a questionnaire. Aware of

² For a discussion regarding the interview see Appendix 2.

³ For a discussion regarding the questionnaire see Appendix 3.

the obvious risk of using sources that may be biased; we have strived to validate our results, discussion, and conclusions by applying multiple independent sources. It is important to point out that some of the information received in interviews and at websites is in contradiction to what may be considered common understanding if referring to published books, articles etc.

Finally, it needs to be pointed out that the aim of this essay is not to outline and present an explanation that can be generalized to all network interaction. Instead our ambition has been to explain this particular case, presenting an explanation that might be applicable in other similar cases.

1.5 Disposition

This essay is structured as follows: Chapter 2 outlines a historical background leading up to the political situation in West Papua and the development of the solidarity network. Chapter 3 focuses on groups connected to West Papua stressing nationalist values and analyses the existence and expression of nationalist values in the West Papuan struggle. This is contrasted in Chapter 4 by a discussion of groups emphasising cosmopolitan values in the West Papua solidarity network. Chapter 5 analyses how nationalist and cosmopolitan groups have been able to overcome differences and interact by the strategic use of collective action frames. Chapter 6 summarizes the conclusions of the study.

2 Historical Context - West Papua

Since history remains an important factor in the political discourse of the Papuans in particular and in the West Papua solidarity network in general, the purpose of this section is to briefly outline the recent history of West Papua, providing some understanding of the context in which the independence movements are operating and solidarity movements engaged for. A suitable starting point for this discussion is the Dutch decolonization of Indonesia in 1945.

In 1945 disputes over the control of West Papuan territory, which the Dutch viewed as a separate colony from Indonesia, led to a Dutch maintenance of power and a postponement of West Papuan independence whilst Indonesia was decolonized (Suter 1997 p. 21). Bit by bit in the middle of the 20th century, Dutch power and influence over West Papua decreased. Disputes between Indonesia, who wanted to assimilate West Papua, and the Netherlands increased and as a consequence of Cold War politics, the United States sided with Indonesia in the diplomatic disputes that followed. This led to a Dutch hand-over of West Papua to Indonesia through the UN in 1962-1963. Through a referendum in 1969, Papuans were promised an ability to decide whether to stay under Indonesian rule or become an independent state (Suter 1997 p. 21).

On 1 December 1961, however, West Papuan elites proclaimed independence in a ceremony in which they raised their own Morning Star Flag. The proclamation was neither recognised by Dutch nor Indonesian authorities (Chauvel 2005 p. 23). Acknowledging the popular understanding of 1 December 1961 as a proclamation for independence, the West Papuan elite has asserted this day as the founding of the West Papuan state. Even though there are disputes among West Papuans whether independence was actually declared at this time, it remains an important moment in the discourse of West Papuan independence (Chauvel 2005 pp. 17f, 23).

In 1969 the Indonesian government organized the referendum “Act of Free Choice”. About 1025 tribal elders were able to vote on the political status of West Papua. The tribal elders were chosen by the Indonesian government to represent the 737000 inhabitants living in West Papua. All tribal elders voted for the integration with the Indonesian state. Less than 20 UN officials oversaw the referendum (Human Rights Watch 1998 p. 2) that was strictly supervised by Indonesian officials. Many Papuans claim that it was held under threats (Chauvel 2005 p. 105; Chauvel, Bhakti 2004 p. 3). Today the democratic deficits of the “Act of Free Choice” are recognized by many different actors (Aglionby 2005).

As the West Papuan claim for independence was not recognized in the mid-1960s, the OPM was formed as an armed resistance against the Indonesian government. As a reaction against the “Act of Free Choice” the first three decades of Indonesian rule was followed by an armed struggle by the OPM,

which today remains the main guerrilla force opposing Indonesian rule (Chauvel 2005 p. 105).

West Papuan discontent is not limited to the incorporation with the Indonesian state. The dominant grievance in Papuan political discourse since the early 1960s is related to Papuans' asymmetrical relations with Indonesia and claims of institutionalized racism from Indonesian officials towards Papuans as well as systematic human rights violations perpetrated by the armed forces (Chauvel 2005 pp. 5, 34; McGibbon 2004 p. 5).

Since the 1970s the Indonesian state has run programs and encouraged people from over populated provinces to move to the more densely populated and resource rich West Papua. West Papua inhabits about 2.2 million of Indonesia's over 210 million inhabitants. The land area is 3.5 times the size of Java and covers about one-quarter of the total Indonesian landmass (Suter 1997 p. 20; Chauvel, Bhakti 2004 p. 2).

At the beginning of 2000s about 773000 Indonesians had settled in West Papua constituting about 35% of the 2.2 million large populations. In 1960 Indonesians constituted about 18600 or 2.5% of the population (Chauvel, Bhakti 2004 pp. 2f). According to many West Papuans the Indonesians have taken control over economically important sectors making them the main beneficiaries of the economic development (MAR 2005; McGibbon 2004 p. viii).

As a consequence of the rapid modernization and transmigration, tensions and deadly conflicts have erupted between migrants and indigenous people. West Papuans have also expressed a collective fear that their demographic and cultural existence is threatened. Through the transmigration, they argue, the government is attempting to erase the indigenous people's distinctive character (MAR 2005; McGibbon 2004 pp. viif).

Parallel with the struggle against Indonesian authority, a massive criticism is directed against that revenue from natural resources have been taken away from West Papua, with the US-based company Freeport McMoRan Copper & Gold (Freeport) being the main target. Since 1967 the company runs one of the world's largest mines in the mountains that many West Papuan tribes consider sacred (Walton 2004). Freeport generate great incomes to the Indonesian state and has launched education programs for locals, but many Papuans argue that the programs are an attempt to buy local support, and that the generated income stays in Jakarta and does not benefit West Papua.

Since the end of the 1990s the development in West Papua is somewhat confused. Fruitful discussions have been followed by diplomatic and military crack-downs. In response to the current situation in West Papua a transnational solidarity network has developed, including a range of different actors working in various ways to improve the situation in West Papua. The hypothesis of this essay is that this network includes groups based on conflicting values, rooted in nationalism and cosmopolitanism. The following two chapters will examine the existence of such values among the actors working within the West Papua solidarity network. For structural purposes, the nationalist and cosmopolitan groups will be discussed under separate headings. However, these actors should be seen as interacting within the same transnational network.

3 Nationalism in West Papua

The construction and development of Papuan nationalism is debated in the literature and various versions of the origin and dynamics of a Papuan national identity have been expressed. The purpose of this chapter is firstly to discuss nationalist groups; these groups are mainly found within West Papua as well as in diasporas outside the province, and how they interact transnationally. Secondly, we turn to analyse how these groups have framed their struggle by using some of the theories outlined above. Finally we investigate the existence of nationalist values among the Papuans, as well as how these values are being expressed.

3.1 Nationalist Groups and Diaspora Activities

Conflicts viewed as internal often involve a transnational dimension. Nationalist groups operate transnationally and raise funds for their political projects by drawing on transnational networks (Kaldor 2001 pp. 102f). Such networks link indigenous activists and organizations with NGOs, state agencies, national, foreign intellectuals and researchers, and different solidarity organisations, which provide indigenous activists with sources of support and legitimacy (Perreault 2003 pp. 70, 81).

In this section, actors endorsing a nationalistic struggle within the West Papua solidarity network will be discussed. By focusing on their goals, activities and achievements the discussion shows how nationalistic groups interact transnationally with different solidarity groups.

Papuans attempting to achieve independence are today represented mainly through two different movements: through the activities of the liberation movement OPM, and through the indigenous movement conceptualized through the PPC. Having different approaches to the problem, these groups are both active within West Papua, Indonesia, and internationally (Kaisiepo 2003).

Within West Papua the OPM can be understood as an umbrella liberation movement aimed towards breaking up Indonesian rule (Kaisiepo 2003; Prai 16/12/05). Much of the activities aimed at improving the situation in West Papua today are in some way related to the struggle of the OPM. The ideology of the OPM has in many ways served as inspiration for other activist, even if not in practical terms. Indonesian authorities, however, claim that OPM is a very limited organisation (Prai 16/12/05; MAR 2005).

Having developed in discontent with the political development in the middle of the 1960s, OPM's aim today remains full independence, for which they are willing to use political as well as military means. At the centre of the

independence struggle is the guerrilla. However, the organisation of the OPM is contested and has diverse meanings to different people. To many Papuans the OPM is more of an ideology and a way of thinking and living, rooted in each Papuan. It has been claimed that even stones, plants and animals are part of the OPM. For these people the OPM is conceptualized as a public struggle, rather than an organization (Prai 16/12/05; Chauvel 2005 p. 91). Parallel to the prioritized demand for independence, OPM also attempts increase the respect for basic human rights. However, the main road to reach those basic human rights is to overthrow the Indonesian government (Kaisiepo 2003).

People with insight in the OPM acknowledge that much of the political and military power lies in the hands of exile-Papuans who control OPM's activities (Kaisiepo 2003; Prai 16/12/05). Many of the central figures within the early OPM-struggle are today based in the Netherlands and Sweden, from where they continue their political and military contention. Even though geographically distant from the activities in West Papua, they have a significant influence on the actions carried out by activist domestically (Prai 16/12/05).

Other initiatives by Papuans in Europe include the attempt by two significant Papuan politicians living in exile in the Netherlands who established the "Freedom Committee of West Papua/West New Guinea", from which they attempted to mobilize support for the Papuan cause and sustained a lobbying campaign with governments as well as at the UN for a fair implementation of the "Act of Free Choice" (Chauvel 2005 p. 33).

In 1992, an international OPM office was set up in Sweden by the head of Political Bureau of the OPM. The youth wing of the Social Democratic party (SSU), Skåne Branch expressed concrete sympathy with the OPM, and the local government provided a venue for OPM operations (Ondawame 2000 p. 227).

Parallel to the OPM-activities, an increasingly and well-organized freedom movement, dominated by civilian groups, has emerged since 1998. This movement has developed into the Papuan Presidium Council (PPC) (Malley 2003 p. 202). Simultaneously with the emergence of PPC, other movements stressing similar values and goals have developed. Among the more prominent are Forum Rekonsiliasi Rakyat Irian Jaya/ Forum for the Reconciliation of Irian Jaya Society (FORERI) and the Team of 100. Whilst an overlap existed between these actors, the PPC since 2000 has the mandate to represent the pro-independence struggle (Chauvel, Bhakti 2004 p. 28).⁴

Striving to achieve the collective rights guaranteed for recognized indigenous groups by the UN, PPC attempts to get Papuans recognized as a nation. If successful, such classification would strengthen their rights as well as their possibility to reach self-determination (Malley 2003 p. 202). Instead of putting the struggle for independence first, PPC have focused on flaws in the Indonesian rule, such as lack of respect for human rights and have not actively taken part of the historical OPM struggle (Chauvel 2005 p. 19).

When investigating the actors above it is noticeable that their goals to a large extent remain the same, whilst the means to reach these goals differ. The varieties

⁴ For a discussion of the FORERI and Team of 100 see Chauvel, Bhakti 2004; Chauvel 2005.

of opinion however, are less of an ideological character than rhetoric. Even though Papuans are divided on whether to support independence or not, a vast majority believe that West Papua is not a part of Indonesia, but a colony in disguise. Although public opinion in West Papua to some extent is divided, the general view is clear: most West Papuans argue that independence is the only realistic solution to the current conflict (Ondawame 2000 p. 220).

To gain support movements have attempted to attract attention from transnational actors. Such awareness is raised through direct lobbying with transnational actors, or by attracting journalists to report about their issues (Clifford 2001 p. 313). In the initial process exile Papuans presumably were, and still are, of a great importance. However, the possibility to gain support from broader masses has probably been reliant in the formation of a solidarity network including a wide range of actors. This indicates an interactive process between Papuan nationalist movements and solidarity groups within the West Papua solidarity network which will be further examined in chapter 4.1 below. The next section will continue with an analysis of how the West Papuan struggle is framed in the Papuan nationalists discourse.

3.2 Collective Action Frames Within the Nationalist Movement

This section will analyse how the Papuans have framed their contention in terms of three common framing tasks, namely diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing. If being able to identify how nationalists have framed their struggle and what attempts they have made to gain international support, this will add to a greater understanding of their frame of reference when interacting with solidarity groups.

Movements often seek to change issues or situations found problematic. Collective action frames can help to make events or occurrences meaningful and so influence support and mobilization. Three major framing tasks have been identified. The most vital task is diagnostic framing which mean showing that a given state of affairs is neither natural nor accidental by identifying sources of grievances and responsible agents (Keck, Sikkink 1998 p. 19). Another significant task is prognostic framing, which refer to the suggestion of potential solutions to the situation found problematic (Benford, Snow 2000 p. 616). The third central task is motivational framing, which includes the ability to motivate action by the use of a compelling vocabulary.

When looking at *diagnostic framing* some central aspects are commonly figured in the political discourse among Papuan nationalists.

Movements backing political changes have often used injustice as a source of grievance (Benford, Snow 2000 pp. 615). References to injustices can be seen in most arguments used in the political discourse among Papuan nationalists. OPM and PPC have structured much of their claims for independence as arguments

about injustices in the history of West Papua's integration into Indonesia, in particular, the decolonization of the Dutch, the Indonesian and Dutch struggle over the West Papua, and West Papua's ensuing integration into Indonesia (Chauvel 2001 p. x). Legitimacy of Papuan independence, they claim, was established when the Dutch recognised the Papuan independence declaration and their national symbols in 1961 (Chauvel 2005 pp. 10f).

The injustices, manipulation and repression being current in the conduct of "Act of Free Choice", are central components of how Papuans have argued their right to an independent state (Chauvel 2005 p. 83). However, as argued above these claims have been emphasized by ethnic distinctions made with Indonesian (Chauvel 2005 p. 15f). Historical, legal, and ethnic rights are still central in the vocabulary of Papuan nationalists in their claims of the Papuans' right to sovereignty. However, after the mid-1960s another dominant theme in Papuan political discourse is related to Papuans' asymmetrical relations with Indonesia and the systematic torture and violence against indigenous Papuans and exploitation of the regions economic resources (Chauvel 2005 pp. 5, 34; McGibbon 2004 p. 5).

In order to campaign on an issue events and experiences must be connected in a unified and forceful fashion (Benford, Snow 2000 p. 623). Papuan intellectuals and activists have brought together the criticism described above into a broader frame of criticism, based on institutionalized ethnic discrimination of the Indonesian government. A central claim is that Indonesian policies are threatening Papua's indigenous culture. This critique has evolved into a specific discourse about indigenous rights hearted on the notion that Papua's indigenous population is facing cultural extinction (McGibbon 2004 pp. 5f).

From a more political perspective spokesmen from the OPM, and more recently the PPC, have made efforts to invoke indigenous rights in their struggle against the Indonesian state (Ondawame 2000 p. 240). Growing international concerns that indigenous peoples around the world are being threatened by the modern state and economy have provided the Papuan people with an international platform to press their cause (Ondawame 2000 p. 240). The ideas of threatened indigenous rights have resulted in growing international support for independence (McGibbon 2004 pp. 19ff).

Suggestively to gain support even among third world counterparts, the OPM have in their political programme stated that they "work for world peace and security, for mutual respect for and equal recognition of the rights of indigenous people elsewhere, and works for international solidarity with oppresses and colonised peoples" (Ondawame 2000 p. 126).

Causes that can be allocated to identifiable agents are easier to mobilize support around than are causes with no identifiable responsible actor (Keck, Sikkink 1998 p. 27). In the discourse of historical and legal injustices as well as the more recent discourse on human right abuses and indigenous extinction, the responsible actor being accused is the Indonesian state. However, criticism is also aimed towards Freeport who in cooperation with the Indonesian government is exploiting Papuas natural resources and mountains. These criticisms are reflected in the quotations below:

Our forests, mountains, sago gardens, indigenous lands, sacred places, all the natural resources are being plundered, squeezed, crushed and then annihilated. The indigenous people who are the traditional owners of the lands are becoming squatters . . . because their ancestral lands are being used by government and companies (McGibbon 2004 pp. 18f)

The *prognostic framing* among Papuan nationalists is rather unified. Although public opinion in West Papua to some extent is divided, most West Papuans argue that independence is the only realistic solution to the current conflict (Ondawame 2000 p. 220). First and foremost the Papuans need to regain their nation. As long as West Papua remains under Indonesian colonial power, no human rights are to be spoken about (Prai 16/12/05).

PPC has have strived to achieve the collective rights guaranteed for recognized indigenous groups by the UN (Chauvel 2005 p. 19). However, according to parts of OPM, the only road to reach the basic human rights is to overthrow the Indonesian government's rule of West Papua (Kaisiepo 2003).

When looking at how Papuan nationalists' use *motivational framings* the most significant vocabularies are urgency and severity. In an interview published by a solidarity group, an indigenous Papuan describes this in a very striking manner when talking about Freeport's exploitation of national resources and destruction of traditional culture:

so people cannot live anymore because all the tree have dried out, all animals on the rivers died out. People cannot drink, all animals who drink die, like fish, pig wandering around. And all the trees dried, totally dried. People have been angry, shouting and demonstrating, but all things they get is they shot dead. Thousands of them have been killed so far. And we cannot tell the world because we don't speak English. We cannot get out to speak. Journalists cannot get in (Infosgop Grauzone 2003)

As illustrated in the quote above, as well as by many other Papuans, the situation in Papua is untenable and the need for a quick solution to the situation is crucial. The Papuans fear that the atrocities committed by the Indonesian government in the region, the economic exploitation and the transmigration is a threat to the West Papuan nation and therefore urge a quick response.

In summary, the diagnostic framing used by the groups within West Papua is rather unified, and emphasizes injustices in the decolonization process, the "Act of Free Choice", and the asymmetrical relationship with Indonesia as sources of grievances. Prognostic and motivational framings are shared by most actors. Most Papuans believe that the various sources causing discontent can be stopped through a decolonization of the province. By bringing together criticisms into broader frames of reference and by stressing urgency and severity of the humanitarian and environmental situation in West Papua, the independence struggle has widened into a broader discourse of human rights, environmental rights and cultural rights.

3.3 Nationalist Values Expressed in the West Papuan Independence Discourse

Nationalism is here argued to be characterised by a strong sense of belonging to a nation. By using the definition outlined in the theoretical framework above, the following discussion investigates the existence of nationalist values among activists. This argumentation will later be contrasted with the following chapter discussing cosmopolitan values within the West Papua solidarity network.

At the centre of the Papuan independence discourse is the nation of West Papua. Territorial borders have a crucial role in the West Papuan independence movement, where the map serves as a logo for the struggle (Webster 2001/2002). Among Papuans a strong consciousness exists of what demarcates that territory and to whom it belongs. Ondawame (2000 pp. 26, 31) assert that Papuans see themselves as a large multi-ethnic grouping of peoples who share a sense of common values. Their shared identification with a cultural sameness primarily formed around components such as language, culture, religion, attitudes to land, and way of life forms a West Papuan identity.

Different agendas involve different frames of reference and different forms of expression (Wee 2002 p. 502). Papua's nationalist ideology is founded on the history and nationalist historiography of decolonization, specifically Papua's incorporation into Indonesia. Yet, ethno-historical constructions are not per definition politicized or even nationalistic. Such constructions become politically potent when they are used as legitimating ideologies for the control of contested resources (Wee 2002 p. 503).

Since the Dutch hand-over of West Papua to Indonesia, independence has been proclaimed at different times. History and ethnicity has been widely used when legitimizing the struggle for independence (Ondawame 2000 p. 218). The wish for self-determination and how this aspiration was neglected by Indonesia in their arrangement of the "Act of Free Choice" are central components of Papuan nationalism, and there has been a noteworthy uniformity in the way Papuans have argued their case for an independent state (Chauvel 2005 p. 83). The injustice, manipulation and repression that were current in the conduct of "Act of Free Choice" have become central to Papuan understandings of their history (Chauvel 2001).

The construction of history, which distinguishes Papua from the rest of Indonesia, is a central issue around which Papuans identify (Chauvel 2005 pp. 2ff, 7). Papuans have their own national ideals and national symbols, such as their own flag: the Morning Star, their own anthem: *Hai Tanahku Papua'* sung, and their own Independence Day: 1 December (Chauvel 2001) which marks a foundation of a popular West Papuan identity (Webster 2001/2002)

3.4 Construction of Ethnic and Territorial Borders

Nationalism is not purely distinguished from cosmopolitanism by the recognition of a unique history, culture, and territory, and the claim for independence. Though, when the attachment to the nation and the consciousness of forming a community leads to a distinction between members and strangers, the rest and the different, exclusionary boundaries are constructed, be they ethnically, territorial or culturally. When such boundaries are used as a basis for claims of independence a nationalistic dimension is apparent (Guibernau 1996 p. 73)

Many Papuan nationalists make strong distinctions between Papuans and other peoples. In the discourse of Papuan nationalism, it is the distinction from the Indonesians that is most important, a distinction rooted in the experience of colonial domination (Chauvel 2005 p. 45) as well as on physical differences between the two peoples (Chauvel 2005 pp. 3ff).

After a congress in 2000, Papuan nationalists stated that Papuans were racially different from the peoples of Maluku, the Lesser Sunda Islands, Sulawesi and Java. Instead they argued that Papuans were racially closer too, and Papua geographically part of, the Pacific, rather than Indonesia. They also emphasized that Papua's flora and fauna was different from Indonesia's and that even the natural environment was hostile to Indonesian rule (Chauvel 2005 p. 15).

The Papuans strongly believe that the colour of their skin marks a line of racial separation and they regard Indonesians as foreigners. Their ways of life, tradition, and culture is distinctive from Indonesians and has created deep social and political divisions between Indonesians and the Papuans. Racism and social barriers have played an important role in determining the Papuans' views (Ondawame 2000 p. 218).

Today the Papuan sense of a distinctive Papuan identity has a much broader base than it had in the beginning of the 1960s. Mass migration and socio-economic change has from the colonial period to the present sharpened ethnic boundaries and contributed to the greater sense of separate ethnic identity across a broad range of ethno-linguistic groups amongst Papuans (McGibbon 2004 pp. 23ff).

By deconstructing the nationalist discourse, the discussion above indicates the existence of a strong national identity among West Papuans. A strong identification with the nation of West Papua is evident, seen in the perception of themselves as members of a defined idea of their nation as a shared community with distinctive territory, history, population, culture, symbols, and future (Webster 2001/2002). The demand for independence is accentuated by the sharp ethnic, cultural, and territorial distinctions made with Indonesians (Chauvel 2005 p. 15f). These claims thus include a dimension of ethnic identity, cultural identity, and territorial identity, which can be contrasted with the cosmopolitan belief of one single moral community where all individuals are citizens are members.

Yet, above we have examined how nationalistic groups operate transnationally, though being characterised by nationalistic values, grounded in a strong national identity. This make up a somewhat contradictory phenomenon.

Nationalistic values are intuitively conceived as conflicting with the cosmopolitan values apparent among actors in transnational networks. Below we turn to discuss the broad range of activists working in solidarity with the West Papuans in order to distinguish the existence of cosmopolitan values and further investigate a mutual interaction.

4 Cosmopolitanism in the West Papua Solidarity Network

To get an overall accepted view of the dynamics and connections between the actors in the West Papua solidarity network has shown to be a challenging and not always uncontested task. A definition of the West Papua solidarity network is thus required. This chapter will firstly discuss the goals and activities of the groups within the network in order to show the existence of a broad range of groups, all interacting within the West Papua solidarity network for the purpose of supporting the West Papuan struggle. Secondly, we contrast the discussion about nationalistic values above, by analysing how these actors inhibit cosmopolitan values.

4.1 Actors in the West Papua Solidarity Network⁵

Keck and Sikkink (1998 pp. 8f) define transnational advocacy networks as a “form of organisation characterised by voluntary reciprocal and horizontal patterns of communication and exchange”. By applying ‘advocacy’ to the concept they add to its meaning, the pleading of causes of others, or the defending of a cause.

Activists within the West Papua solidarity network can be summarized in four different clusters of solidarity groups, discussed under separate headings below. The different categories are: (1) West Papua solidarity groups and diasporas; (2) international, regional and national NGOs; (3) churches and development agencies; (4) scholars and research projects. The groups discussed below are some of those who appear to arrange regular activities and provide up-to-date information on West Papua and their actions.

Diasporas appear to be an important group in the West Papua solidarity network. Research in diaspora politics has tended to see such groups as exclusive nationalists concerned with exile politics (Emanuelsson 2005 abstract). Whilst such groups undoubtedly exist in the West Papua solidarity network, diaspora groups are by no means exclusively involved in nationalistic politics. In the

⁵ The groups discussed below are mainly apparent in Australia, Europe and Canada. Much general sympathy for West Papua exists in Africa, but due to geographical distances and Africa’s own social and political crises, this potential source of support cannot be mobilized at this stage to become West Papuan sponsors (Ondawame 2000 p. 228). In the US, the limited attention for West Papua is increasing, particularly among environmentalists, intellectuals, and human rights organisations (Ondawame 2000 p. 238).

analysis below we do not consider diasporas as one idiosyncratic group, recognizing that such groups involve both those activists formed around a strong national identity and those formed around a cosmopolitan identity.

4.1.1 West Papua Solidarity Groups and Diasporas

The first kind of solidarity groups discussed is lobby-organisations dedicated to work solely for West Papua. Many of these associations were initially set up by exile Papuans. Diasporas appear to be an important group in the West Papua solidarity network. Research in diaspora politics has tended to see such groups as exclusive nationalists concerned with exile politics (Emanuelsson 2005 abstract). Whilst such groups undoubtedly exist in the West Papua solidarity network, diaspora groups are by no means exclusively involved in nationalistic politics. In the analysis below we do not consider diasporas as one idiosyncratic group, recognizing that such groups involve both those activists formed around a strong national identity and those formed around a cosmopolitan identity. Along with other activists they have for long been engaged in solidarity groups (Cookson 2001). As a result of the work of several such solidarity groups around the world to raise public awareness in broader church, trade union and human rights circles, on the human rights abuses and environmental destruction carried out by the Indonesian government, advocacy groups and environmental organisations have shown a growing concern of the people in West Papua (Maclellan 2001).

Today, a number of websites and newsgroups on the Internet are dedicated to the situation in West Papua, several of which are in English (Cookson 2001), and from which the information below mainly is drawn from.

Starting in Australia, there is a growing level of support. In late 1986, grassroots organisations in Australia organised an official OPM tour around the country. Public meetings and talks were held during the tour with aid groups, churches, universities, foreign affairs officials, parliamentarians, and solidarity groups (Ondawame 2000 p. 235). The Sidney-based Australia West Papua Association (AWPA) is a non-political, non-religious association with the objective of supporting the Papuan people in West Papua. Within Australia, AWPA co-operates with committees for East Timor, and groups working on related problems. Internationally they have contact with sister-organisations in Papua New Guinea, Sweden, The Netherlands, The Philippines, UK, USA and Japan (AWPA 2006). AWPA include a personal involvement of OPM leaders and have for example paid travel expenses for OPM representatives (Ondawame 2000 p. 236).

Across Canada, Westpan is an informal network of individuals and local groups concerned about injustice in West Papua, and the associated destruction of unique cultures and rare ecosystems. Westpan supports the West Papuan peoples' struggle to regain their fundamental human rights, including the right of self-determination. They take no position for or against independence but support the Papuans objectives to decide their own future (Westpan 2006)

The organisation seeks to lobby nationally and internationally for peaceful solutions and open dialogues between Papuans and the Indonesian government and to raise public awareness of the situation in West Papua and a peaceful democratic reform in Indonesia. Westpan work to influence the Canadian government to reject ecological destruction and human rights violations, and to influence Canadian organizations and decision makers to respect and demonstrate West Papuan sovereignty (Westpan 2006).

In Europe, West Papua Action is a solidarity and campaigning initiative, formally launched in Ireland 1996. The association works to bring awareness and concern to the question of West Papua. West Papua Action has received funding or support from a range of supporters, such as Justice and Peace groups and Development and Education Projects (West Papua Action 2006). In 2000, West Papua Action worked with PaVo (Papuan People) and Tapol (see below) to organise the First International Solidarity Meeting in the Netherlands followed by the Second International West Papua Solidarity Meeting in 2001 in Germany, in which solidarity groups, NGOs, and West Papuans participated (AWPA 2006).

In 1988, Föreningen för ett fritt Papua was established in Sweden and keep good relations with the OPM international office in Malmö, Sweden (Ondawame 2000 p. 227).

The lobby-organization PaVo has established an office in the Netherlands from where they keep good relations with the PPC and have lobbied together with the Papua-based human rights-organisation Elsham. PaVo urge for independence (Zöllner, Duim 2001). Information collected and presented by PaVo, are intended to be brought to West Papua as extra input for the Papuan organisations (Antenna 2006).

4.1.2 International, Regional and National NGOs

The second group is several international, regional, and national human rights-groups that are actively working on issues within West Papua and are organizing campaigns to bring the situation in West Papua into public awareness.

While some of these groups are part of Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, regional human rights organisations such as Watch Indonesia! are gaining importance. Two well-recognized human rights organizations with extensive focus on West Papua are the UK-based Tapol and the West Papua-based Elsham.

Tapol started campaigning in 1974 and is a NGO depending primarily on networking with organisations and groups in Indonesia, with NGOs in the UK and with solidarity groups around the world. Several visits to Indonesia has increased the links with groups in Indonesia, and links with the new generation of NGOs and political groupings have been enhanced (Tapol 2005).

In the UK Tapol has worked closely with several human rights-, anti arm-trade-, and development organisations to reach out to the British public. Although much of their energies are spent campaigning in the UK, their contacts, the reach of information, and many of their campaigns have become worldwide (Tapol

2005). Internationally Tapol are part of the worldwide solidarity movement for East Timor, with groups supporting the struggle of the people of West Papua and, more recently, with groups supporting the democracy struggle in Indonesia (Tapol 2005) This function has made the organization a central actor within a network of Indonesian-based solidarity groups, NGO's in the UK and several other organizations around the world. In 1995, its 20-year long work with human rights in Indonesia and East Timor was awarded with the Right Livelihood Award (Right Livelihood 2005).

Elsham took form in the end of 1990. The group emerged out of a loosely organized network of churches, community leaders, academics and human rights activists. Today the organization is concerned with promoting and monitoring human rights in West Papua, but also works with such as demilitarization of West Papua, the right to self determination, and education. However, they do not take a stand in the discussion over the province's political status (Butt 2003).

Recently, cooperation between human rights-groups, church councils and Elsham around the call for basic human right in West Papua such as freedom of speech and organization has emerged, with an active lobbying against the UN Commission on Human Rights in Geneva (Zöllner, Duim 2001).

Pacific Peoples' Partnership is another non-profit and non-governmental social justice organization based in Canada. They work exclusively in solidarity with peoples of the South Pacific, promoting aspirations for peace, justice, security and sustainable development, with the support of the Canadian government, church groups, unions, and donations from individuals. Many of their programmes seek to facilitate links between indigenous peoples of the South Pacific and indigenous peoples of Canada, aimed at stimulating an exchange of ideas, experiences and strategies and strengthen mutual work for change (Pacific Peoples Partnership 2005).

4.1.3 Churches and Development Agencies

The third group consists of churches and development agencies supporting Papuans. In 1998 the PNG Council of Churches allowed the OPM to open an information office, however since the government rejected such arrangement it was closed down (Ondawame 2000 p. 231).

These actors have often coordinated their actions and are among other things trying to strengthen institutional development, the environment, and human rights. They usually don't put Papuan independence on the agenda, but see it as an issue to be solved within Indonesian domestic politics, however, some groups and organisations are supporting independence (Zöllner, Duim 2001).

4.1.4 Scholars and Research Projects

The fourth group entails academics and scholars, showing interest in West Papua. Since the early 2000s the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies at the University

of Sidney has organized the yearly West Papua Project. In order to increase the public's awareness about the complex situation in West Papua, the centre has arranged a number of conferences, bringing together several of the actors mentioned above (West Papua Project 2006). In 2005 they published a report discussing genocide in West Papua. The report was prepared for the West Papua Project and Elsham. In their acknowledgments the authors thank a range of different individuals and groups for their contribution to the report, which illustrates the interaction of range of quite different actors working for and supporting the situation in West Papua (Wing, King 2005 p. iv).

Recently the Washington-based East-West Center has presented some extensive articles discussing different topics related to West Papua. These publications cover topics such as nationalism, plural society in Papua, and Papuas political status (East-West Center 2006).⁶

While this essay was written, research on the Dutch and UN role in the "Act of Free Choice" has been carried out and published on the demand of the Dutch government. The 740-pages long report is critical to the way in which the international community handled and responded to the "Act of Free Choice" (Aglionby 2005).

The reviews above show how a range of different actors interact transnationally within the West Papua solidarity network. Even though focal points differ, with core issues such as human rights, environment, development, indigenous rights, and democratic issues, and opinions on solutions varies, all groups in the West Papua solidarity network share a common concern in improving the situation for the Papuans.

4.2 Cosmopolitan Values in the West Papua Solidarity Network

Our notion of cosmopolitanism and nationalism assumes that such values are rooted in a cosmopolitan respectively national identity, though expressed through activities and goals.

In order to distinguish cosmopolitan groups from the ones referred to above this chapter discuss groups having their origin outside West Papua. Being aware of the harshness of drawing this distinction we consider this legitimate since the activities of such groups demonstrate the cosmopolitan idea that the well-being of and the sense of responsibility for distant strangers should not be constrained by any borders (Kurasawa 2004 pp. 236f, 249). However, this is not to say that individuals with a cosmopolitan identity do not exist within West Papua

Whilst international lobbying on West Papua for many years was conducted by exiled OPM members, this has now been incremented by members of PPC, as well as church, NGO activists, scholars, and solidarity groups who work in

⁶ The articles can be retrieved from <http://www.eastwestcenter.org/>.

different ways to improve the situation in West Papua and attract international attention and support (Maclellan 2001).

The activists within the West Papua solidarity network have been motivated by a concern for the situation in West Papua. Key issues spurring activism are for example human rights, indigenous rights, environmental concerns, and democratic issues in West Papua. Actors identified as being responsible for causing the current situation are Indonesia, Freeport, the UN, hard liners within OPM, to mention a few (Questionnaire 1, 2005).

By being active within the West Papua solidarity network activists attempt to affect the situation and pressure key actors to change their policies. Within the solidarity network several groups believe that many of the problems can be solved through the UN and diplomacy (Questionnaire 1, 2005; Questionnaire 2, 2005). By putting pressure on their own parliaments these groups hope to influence either Indonesia directly or through the UN. Some groups argue that independence is the proper solution, whilst other demands some kind of regional autonomy. A third claim is to improve Indonesia's poor human rights records without forwarding arguments about the territorial status (Questionnaire 1, 2005; Questionnaire 2, 2005; Tapol 2005).

Apart from pressuring Indonesia through their national governments some groups encourage and support Papuans to take the leading role in the solving the conflict together with their Indonesian counterparts (Questionnaire 1, 2005).

The idea of cosmopolitanism, as the definition above indicates, is the sense of being a member of one great human family, where the well-being of faraway strangers should be no less of a concern than that of our immediate neighbours (Kurasawa 2004 pp. 236f). One person involved in a NGO exemplifies this by describing his organisation as an:

advocacy and issue oriented and involved the whole society or people who share the same values. It is grass-roots as well as professionals, academics, members of parliament, churches even all families including children. It is a Movement of people taking solidarity actions on society issues across borders all over the Pacific (Questionnaire 3, 2005).

Despite some differences among these groups, their concern with the situation of people both culturally and territorially distanced from themselves implies an existence of cosmopolitan values amongst the actors. By illustrating the values, goals and activities of the actors discussed above a cosmopolitan identity is argued to have been identified among the several actors within the West Papua solidarity network.

5 Unified Collective Action Frames

When looking deeper into the West Papua solidarity network and the interaction between groups within and outside West Papua a number of different objectives are found among the groups involved, and not all groups are aiming in the same direction. As has been illustrated in the two previous chapters, different and seemingly contradictory values are apparent among groups interacting within the network. Groups stressing nationalistic values and those stressing cosmopolitan values are discernable. These values are often seen as conflicting and thus not assumed to be apparent simultaneously (Bowden 2003 p. 237).

By showing how groups stressing different values are jointly interacting within the West Papua solidarity network this essay has challenged the common assumption that social movements and organisations working transnationally are characterised by shared values and norms.

The examination is now turned to investigating explanations of how these groups negotiate ideological differences and manage to work interconnected within the same network. The investigation is carried out by an analysis of how the different groups strategically have constructed collective action frames under which they have been able to carry out a unified struggle.

A problem for movements in the developing world is that their conflicts and goals often are localized, parochial, and difficult for other parts of the world to understand. They may not fit with the agendas of their potential sources of transnational support (Clifford 2001 p. 314). To mobilize support from transnational actors, Papuan nationalists have been forced to frame their contention, not in the terms of a nationalist struggle, but in certain ways that resonate with the culture, domain assumptions and ideology of external actors.

When investigating collective action frames within the West Papua solidarity network, these groups are found to have accentuated some of the specific observations and experiences in West Papua and framed them as being significant components of broader discourses of human rights, environmental sustainability, and cultural diversity. By renaming their concerns as relating to familiar and cherished discourses, the specific causes in West Papua suggestively have been presented in ways that resonate with features of pre-existing transnational solidarity regimes and have as such been able to draw support from a range of issue-specific organisations.

Since collective action frames are often limited to the interests of a particular group, movements need to link their local political concerns with existing discourses that can appeal to broader publics (Adamson 2005 p. 41). Some collective action frames have a rather broad scope, and appeal to many different groups (Benford, Snow 2000 pp. 618f). The ones that have been successful in the West Papuan case are discussed below.

5.1 Diagnostic Framings

The different actors working to improve the situation in West Papua describe the nature of the problem in the region in a rather cohesive manner. The Papuan people are faced with a series of grievances congregated around focal points such as human rights abuses, natural resource exploitation, and ethnic discrimination. Agreement regarding the nature of the problem, however, does not automatically produce consensus regarding the source of the problem (Benford, Snow 2000 p. 616).

Among Papuan nationalists, legal injustices are at the centre of their diagnostic framing and are seen as sources of grievance. These injustices are to be found in historical events such as the decolonization of the Dutch, the Indonesian and Dutch struggle over the West Papua, West Papua's integration into Indonesia, and the misconducts of the "Act of Free Choice", as well as in West Papuas asymmetrical relationship with Indonesia (Chauvel 2001 p. x).

The Papuan struggle for independence is based on historical and ethnical injustices and sharp distinctions with Indonesians. Human injustices and more specific issues such as torture, violence, and hostage crises are often stressed among Papuan nationalist (Ondawame 2000 p. 240). On such base, Indonesia is argued to be a responsible actor for the situation, and independence is brought forward as a possible solution.

However, the nationalistic claim of rights for a certain group, i.e. the Papuan people is suggestively one goal that does not fit the agendas of the transnational support public. Therefore also other frames are present which are more reasonable with existing solidarity discourses and ideologies. Among the different groups within the West Papua solidarity network, diagnostic frames have thus been structured around issues such as human rights, indigenous rights, as well as some other, less influential, though still important, mainly concerning environmental justice, anti-hegemony and health issues. Such frames do to some extent put questions regarding ethnicity and history aside and thus appeal to broader publics.

5.1.1 Human Rights Frame

The development of human rights frames have interested human rights groups, NGOs, investors, and other actors in West Papua and Indonesia, concerned about human rights abuses, land destruction, and the survival of Papuan cultures and traditions. These groups suggest that the OPM and other Papuan groups ought to shift their focus from claims of independence to issues such as human rights, and land issues (Ondawame 2000 p. 222).

The poor human rights situation in the region has developed to a successful frame. This can be explained through the fact that human rights issues are attracting influential and respected organisations such as the Amnesty, Tapol and Human Rights Watch. These actors have suggestively presented empirical

evidence to the situation, that are perceived reliable, as well as pictured and broadcasted the situation as being resonating with a wide range of actors (cmp Benford, Snow 2000 p. 620)

In addition, the transnational humanitarian umbrella involves human rights, environmental sustainability, and cultural preservation components (cmp DeMars 1997 p. 106). The multiple meanings included in the human rights frame have suggestively provided Papuan nationalists with an opportunity to express Papuan nationalism under the humanitarian rights umbrella.

5.1.2 Indigenous Rights Frame

Secondly, several minority nationalist movements are today advocating indigenous rights and cultural pluralism through establishing indigenous rights frames (cmp Emanuelsson 2005 p. 42). This kind of contemporary nationalism is rather aimed at protecting cultural diversity (Kaldor 2004 p. 173).

Papuan nationalists have often stressed their distinctive national identity and have expressed concerns that the transmigration programs and economic development forced upon them by the Indonesian government and Freeport are erasing traditional Papuan culture and threatening the Papuan national identity. The concerns of ethnic discrimination and the elimination of a Papuan culture has attracted a range of different cosmopolitan groups who argue a general concern for a global cultural homogenization and diminishing of cultural diversity and thus have supported the West Papuans struggle.

In a related study it is suggested that new Kurdish diaspora organisations have turned from proposing an outright Kurdish independence to claim legal guarantees of universal human rights (Emanuelsson 2005 pp. 212f). Similar patterns are obvious among Papuan diaspora individuals. In an interview, a native Papuan, living in Sweden, explains that the aim of the West Papuan struggle is to bring back the most vital in life, i.e. a human's right to exist, which has been taken away by the Indonesians attempts to wipe out West Papuan culture and assimilating them into Indonesian culture (Prai 16/12/05).

The ethnic discrimination and elimination of Papuan culture has been turned into a broader discourse of indigenous rights and thus focus has been drawn away from nationalistic values. The indigenous rights frame has suggestively opened up for the Papuans to express their distinctiveness in a manner that simultaneously avows and transcends identity (cmp Olesen 2004 p. 261).

5.1.3 Return to Democracy Frame

Apart from frames based on poor human rights, diagnostic frames have also formed around Indonesia's democratic deficits. For example the misconduct of the "Act of Free Choice" referendum is commonly figured also among most of the cosmopolitan groups within the West Papua solidarity network. Human right groups, parliamentarians, environmentalists, academics, NGOs, and investors in

West Papua and Indonesia however, often neglect the Papuans claims for independence (Ondawame 2000 p. 222). Instead of referring to the referendum as being one unjust state of affair in the specific history of West Papua, most NGOs and scholars tend to highlight the democratic deficits apparent in the process. By framing their concerns in the language of cherished democratic principles, activists suggestively change what they see as thin localized and parochial principles to principles perceived as more resonate with the inherent ideology, values, and ideas of the dominant culture in which they look for support.

In an attempt to keep good relations with the Indonesian government transnational NGOs and groups working with general democratic rights questions have avoided taking an active stand for the legal claims for independence that are intertwined the Papuan nationalists' historical construction. By shunning attention away from the historical and legal independence discourse, those actors have suggestively also been able to put aside independence claims based on ethnical and cultural distinctiveness. Instead frames have been created on a discourse based around the low standards of human rights in Indonesia in general.

5.1.4 Environmental Justice, Anti-Hegemony, and Health Frames

Thirdly, problems in West Papua have recently been framed around environmental justice, anti-hegemony, and health issues. At the transnational arena, activists have recently coupled indigenous rights with environmental issues and thus received new attention for their concerns (cmp Keck, Sikkink 1998 p. 18). In the West Papua solidarity network a similar development is evident. Since Freeport established in West Papua in 1967 the issue of human rights abuses and environmental destruction has reached broader awareness internationally and gained attention in the USA among different activist groups (Ondawame 2000 p. 238).

A way for domestic nationalist movements to gain international solidarity is to claim global origins for their bad situation (Eschle 2001 p 154). A key element the environmental justice discourse is to explain the traditional land as being destructed by the forces of the modern state and economy (McGibbon 2004 pp. 19ff). By this emphasis anti-hegemony movements and some left-wing organisations have found an interest in the situation in West Papua.

Recently an interaction, mainly on an educational and financial basis, has developed between groups within West Papua and groups interested in health issues, HIV/AIDS, and women's issues, (Questionnaire 2, 2005). However, these issues have commonly been worked with in parallel with other struggles, though indicating that groups within the West Papua solidarity movement have found new issues to work jointly around.

5.1.5 Responsible Actors

The identification of responsible actors for the situation in West Papua is shared among most activists working within the network. Indonesia is most frequently pointed at as responsible for historical as well as human, environmental, and indigenous abuses. However, among environmentalists and anti-hegemony activists the modern state- and economy in general, and Freeport in particular, are as frequently common as the state of Indonesia.

Among nationalists as well as cosmopolitan groups, the UN, and to some extent western governments, are pointed out as carrying a large responsibility for the situation in West Papua. This is a result from their central role in the misconducts of the “Act of Free Choice”, staged by Indonesia and accepted by almost the whole international community. Such international institutions have suggestively functioned as common targets and worked as arenas around which NGOs, and organisations that want to remain non-partisan and keep good relationships with Indonesia, have been able to collate with West Papuan movements (della Porta, Tarrow 2005 p. 9).

To summarize the discussion above, the different activists working in solidarity with the West Papuans have tended to focus on certain issues, and transformed them into broader frames of reference. By doing this they have succeeded in shifted focus away from the nationalistic values apparent in the Papuan nationalist discourse. By separating values from issues support can be attracted from a wider range of groups based on different political values (McAdam et al 1996 p. 216).

5.2 Prognostic Framings

Prognostic framings are closely related to diagnostic framings (Benford, Snow 2000 pp. 616f). Nationalist groups within West Papua and cosmopolitan groups in the West Papua solidarity network often suggest similar solutions to the situation in West Papua. One breaking point however, is the question of independence supported by most nationalist groups, which will be further discussed below.

Diverse actors suggest different solutions. As argued above some cosmopolitan groups avoid the question of independence even though many of them support the idea. Although, since diagnostic framings to a large extent stipulates what the realistic solutions are and whilst actors have been able to work under the same diagnostic framings, the establishment of joint prognostic frames have often been successful. In West Papua nationalist and cosmopolitan groups have identified Indonesia, Freeport and to some extent the UN as actors responsible of the lack of respect for human, indigenous and environmental abuses, and historical deficits, around which they have formed plans of actions and given prospective solutions. Both nationalist and cosmopolitan groups seem to agree that Indonesia should respect for human, indigenous, and environmental

rights. Such prognostic framings suggest that all actors involved have a fairly unified picture on what needs to be done. This can be seen as a consequence of the strategic diagnostic framings that have created a solid network.

5.3 Motivational Framings

Motivational framings imply the construction of expressions that motives collective actions (Benford, Snow 2000 pp. 616f). Within the West Papua solidarity network this has suggestively been a challenging task. Expressions rooted in a strong national identity that motivates domestic support might deter transnational actors more concerned about human, environmental and indigenous issues. This has called for a rhetorical use of language, both from domestic actors as well as various actors within the West Papua solidarity network, suggestively because they seek to establish diplomatic relations with the Indonesian government or transnational partners. The role of language and expression as a tool to motivate collective action has thus in some cases been judged against the possibilities to establish important relations.

Other ways in which contention has been motivated is by the fact that the situation in West Papua is untenable. The respect for human rights is too bad, indigenous cultures are in immediate threat, health is degrading, and soil is being destroyed by industrial waste. The severity of the situation is highlighted as well as the need for urgent action. Trough information from local movements and witnesses from Papuans about the situation, activist get a picture of the present situation around which they create a language that motivates action.

5.4 Transnational Advocacy Networks in Perspective

Even among activists sharing a cosmopolitan identity, it is evident that the different groups not necessarily struggle for the same core issues. For example they have different opinions on whether to support West Papuan independence or not, something that many Papuans argue is the only way to grant their fundamental human rights.

Although characterized by differences, groups in the West Papua solidarity network form coalitions around certain issues or campaigns connected to West Papua. This indicates a flexibility and willingness to temporarily put aside differences and main objectives, if getting the chance to work in joint-coalitions for a temporary period. As implied above the different groups within the West Papua solidarity network have focused on specific issues rather than norms and values. Smith et al (1997 p. xv) identifies transnational social movements and organisations in terms of the global issues that denominate them and refer to them

as “issue networks”. Such a definition would suggestively describe the West Papua solidarity network more accurately.

6 Conclusion

The purpose of this essay was twofold. The first aim was to investigate the existence of nationalistic and cosmopolitan values among actors within the West Papua solidarity network. The second aim was to explain interaction between activist groups based on national respectively cosmopolitan values.

The conclusions drawn from the empirical analysis suggest that by investigating the activities and goals of the actors within the West Papua solidarity network, different, and to some extent conflicting values, can be identified. Movements within West Papua and some Papuan diaspora groups stress nationalist values grounded in a strong national identity, based on a shared understanding of history, ethnicity and territorial borders. The strong sense of being Papuan and the demand to establish a West Papuan nation has developed in strong opposition to Indonesian colonial rule and the resulting human, environmental and cultural abuses.

Within the West Papua solidarity network cosmopolitan values are apparent. Actors engaging in the situation of people, territorially, culturally, and ethnically distant from themselves, illustrate a sense of belonging to a global moral community and implies the existence of cosmopolitan values.

By showing that actors within the West Papua solidarity network are based on nationalist respectively cosmopolitan values, this essay has challenged the common assumption that actors within transnational advocacy networks are bounded together by shared norm and values.

The following two research questions aimed at explaining mechanisms and dynamics enabling interaction among actors based on different values. This study shows that by emphasising certain issues and by framing them in terms of broader collective action frames, which resonate with the domain solidarity regime and the inherent ideologies of the mobilization targets, a diverse range of actors are able to work together. By focusing on issues activists can move focus from values thus overlooking their different values. The concept of transnational advocacy networks thus needs a redefinition, suggestively by moving focus from the idea of shared norms and values to the understanding of temporarily shared issues.

Nationalist values are often seen as partisan and exclusive whilst cosmopolitan values are seen as universal and inclusive. This essay shows that nationalism in West Papua is not necessarily exclusive. The concerns with human, environmental, and cultural abuses as well as present and historical democratic deficits can be viewed in a cosmopolitan perspective as a claim of universal human rights as well as in a nationalistic perspective as claims of rights for a certain group, based on territorial, ethnic and cultural distinctiveness.

An interesting future study of great importance today would be how actors stressing different religious or ethnic values can use transnational advocacy networks to overcome differences and work jointly in tense contexts.

7 References

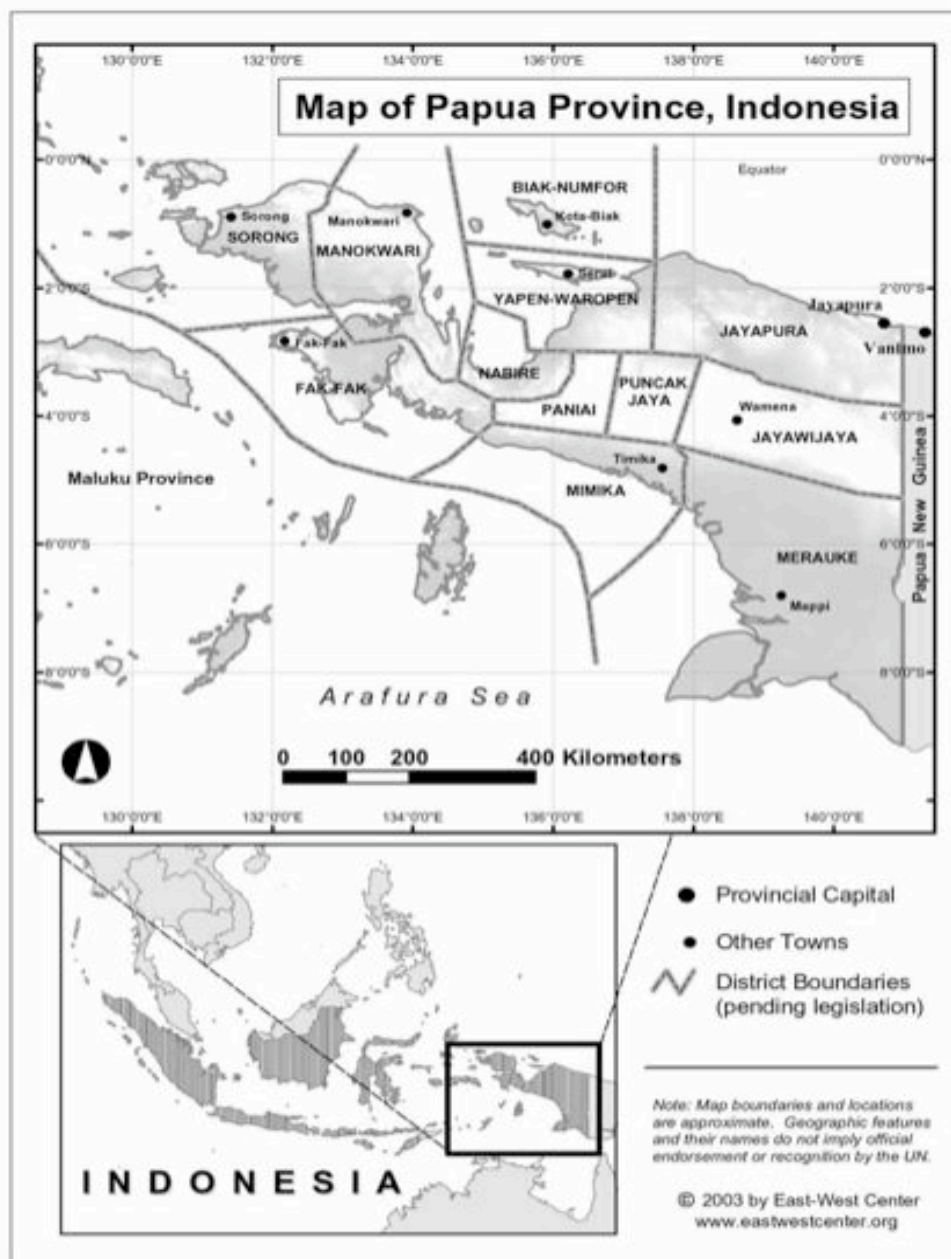
- Adamson, Fiona, 2005. "Globalisation, Transnational Political Mobilization, and Networks of Violence", *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 18, no. 1, pp. 31-49.
- Aglionby, John, 2005. "Indonesia Dispatch. Masters Mind", *Guardian Unlimited* 29 November 2005. Available 5 January 2006.
- Antenna 2006. "West Papua: 30 Years of Denial of Right to Self-Determination", *Europe Pacific Solidarity Bulletin*, vol. 7, no. 5, publishing year unknown. <http://www.antenna.nl/ecsiep/bulletin/bull7-5/2.html>. Available 5 January 2006.
- AWPA 2006. <http://www.zulenet.com/awpa>. Available 5 January 2006.
- Benford, Robert D - Snow, David A, 2000. "Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment", *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 26, pp. 611-639.
- Bowden, Brett, 2003. "Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism: Irreconcilable Differences or Possible Bedfellows?", *National Identities*, vol. 3 no. 3, pp. 235-249.
- Butt, Lesley, 2003. "We've Lived here Thousands of Years", *Inside Indonesia* no. 67.
- Chauvel, Richard, 2001. "Where Nationalism Collide. History is Central to the Politics of West Papua", *Inside Indonesia* no. 67.
- Chauvel, Richard - Bhakti, Ikrar Nusa, 2004. "The Papua Conflict: Jakarta's Perceptions and Policies", *Policy Studies* 5.
- Chauvel, Richard, 2005. "Constructing Papuan Nationalism: History, Ethnicity, and Adaptation", *Policy Studies* 14.
- Checker, Melissa, 2004. "We All Have Identity at the Table: Negotiating Difference in a Southern African American Environmental Justice Network", *Identities: Global Studies in Power and Culture*, vol. 11, no. 2, pp. 171-194.
- Clifford, Bob, 2001. "Marketing Rebellion: Insurgent Groups, International Media, and NGO Support", *International Politics*, vol. 38, no. 3, pp. 311-333.
- Cookson, Mike, 2001. "Papua on the Net – Not as Remote as you Might Think", *Inside Indonesia* no. 67.
- della Porta, Donatella - Tarrow, Sidney 2005. "Transnational Processes and Social Activism: An Introduction" pp. 1-17 in della Porta, Donatella - Tarrow, Sidney (eds) *Transnational Protest and Global Activism*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- DeMars, William, 1997. "Contending Neutralities: Humanitarian Organizations and War in the Horn of Africa" pp. 101-122 in Smith, Jackie - Chatfield, Charles - Pagnucco, Ron (eds). *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics. Solidarity Beyond the State*. New York: Syracuse University Press.

- East-West Center 2006. www.eastwestcenter.org. Available 5 January 2006.
- Emanuelsson, Ann-Catrin, 2005. *Diaspora Global Politics. Kurdish Transnational Networks and Accommodation of Nationalism*. PhD Dissertation, Department of Peace and Development Research, Göteborg University.
- Eschle, Catherine, 2001. *Global Democracy, Social Movements, and Feminism*. Colorado: Westview Press.
- Guibernau, Montserrat, 1996. *Nationalisms: The Nation-State and Nationalism in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Human Rights Watch 1998. "Indonesia. Human Rights and Pro-Independence Actions in Irian Jaya", *Human Rights Watch*, vol. 10, no. 8, pp. 1-17.
- Infogop Grauzone 2003. "Indigeneous People of West Papua Resist World Bank Supported Settler Colonialism", www.westpapua.ca/. Available 5 January 2006.
- Kaisiepo, Viktor, 2003. "Survival or Elimination? Liberation Movements and Indigenous Rights in West Papua", www.westpapua.ca/. Available 13 December 2005.
- Kaldor, Mary, 2001. *New and Old Wars. Organized Violence in a Global Era*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.
- Kaldor, Mary, 2004. "Nationalism and Globalisation", *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 10, no. 1-2, pp. 161-177.
- Keck, Margaret E. – Sikkink, Kathryn, 1998. *Activists Beyond Borders. Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.
- Kriesberg, Louis, 1997. "Social Movements and Global Transformation" pp. 3-18 in Smith, Jackie - Chatfield, Charles - Pagnucco, Ron (eds) *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics. Solidarity Beyond the State*. New York: Syracuse University Press.
- Kurasawa, Fuyuki, 2004. "A Cosmopolitanism from Below: Alternative Globalization and the Creation of a Solidarity without Bounds", *Archives Européennes de Sociologie*, vol. 45, no. 2, pp. 233-255.
- Kymlicka, Will - Straehle, Christine, 1999. "Cosmopolitanism, Nation-States, and Minority Nationalism: A Critical Review of Recent Literature", *European Journal of Philosophy*, vol. 7, no. 1, pp. 65-88.
- MacLellan, Nic, 2001. "Self-Determination or Territorial Integrity?", *Inside Indonesia* no. 67
- Malley, Michael, 2003. "Indonesia: the Erosion of State Capacity" pp. 183-218 in Rotberg, Robert (ed) *State Failure and State Weakness in a Time of Terror*. Washington: Brookings/WPF.
- MAR 2005. "Assessment for Papuans in Indonesia". Published by Minorities at Risk. <http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/inscr/mar/>. Available 13 December 2005.
- McAdam, Doug - McCarthy, John D. - Zald, Mayer N, 1996. *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements. Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McAdam, Doug - Tarrow, Sidney - Tilly, Charles, 2001. *Dynamics of Contention*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- McGibbon, Rodd, 2004. "Plural Society in Peril: Migration, Economic Change, and the Papua Conflict". *Policy Studies* 13.
- Olesen, Thomas, 2004. "Globalising the Zapatistas: From Third World Solidarity to Global Solidarity?", *Third World Quarterly- Journal of Emerging Areas*, vol. 25, no. 1, pp. 255-267.
- Ondawame, Otto, 2000. *One People, One Soul: West Papuan Nationalism and the Organisasi Papua Merdeka (OPM)/Free Papua Movement*. Forthcoming PhD Dissertation, Social and Political Change, Australian National University.
- Pacific Peoples Partnership, 2005. <http://www.pacificpeoplespartnership.org/>. Available 5 January 2006.
- Perreault, Thomas, 2003. "Changing Places: Transnational Networks, Ethnic Politics, and Community Development in the Ecuadorian Amazon", *Political Geography*, vol. 22, no. 1, pp. 61-88.
- Prai, Joseph, 16/12/05. Interview 16 December 2005, conducted in Malmö, Sweden.
- Right Livelihood, 2005. <http://www.rightlivelihood.org/recipe/tapol.htm>. Available 13 December 2005.
- Smith, Jackie - Chatfield, Charles - Pagnucco, Ron (eds). *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics. Solidarity Beyond the State*. New York: Syracuse University Press
- Snow, David A - Trom Danny, 2002. "The Case Study and the Study of Social Movements" pp. 146-172 in Klandermans, Bert - Staggenborg, Suzanne (eds) *Methods of Social Movement Research*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Suter, Keith, 1997. *East Timor, West Papua/Irian and Indonesia*. UK: Minority Rights Group.
- Tapol, 2005. www.tapol.org. Available 13 December 2005
- Tarrow, Sidney, 1998. *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*. 2nd ed, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tarrow, Sidney, 2001. "Rooted Cosmopolitans: Transnational Activists in a World of States". *Working Paper*. Cornell University. http://falcon.arts.cornell.edu/sgt2/contention/working_papers.htm. Available 5 January 2006.
- Tarrow, Sidney - McAdam, Doug, 2005. "Scale Shift in Transnational Contention" pp. 121-147, in della Porta, Donatella - Tarrow, Sidney (eds) *Transnational Protest and Global Activism*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Walton, Abigail, 2004. "Mining a Sacred Land", *Human Rights Dialogue*, ser. 2 no. 11.
- Webster, David, 2001/2002. "Already Sovereign as a people: A Foundational Moment in West Papuan Nationalism", *Pacific Affairs*. http://www.ciaonet.org/olj/pa/pa_win01.html. Available 5 January 2006.
- Wee, Vivienne, 2002. "Ethno-Nationalist in Process: Ethnicity, Atavism and Indigenous in Riau, Indonesia", *The Pacific Review*, vol. 15, no. 4, pp. 497-516.

- Westpan, 2006. www.westpapua.ca/. Available 5 January 2006.
- West Papua Action 2006. <http://westpapuaaction.buz.org/>. Available 5 January 2006.
- West Papua Project 2006. <http://www.arts.usyd.edu.au/centres/cpacs/wpp.htm>. Available 5 January 2006.
- Wing, John – King, Peter, 2005. *Genocide in West Papua? The Role of the Indonesian State Apparatus and a Current Needs Assessment of the Papuan People*. Published by the West Papua Project at the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Sydney, and ELSHAM Jayapura, Papua.
- Questionnaire 1, 2005. Questionnaire sent to a NGO with focus on Indonesia and East Timor.
- Questionnaire 2, 2005. Questionnaire sent to three West Papua solidarity groups.
- Questionnaire 3, 2005. Questionnaire sent to a NGO with focus on the Pacific.
- Zöllner, Siegfried - Duim, Feije, 2001. "What are Europeans Doing About West Papua?", *Inside Indonesia* no. 67.

Appendix 1. Map of Papua Province/ West Papua, Indonesia



Appendix 2. Interview guide

The interview we conducted was held in Malmö the 16 December 2005. The person we interviewed was Joseph Prai. Joseph Prai is a native Papuan, but has lived in Sweden for many years. For a large extent of his life he has in different ways worked to improve the situation in West Papua. He is active within several groups focused West Papuan politics, culture, etc., and closely related to one of the founders of OPM, who today runs the OPM International Office in Malmö, Sweden. We have made efforts to arrange an interview with this person, which has unfortunately failed due to different circumstances.

In preparation to the semi-structured interview that we held we created an interview guide. The interview guide covers the topics that we wanted to discuss with the interviewee. The interview was held in Swedish and took about 3 hours.

The meeting was very informative and we received information in direct relevance to the essay's focus on transnational activism connected to West Papua, and we also learned much about the West Papuan situation in general, which has contributed to a greater contextual understanding.

The interview guide is posted below.

Topics

- Presentation of our thesis
- Background and motivation to engagement in the West Papua solidarity network
- Nationalism within West Papua.
- Activities within West Papua.
- Values among solidarity groups.
- Activities of solidarity groups.
- Being part of a transnational network. Strengths and weaknesses. Extent of interaction.
- Collective actions frames within the West Papua solidarity network.

Appendix 3. Questionnaire - Methodology

One of the core tasks of this essay was to examine the values that characterise groups within the West Papua solidarity network and show how interaction within the network takes place between groups.

Whilst no previous literature, to our knowledge, has been carried out on this topic, we send a questionnaire to various groups working on issues related to West Papua. The purpose of the questionnaire was to retrieve complementary information not available in literature or at websites. We had a vision that getting first hand information from activists that in different ways are engaged in the situation in West Papua, would constitute a more viable resource for distinguishing values, principles and interpretations.

We had some problems with the questionnaire, though. It soon came clear that the questionnaire that we initially formulated was based on too many questions and thus too demanding to answer. This led to that we formulated a second version, based on fewer questions, which was sent to the same groups who had received the first version. The groups who were sent the questionnaire were asked to respond within about ten days, after which a reminder was sent to those who had not responded. The groups were guaranteed anonymity.

The questionnaires were sent to 17 different groups. Two groups replied to the longer version, while three replied to the shorter. The among the groups replying was a NGO working on issues relating to human rights, democracy, and environment in Indonesia and East Timor with about 60 active activists; three solidarity groups with 4, 15, and 30 active activists; and an advocacy movement that has developed into a NGO with interests of the whole Pacific. Replies were received from geographically diverse regions.

Overall we believe that the groups that did reply gave good answers to the questions we asked. The purpose of the questionnaire, to get insight in the activist's values, activities, and mutual interaction was well met. However, we thought that more groups would respond to the questionnaire, which would have provided us with a broader empirical base.

In response to our improved theoretical insight and knowledge of available empirical data, the initial assumptions of the study have somewhat changed, and some of the questions posed in the questionnaire are of less relevance. Instead we have relied more on information and statements available at homepages, conversely spending a lot of time on deep reading and analysing of a wide range of different websites.

Some groups engaged in the questionnaires mentioned that some of the questions, in particular those regarding strategies and relations to OPM, were

rather sensitive to pose and thus avoided to give answers. Some of the respondents also pointed to the fact that they were concerned about who they were actually on contact with (even though we had explained who we were and the purpose of the questionnaire). This indicates a fear that information regarding support for West Papua might come in the wrong hands and hurt the work for West Papua. Less controversial questions were in most cases given informative replies.

Being slightly aware of the tensed situation in West Papua, we offered the respondents anonymity, which has caused us some problems when referring to information received from the questionnaire.

In the text above we will refer to the questionnaire as follows:

- NGO with focus on Indonesia and East Timor: Questionnaire 1, 2005
- West Papua solidarity groups: Questionnaire 2, 2005
- NGO with focus on the Pacific: Questionnaire 3, 2005

The information received through the questionnaire has been used as a complement to both written literature and statements from websites and thus constituted a minor but interesting part of the sources.

The questionnaires that we sent are posted below.

Questionnaire – First Version

Date:

Name of the organisation you represent:

Number of members in your organisation:

1. On what issues is your organisation's main focus? How is it related to the situation in West Papua? Has your organisation shifted main focus during its existence? How and why?

2. What methods does your organisation use? (Demonstrations, petition to governments/parliament, networking with politicians/other organizations/other actors, information gathering, information spread, publications, cultural activities, educational activities?) Has your organisation changed methods during its existence? How and why? What has your organisation done to approve your work? Was it successful?

3. Describe your organisation's relation to West Papua and Your contact with groups/people in West Papua (frequency, elite contacts, public contacts, communication forms). What are the main obstacles in your organization's contact with West Papuans?

4. a) How is your organisation structured? (Organisational structure, membership, main resources, financing) What are the main obstacles to your organization's work? What are the advantages and problems with working within a network?
5. What are the main principles on which your organization is based? What are the central values promoted by your organization?
6. What are the main purposes for a solidarity movement in general?
7. Describe the typical member in your organisation (age, "social status", relation to West Papua, reasons for joining, involvement in similar activities)
8. a) Describe your view of the situation in West Papua? (Main problems, cause of conflict, responsible actors)
 b) How can the situation in West Papua be improved? What are Your main hopes and concerns for West Papua?
 c) Does your organization support West Papuan independence? If so, why should West Papua be independent?
9. Who has the responsibility for improving the situation in West Papua (Indonesia, UN, the World Society, Civil Society groups, West Papuan people?)
10. What is your organization's relationship to OPM? How do you consider the popular support for OPM?
11. a) What are your personal reasons for joining your organisation? How would you describe your personal relationship to West Papua?
 b) Why are you engaged in a solidarity movement? Do you as an individual feel an obligation to support the people of West Papua? Why?

Questionnaire – Second Version

1. What issues are main focus of your organization? How is it related to the situation in West Papua?
2. Describe your organisation's relation to West Papua and your contact with groups/people in West Papua. What are the main obstacles in your organization's contact with West Papuans?
3. Describe the typical member in your organisation (age, relation to West Papua, reasons for joining).
4. How is your organisation structured? (Number of members, organisational structure, financing, strategies) What are the main obstacles to your

organization's work? What are the advantages and problems with working within a network?