

Solidarity beyond the
national boundary:
Solidarity of individuals in
the Netherlands with the
Papuan living in West
Papua

TRI MULYASARI, M.Sc.

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Solidarity beyond the national boundary: Solidarity of individuals in the Netherlands with the Papuan living in West Papua

Author:
Tri Mulyasari, M.Sc.
(s1027059)

Supervisors:
Dr. B.M.R. van der Velde and A. Fajri, MA

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Preface

Before you lies the master's thesis "Solidarity beyond the national boundary: Solidarity of individuals in the Netherlands with the Papuans living in West Papua", a phenomenology study about solidarity conducted among people in the Netherlands who have experienced solidarity with the Papuans. This master's thesis has been written to contribute to an MSc Human Geography degree from Radboud University.

On 8 February 2020, I attended a Papua Solidarity day in Amersfoort, the Netherlands. This year, the chosen topic was violence in West Papua. Actually, I came for my former first topic of my master's thesis. Before attending the event, I had assumed that this event would be attended mainly by Papuan Dutch, either first-generation or later generation, due to their identity who have Papuan origin and identification with West Papua as an imagined community (Anderson, 2006). However, this assumption was erroneous as there were many non-Papuan-Dutch that came to this event as well. My experience, having the reality versus initial hunch, made me aware that this event showed solidarity with rather than common solidarity among a group of people. More fascinating, it was solidarity with, in the dimension beyond the national boundary. So, a study about people's solidarity in the Netherlands with the Papuans living in West Papua provides insight into this 'particular' solidarity. For this study, I contacted HAPIN as a well-known Papua support foundation in the Netherlands, in which HAPIN then served as a facilitator in reaching respondents.

The research process of this master's thesis has been challenging and enriching for me. At the beginning of the research, I was worried about finding the research participants, thinking it would be difficult to find them. The fact, it was not the case. Once I contacted HAPIN and other organisations and used my network, despite the world pandemic of Coronavirus disease (COVID-19), I had several respondents willing to share their story and were enthusiastic about participating in my research. Moreover, they also contacted and recommended other people who might be interested in participating; despite its limitation, this contributed to the approaching of more respondents.

During collecting data, I enjoyed conducting the interviews and having conversations with the respondents. I found it very interesting to know different perspectives and obtain new information. The respondents mentioned that they enjoyed the interviews, as some questions made them think thoroughly as they never thought about the topic beforehand. Although I enjoyed the interviews, the process of transcribing the interviews was the slightest task I enjoyed.

The analysis and result writing were the most learning processes for me. As a student doing research, I doubted whether I had done the research correctly and adequately and had enough good data, and whether I analysed and presented the data thoroughly. In fighting this doubt, I am very grateful that my thesis supervisors made valuable comments, feedback, and supports and helped me through these processes. I realised that what I could do was just do it, keep writing, try to do better rather than try to do the best. I learned how to make and take the decision with bravery as a researcher. For this, I would like to thank my supervisors for their tremendous guidance and support during the research and writing process.

I also wish to thank Wietse Tolsma from HAPIN as my contact person. He answered my email and granted me access to opportunities in approaching respondents. Without him, it would not be easy to convince respondents considering my background as a female Javanese Indonesian researcher researching West Papua. Having conversations with him was also valuable, helped me in preparing data collection and writing the historical relations between the Netherlands and West Papua. Furthermore, I thank all of the respondents for participating in the research, sharing their stories of having solidarity with the Papuans, which made me able to collect data and carry out the analysis.

To my beloved husband “Cinta” and family, I would like to thank you for your wonderful support and trust in me that I could do it. You always kept me motivated every time I was down. My thesis writing buddy, Sayaka, I was glad that we supported each other. “Lift up our heads, princess! If not, the crowns fall.” We were a proper sample of solidarity among students.

I hope you enjoy the thesis and have a new insight into solidarity *with*, from the Netherlands to West Papua.

Tri Mulyasari, M.Sc.

Tilburg, June 11, 2021

Abstract

The objective is to understand the existence of solidarity of individual actors in the Netherlands with the Papuans. The qualitative research method with phenomenological strategy, collecting data through conducting semi-structured in-depth interviews, and grounded theory as a method of coding and analysing were employed to attain the objective. The research looked at the individual solidarity actors, their foundations and actions of solidarity, and their networks to understand the solidarity. The solidarity emerged because the individual solidarity actors had certain backgrounds and connection with West Papua and the Papuans. The solidarity also related to the foundations for solidarity, in which identity, brotherhood in struggle, place tie, and idealism combined with knowledge about West Papua and the Papuans, and empathy or sympathy, influenced the emergence of solidarity. The individual solidarity actor took actions from having solidarity feeling: giving financial donations, raising awareness, and/or joining demonstrations. The solidarity foundation affected taking certain actions when the foundation entailed issues or causes that required action. Because of the network possessed by individuals, solidarity emerged, strengthened, or solidarity actions could be performed.

Keywords: solidarity, individual solidarity actor, foundation for solidarity, solidarity action, network

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Background of the study

Solidarity is considered one of the major social phenomena under inquiry in the social sciences (Lahusen & Grasso, 2018). Conceptually there are three types of solidarity: 1) solidarity between members of a group (solidarity *among* a group of people), 2) solidarity towards outsiders of a group (solidarity *with* a group of people), and 3) solidarity independent of group memberships (solidarity towards *any individual*) (Laitinen & Pessi, 2014a, p. 211). Aside from that, the scopes of solidarity also vary. In the context of the scope, Lahusen and Grasso (2018) state that the focus of many discussions about solidarity is within the scope of national societies. Meaning, little has been written to delve into solidarity beyond the national border, transnational or even international. Hence, our knowledge about solidarity from people in a particular place with people in another specific territory; in other words, solidarity *with* a group of people in another place beyond the national boundary, in particular, is also then limited.

There are discussions in the literature about international solidarity for West Papua regarding such solidarity beyond the national border. Mentioning solidarity for West Papua means solidarity with the Papuans living in West Papua, considering that the authors often distinguish between “Papuans” and “Indonesians”, focusing their attention on the Papuans. For instance, within these discussions, Martin Pelcher (2012) discusses the proper kind of international solidarity against injustice in West Papua and how to generate it without making the justification for the Indonesian government to repress further in the name of combating foreign conspiracy. Pelcher’s writing was then responded by Jason Macleod (2013), proposing seven solidarity actions for the international solidarity community in supporting the struggle of the Papuans related to decolonisation and liberation. Besides both authors, LIPI (Indonesian Institute of Science) by its author, Elisabeth et al. (2004) and Peter King (2010), also shortly mention the topic of solidarity. However, both discussions only mention the international groups who have solidarity for West Papua.

If traced further, a deep discussion of solidarity itself for West Papua in a particular place outside West Papua, unfortunately, has never become a central focus of discussion. Furthermore, this research argues that before talking about what kind of solidarity for West Papua exists, it is logical to demystify the existence of solidarity at the outset. These two issues are the starting point of this research. It is also in line with the limited knowledge about solidarity *with* a group of people in another place beyond the national border, a cavity that this research study intends to fulfil.

Regarding international solidarity with the Papuans living in West Papua, in Europe, solidarity is present in Britain, Ireland, the Netherlands, Germany, and Sweden (King, 2010). Within these countries, King (2010) states that the epicentre of Papuan solidarity activities in Europe is in the Netherlands due to historical reasons. King (2010) does not explicitly explain the historical reasons; however, the Netherlands was the former coloniser of The Dutch East Indies (Indonesia) where West Papua was a part of. In the context of the Netherlands, Macleod (2013) argues that elites in western countries like in the Netherlands have created the problem in West Papua but continue to receive political and economic advantages from the situation. Consequently, it may generate a moral imperative for the people living in the Netherlands to act in solidarity with the Papuan people. By virtue of the thought of King (2010) and Macleod (2013), this research questions whether these rationales are of value precisely or the only explanation of the existence of solidarity in the Netherlands.

In the field, solidarity in the Netherlands does exist. Several solidarity-led activities are held, for example, the event of Papua Solidarity day in Amersfoort held by the *Werkgroep Papua Solidariteit*¹ (the Papua Solidarity Workgroup, self-translation) (Papoea Solidariteitsdag 2020, n.d.). The solidarity in the Netherlands raises questions: who have solidarity and why they have solidarity, and how the solidarity looks like. With this background, the research focuses on the idea and practice of solidarity of individual actors in the Netherlands with West Papua. The focus is on the individual level because the knowledge of this level on transnational dimension is considered still scarce (Lahusen & Grasso, 2018). Furthermore, by focusing on this micro-level as the means of explaining solidarity, the solidarity of the Netherlands with West Papua can be understood considering the individual as a subject of solidarity itself has internal reasoning, motives and behaviour of solidarity.

1.2 Research objective and research questions

This research investigates the second type of solidarity: solidarity *with* a group of people (Laitinen & Pessi, 2014a) (the concept of solidarity itself will be elaborated in chapter two). More precisely, solidarity from the people in the Netherlands with the Papuans living in West Papua. This research aims to understand the existence of solidarity of individual actors in the Netherlands with the Papuans living in West Papua by carrying out empirical research regarding the idea and practice of solidarity on an individual level. Having defined the focus and objective of this research, the main research question is developed as follow:

¹ In the time of thesis writing, the *Werkgroep Papua Solidariteit* became *Stichting Solidariteit met Papua* (Solidarity with Papua Foundation, self-translation).

How can the solidarity of individual solidarity actors in the Netherlands with the Papuans living in West Papua be explained?

To explain solidarity, it is essential to explore the solidarity actors as they are the subject of solidarity. There will be no solidarity without them, as solidarity does not exist independently. Who they are, their reasons and actions for solidarity are pivotal to understanding their influence on the solidarity. Furthermore, considering that people have and build a network, and the network itself has values, this research will also explore whether a network plays a role in solidarity. Hence, to answer the main research question, the following sub-questions have been designed:

- *How do the backgrounds of individual solidarity actors influence the solidarity?*
- *How do the foundations for the solidarity of individual solidarity actors influence the solidarity?*
- *How can the solidarity actions be explained?*
- *How do the networks possessed by the individual actors influence the solidarity?*

1.3 Societal and scientific relevance

Investigating the solidarity of individual actors in the Netherlands with the Papuans living in West Papua has societal and scientific relevance. Regarding societal relevance, first, an understanding of this solidarity gives an insight into the Dutch society that certain individuals in the Netherlands have solidarity towards certain people who live in another country. Solidarity is one of four core values of Dutch society (Ministerie van Sociale Zaken en Werkgelegenheid, 2014). Within this society, solidarity has a meaning that “we rekening houden met elkaar, en dat we weten dat anderen dat ook met ons doen.” (we take each other into account, and that we know that others do the same to us, self-translation); Ministerie van Sociale Zaken en Werkgelegenheid, 2014, p. 11). Logically, this kind of solidarity is from the Dutch and for the Dutch, from and for community or society within the Netherlands. Nevertheless, the reality shows that solidarity also exists among individuals in the Netherlands for people beyond their national boundary. The acquired knowledge in this research contributes to broadening knowledge of Dutch society about solidarity, breaking an argument that the feeling of sympathy or empathy for solidarity cannot be extended beyond one’s local community or national boundary (Scholz, 2011). The results prevail this existence of solidarity beyond the border of a nation-state. Additionally, it also relates to the current complicated questions of conflicting solidarities among people living in Western countries: “Should we always stand in solidarity with fellow citizens or other members of our own political

communities, or should we equally prioritise solidarity with oppressed or suffering others outside our borders?” (Gould, 2020, p. 22).

Second, drawing on a contention that “we are all parts of multiple solidarities” (Laitinen & Pessi, 2014b, p. 9), this research can be a stepping stone for self-reflection. The findings of this research will be beneficial for the individuals under the study themselves. For them, it can contribute to the ways for introspection in the sense of why one has certain solidarity for specified people in the particularised territory, yet not for other people in another prominent territory. This introspection is pivotal because according to Roger Scruton, solidarity has a twofold character “can lend itself as easily to the expression of resentment as to the propagation of love” (2015, p. xii). The results of the study may build awareness of the dynamic of solidarity that they have.

Third, as this research is related to solidarity with the Papuans, this study is also relevant for the Papuans as the solidarity recipient. It will give an insight for solidarity recipients in the conditions of why other people have solidarity towards them and how the solidarity looks like. By this, they know what other people perceive concerning them so that other people from another corner of the globe have solidarity towards them and take solidarity actions. Eventually, the Papuans may assess the solidarity towards them, especially in the context of solidarity of people in the Netherlands. Being able to assess is essential as the receivers of solidarity are often stigmatised as a passive party. The evaluation makes the solidarity receivers no longer passive but empowers and activates them to rationalise the solidarity towards them.

Next to societal relevance, this research has scientific relevance as well. To begin with, it is contended that solidarity is a crucial concept in social theory, in modern political discourse, and in social policy research (Stjernø, 2005). Per contra, Schuermans et al. (2013) claim that as a concept, solidarity in human geography has never been a main concept. They then discuss this concept with issues that persist in the literature of human geography. Regarding this, the concept of solidarity should be a conception in human geography because of the significance of solidarity that may construct relations between or among places. Vice versa, the place relations may develop solidarity considering that geographers’ position to place at the pivot of identity, community and identity-based solidarity (Schuermans et al., 2013). This study can contribute to more engagement with the concept in human geography research by having a case of solidarity in the context between two different far away-places, the Netherlands and West Papua.

Furthermore, the idea of sources of solidarity establishment, in general, has been described by several authors. Among others are Oosterlynck et al. (2015), who mention

interdependence, shared norms and values, struggle, and encounters. Stjernø (2005) also states that the basis or foundation for the feeling of solidarity is the self and its identification. Both discussions talk about solidarity within the group or *among* a group of people, but not about solidarity *with* outsiders or towards a group of people. The interest of this research is in ‘solidarity *with*’ in particular solidarity with outsiders beyond the national border, beyond the traditional conception of solidarity.

Nevertheless, the specific source(s) or foundation(s) for this solidarity remains unknown. This knowledge is crucial to understand what encourages solidarity beyond the boundary of the nation-state by seeing individual solidarity actors, their solidarity aspects, and their networks. It is because Bente B. Nicolaysen (2014) argues that one should relinquish solidarity as a general phenomenon but in a narrow sense. In this case, in an (inter/trans)national sense. Therefore, it is crucial to investigate the geographies of solidarity in such dimension, which is the research topic. This study can fill a cavity of the phenomenon of solidarity in an (inter/trans)national scope by providing empirical evidence using conceptual and/or theoretical thought on transnational solidarity of Gould (2007; 2020). This research can add more empirical research to merely conceptual and/or theoretical approach on this kind of solidarity.

1.4 Chapters outline

To guide the readers, a brief summary of the chapters is given. After this Introduction chapter, chapter 2, “Theoretical framework”, discusses the most important key concepts and presents the conceptual model. Definition of concepts of solidarity, the individual as an actor and network are explored. The relations of the concepts are then illustrated in the conceptual framework at the end of the chapter. Then, chapter 3, “Methodology”, explains the used research strategy and method that is suitable for the study in pursuance of empirical evidence to answer the research questions. The explanations include how to approach research strategy, how to collect data, and how to analyse data.

Following the methodology chapter, chapter 4, “The Netherlands and West Papua: an overview”, describes the historical relationship between the Netherlands and West Papua in the past, taken from secondary data sources such as in published books and articles. It contains how the Netherlands came to West Papua and vice versa. The description in this chapter functions as an initial understanding of how solidarity emerged in the Netherlands in the first place.

Then, the results of this research are presented in two parts. Chapter 5, “Description of empirical results”, presents the first part of empirical data from the interviews. The empirical evidence is revealed descriptively. Chapter 6, “Discussion of empirical results”, presents the second part of empirical data from the interviews. The descriptive empirical evidence is analysed and discussed.

After that, the results chapter is followed by chapter 7, “Conclusions”, which offers the answers to the research questions, as well as limitations and strengths of the study, and recommendations for follow-up research. Not less important, the positionality (role) of the researcher is described.

Chapter 2. Theoretical framework

In this theoretical framework chapter, the key concepts that support the research are first given and explained based on the research questions. The concepts are the bedrock in supporting the analysis, interpreting the study results, and making a broader generalisation possible. Here, the concepts are employed as an up-front explanation to explain broadly behaviour and attitudes (Creswell, 2009). John W. Creswell (2009) states that usually phenomenological studies do not use any explicit theory as the researchers pursue to answer the research questions from participants' experience. Nevertheless, holding on to Schwandt's argument (1993, as cited in Creswell, 2009), that none of the qualitative studies starts from pure observation and theory and method provide the basis for all inquiries, the concepts are then used.

To answer the research questions, the core concept used is solidarity as a dependent variable. In what follows, this will first be discussed. After that, two independent variables, the individual as an "actor" and the network, will be introduced. Finally, the conceptual framework presents the relationship between the concepts.

All concepts mentioned above are essential for this study because each concept used has its unique logic. To begin with, the concept of solidarity is crucial because it is the phenomenon under study, explaining what solidarity in general is and eventually how solidarity between the Netherlands and West Papua can exist. Because of this, this concept will be explored intensively. Regarding solidarity, what is known is that solidarity has diverse meanings. Hence, it is essential to borrow a certain definition that is suitable for this study. It has then a consequence of its components, foundation and action, which will be explored. Further, as the solidarity of this study is about solidarity between the Netherlands and West Papua, particular attention will be given to the solidarity that transcends national boundary, namely the transnational or international dimension of solidarity. In addition to that, as West Papua is a conflict region, it is thus essential to explore a conceptual thought on solidarity in a conflict case. Next, another concept is the concept of individual. This concept is necessary because this is the unit of analysis of the research. That is to say, to understand how solidarity between the Netherlands and West Papua exists, one must look at the individual as the 'catalyst' for solidarity. Furthermore, this research is not interested in how solidaristic principles inspire crafting public policy, in which one must look at the public authorities or organisations as the unit of analysis. In this research, the individual as an "actor" is the subject of solidarity. Its definition and connection with the concept of solidarity will be shown. Finally, the last concept is the concept of network. This concept is of relevance in an attempt to

understand the existence of solidarity due to the existence of a network. This study assumes that social network influences solidarity. Owing to this assumption, it is important to identify the concept. What it means and its connection with the concept of solidarity will be explored in this section.

2.1 Solidarity

Solidarity is a core concept of this study. Solidarity is a watchword that has been pivotal around the last two centuries. But, as a concept, it began to draw attention at the end of the 20th century after its neglect in social and political theory (Wilde, 2013). The term ‘solidarity’ itself derives from Latin *solidare*, meaning “to make firm, to combine parts to form a strong whole” (Komter, 2010, p. 1461). It was used for the first time in the nineteenth century in *obligation in solidum* (the Roman law obligation) that held the group responsibility of joint debtors (Laitinen & Pessi, 2014b). Laitinen and Pessi (2014b) state that gradually, the term is used to describe a readiness for mutual support motivated by emotion and norm. This can be seen in the notion of Scholz (2008) that solidarity is a feeling that makes people act, and at the same time, this action arouses strong feelings. In everyday life, this word is frequently used normatively, for example, in humanitarian organisations and socialist jargon.

Today, in the Merriam-Webster Dictionary, solidarity is defined as “unity (as of a group or class) that produces or is based on community of interests, objectives, and standards” (n.d.-a). Despite its general definition in the dictionary, it is argued that the concept of solidarity itself has no single definition (Banting & Kymlicka, 2017; Stjernø, 2005) and its meaning is elusive (Gaztambide-Fernández, 2020; Steinvorth, 1999; Vasiljević, 2017). It is because the diverse use of solidarity (Bayertz, 1999) and solidarity itself has various forms. The four examples of fundamental forms of solidarity are social (the bond among people in existing communities), civic (the bond among citizens of a welfare state that justifies redistribution mechanism by the state), political (the bond that politically unites people who have common interests), and universal solidarity (the universal bond among human beings as the members of humanity).

Solidarity as a concept pertains to both descriptive and normative senses. Laitinen & Pessi (2014b) state that in a descriptive sense, solidarity refers to a bond to other people, to a group’s members, either large or small to some extent. It may be employed to describe different microphenomena, for instance, actions, motivations, and attitudes, to describe the normal order and normative social integration, and to refer to revolutionary critical social movements criticising the normal order and injustice. Solidarity may prevail in small communities, political

movements or entire societies, even the whole humanity. In a normative sense, solidarity refers to the obligations of a moral relation (Scholz, 2015). The normative force for solidarity may be basic or inspirational. It encompasses positive duties, prosocial thought, or commitments to action, in which the focus is often recurring on the poor, the vulnerable, the oppressed, and victims of violence or tyranny.

Larry May (1996) sees solidarity as a motivational force that moves individuals to act under the moral demands or norms of a community. He proposes five elements of solidarity: 1) conscious identification with the group, 2) bonds of sentiment, 3) common interests in the group's well-being, 4) shared values and beliefs, and 5) readiness to show moral support (May, 1996, p. 44). However, according to May (1996), people do not always have solidarity with a community that resides on the other side of the globe. He contends that it relates to the involvement and identification of community with the commitment to the common good. Therefore, "the context does matter," according to May (1996, p. 46). Sally J. Scholz (2015) has a similar view that "understanding solidarity, then, requires an analysis of the context in which it is used as well as the background social, political, metaphysical, and epistemic assumptions at work in its invocation." (p. 725).

For this study, the definition of solidarity of Steiner Stjernø (2005) was borrowed because he gives a modern definition. According to him, solidarity is "the preparedness to share resources with others through personal contributions to those in struggle or in need" (Stjernø, 2005, p. 2). This definition is also in line with Bayertz's definition as "acts carried out in order to support others" or "a disposition to help and assist" (Bayertz 1996, p. 308, as cited in Rippe, 1998, p. 356). According to Stjernø (2005), the concept of solidarity for modern people in modern society means "standing up for those who are less privileged and different from oneself" (p. 326). He contends further that the emergence of solidarity is by communicative action and the competence to perform the role of the 'other(s)' (Stjernø, 2005, p. 326). Based on the borrowed definition, this definition emphasises that solidarity entangles leastwise two aspects, namely the foundation of the preparedness to share resources and the action of personal contribution, to be explained in the next section. Furthermore, the borrowed definition is suitable for this study that examines solidarity nowadays and covers the gap that other definitions do not.

2.1.1 Aspects of solidarity: foundation and action

Different scholars have discussed various aspects of solidarity. First, Stjernø (2005) examines four different aspects of the notion of solidarity. These aspects are: 1) the basis or foundation

of solidarity 2) the objective or function of solidarity, 3) the inclusiveness – who is included and who is excluded, and 4) the degree of collective orientation – to what degree does it allow for individuality and individual freedom (p. 16).

The first aspect shows that the self and its identification lay the foundation for solidarity, moveable from ‘I’ to ‘All’. The basis for the feeling of solidarity rests on ‘I’ refers to self-interest, while the bedrock for the feeling of solidarity from ‘all’ refers to all human beings, interaction, or even empathy with who are suffered or oppressed. The second aspect lays out the goal or objective of solidarity that wants to be achieved. The third aspect points out that there is a boundary with whom we have solidarity. The last aspect exhibits the degree of collective orientation that occupies individual orientation. Although these four aspects are used to define the concept of solidarity, nevertheless, they also give an overview of the components of solidarity as a phenomenon.

In contrast with the four aspects examined by Stjernø (2005), Rubén A. Gaztambide-Fernández (2020) argues that there are three crucial aspects of solidarity. These are 1) the relationship for solidarity, 2) the sources of commitment of solidarity, and 3) the actions (or perhaps sacrifice) of solidarity. The first aspect contends that being in solidarity cannot be alone. Ones are in solidarity with others and based on a certain relationship. The second aspect reveals that being in solidarity has a motivation and sources of commitment. The third aspect shows that solidarity requires actions for the well-being of others. These three aspects establish solidarity no matter the form of solidarity people have (see section 2.1). Both discussions of Stjernø (2005) and Gaztambide-Fernández (2020) above discuss features of solidarity in general.

Rather than having the aspects of solidarity in a general sense, it is crucial to specify solidarity. Lahusen and Grasso state, “previous research has consistently shown that solidarity is of little analytic and practical use when conceived of as a generalized disposition or practice” (2018, p. 7). Next to this, specification is also based on Bayertz’s (1999) contention that one is not automatically in solidarity with just anybody and solidarity ties to particular groups (Lahusen & Grasso, 2018). Furthermore, it is supported by three variations of solidarity as mentioned in the previous section. From these arguments, it follows that solidarity between people in the Netherlands with the Papuans living in West Papua falls under the second type of solidarity, which is specified solidarity. Thus, having aspects of solidarity in specific solidarity is essential.

Regarding aspects of specific solidarity, solidarity *with*, David Miller (2017) argues that standing in solidarity (from outside the group) with a certain group of people signifies

“identifying with them emotionally, trying to imagine what it must be like to be in their place, and then taking symbolic or practical steps to help them” (p. 62). For the former, this study assumes that in order to be able to identify with the others’ ‘shoes’, there must be a ‘trigger’ to generate that ability. This shows an aspect of solidarity: the foundation for solidarity. As regards the latter, in order to be in solidarity with the others, one must act. This shows another aspect of solidarity: the solidarity action. Thus, standing in solidarity with a group of people contains two aspects: a “specific” foundation and action of solidarity.

Based on the discussion of Stjernø (2005) and Gaztambide-Fernández (2020), and argument of Miller (2017), the foundation and action of solidarity always appear in a general and specific sense. It means, these two aspects are the most important and relevant aspects to analyse. Thus, the foundation and action of solidarity of individual actors in the Netherlands are what this research concentrates on. Other aspects than foundation and action of solidarity of Stjernø (2005) and Gaztambide-Fernández (2020) were ignored because those are least important and also irrelevant for the study.

2.1.2 Solidarity beyond national boundary: transnational and international solidarity

As this research engages in solidarity between two different places, the Netherlands and West Papua, this solidarity goes beyond the traditional conception of solidarity. Traditionally, solidarity is social unity, a preparedness to act for the others among the members of a given concrete group. It depicts unitary solidarity, binding the members of a given pre-existing community, either in small groups or among citizens within a national boundary or nation-state. Solidarity between the Netherlands and West Papua is then evident in how this solidarity implies the sense of solidarity that concerns distant people, a phenomenon that crosses beyond the community or national border. Furthermore, Bente Blanche Nicolaysen (2014) argues that one should relinquish solidarity as a general term, but in a narrow sense: (trans/inter)national. Therefore, it is essential to discuss this dimension of solidarity.

Regarding solidarity beyond national border, this study argues that there are two dimensions, transnational and international, based on several discussions. For the former, only Carol C. Gould (2007; 2020) conceptualises transnational solidarity. According to her, transnational solidarity is “overlapping networks of relations between individuals or groups and distantly situated others (again, individuals or groups), in which the former aim to support the latter through actions to eliminate oppression or reduce suffering” (Gould, 2020, p. 22). Based on the conception of transnational solidarity and the research’s focus on solidarity

between two places that transcend the nation-state border, the above definition will be used in this study.

Having defined what is meant by transnational solidarity, the important elements of transnational solidarity of Gould (2007; 2020) will be presented. In the first place, this kind of solidarity is particularistic in which the relations among actors are limited. It means that it is impossible that people feel or stand in solidarity with all individual human beings worldwide, as suggested by Richard Rorty (1989) for global or general human solidarity. To be more precise, one can act in solidarity with merely some others. Gould calls it ‘a horizon of possibility’ (2007). In the second place, this solidarity has shared values, i.e. shared commitment to the fulfilment of justice or basic needs or commitment to the elimination of suffering. It is in line with international political solidarity (Scholz, 2008). Such solidarity is labelled by Klaus P. Rippe (1998) as ‘project-related solidarity’, solidarity that relates to particular problems. In the third place, this cross-border solidarity may entangle a fellow feeling or an affective element of empathy as the foundation. The latter is an understanding of the concrete situation of the others and putting oneself to the others’ feelings and needs. In the fourth place, solidarity involves a readiness to take action. Furthermore, it allows the others to determine the most beneficial forms of aid and support. Gould (2007) calls it ‘deference’, a way to take the lead from the others, solidarity recipients. In the last place, this kind of solidarity involves a reciprocal expectation of aids, even not always. When it does, usually it happens based on shared interests.

Next to transnational solidarity, solidarity beyond national boundary may also be international solidarity. Regarding this dimension, international solidarity is defined as:

“The union of interests or purpose among the countries of the world and social cohesion between them, based upon the dependence of States and other international actors on each other, to preserve the order and very survival of international society, to achieve collective goals, which require international cooperation and joint action” (Rizki, 2009, p. 4)

Another definition is “a foundational principle underpinning contemporary international law in order to preserve the international order and to ensure the survival of international society” (Askary & Fallah, 2020, p. 199). In the first definition, it is argued that the definition should not be confined to the action of states, but also the action between states and other actors, like, international organisations and civil society (Rizki, 2009). However,

from both definitions, this study argues that the use of the words ‘countries’ and ‘international society’, international solidarity implies its existence at the state practice level.

Nevertheless, Scholz (2008) contends that international (political) solidarity may hold three different forms within political solidarity. They are: individuals across the globe may take up a cause together that spans the world, individuals in one country or region may pledge solidarity with distant others, or nations or states may unify for a particular social justice aim (p. 64). The solidarity of individual actors in the Netherlands with the Papuans in West Papua then takes the second type. Herein, individuals in the Netherlands pledge solidarity with the Papuans in West Papua, responding to a particular situation or a cause. This study argues that there is no specific difference between transnational and international solidarity. The common thing is this solidarity transcends the national border.

2.1.3 Solidarity in conflict situation

West Papua is a conflict region (elaborated in chapter 4). Considering this circumstance, it is important to discuss the connection between conflict and solidarity. Regarding this, in a conflict situation, Georg Simmel emphasises that an external conflict plays a role in unification and solidarity of people in a group (1955, as cited in Takacs, 2003), in which he stated:

“...the group as a whole may enter into an antagonistic relation with a power outside of it, and it is because of this that the tightening of the relations among its members and the intensification of its unity, in consciousness and in action, occur.” (Simmel, 1955, as cited in Takacs, 2003, p. 115)

From the above statement, “an antagonistic with a power of it” means conflict. To be more precise, it is an external or intergroup conflict. Thus, an external conflict plays a role in cohesion. The cohesion itself causes internal solidarity, the solidarity of people within the group. Hence, in the connection between conflict and solidarity, he talks about the role of (external) conflict in relation to the first variant of solidarity that has been mentioned in this study, solidarity between members of a group (solidarity *among* a group of people). Related to this research, the notion of Simmel (1955, as cited in Takacs, 2003) described above will discuss solidarity between the Papuans themselves in a conflict situation, which is not the focus of this study.

Furthermore, Lewis A. Coser (2001), in his book ‘The functions of social conflict’ emphasises similarly that conflict has a unifying effect for a group (internal solidarity) by establishing and maintaining group identities and boundaries. Besides, he also argues that conflict may generate alliances and coalitions between discrete parties in facing a common

enemy or opponent. It can be said that conflict creates external solidarity, the second variant of solidarity. Both discussions show the role of conflict in solidarity *among* and solidarity *with*.

The notion of Simmel (1955, as cited in Takacs, 2003) and Coser (2001) relate to ‘struggle’ as a source of solidarity (Oosterlynck et al., 2015). Based on this source, “solidarity is rooted in a joint struggle around common interests against a shared enemy” (Oosterlynck et al., 2015, p. 5). Herein, people maintain solidarity with other people in the face of a mutual enemy. The terms of struggle and mutual enemy are tightly connected to political solidarity (see section 2.1), which is also called ‘fighting solidarity’, a bond to respond to injustice and oppressive situations with the existence of an enemy or perhaps an oppressor (Laitinen & Pessi, 2014b; Scholz 2008).

It can be said then that little has been known about the role of conflict in the emergence of solidarity *with* people (or either seen as a group) who live in a conflict area by people who are not involved in the conflict and who even have no common enemy. Nevertheless, from Simmel (1955, as cited in Takacs, 2003) and Coser’s (2001) notions, their view can help to see the function of conflict in having solidarity *with* a group of people who have and live in conflict from outsiders who are not involved in the conflict. That is to say; conflict might still play a role in solidarity *with* (external solidarity). A conflict promotes alliance from outsiders of that group of people, even from outsiders who are not involved in the conflict or have no mutual enemy.

2.2 Actor: individual

Based on the research question “*how can solidarity of individual actors in the Netherlands with the Papuans living in West Papua be explained?*” a type of actor is identified. The actor is considered crucial as solidarity reveals at the micro-level phenomena (interaction of individuals) and at the macro-level phenomena (relations between various social groups and institutions) (Kuzmenko et al., 2017). From the phenomena level, the individual is one of the solidarity actors. Next to the individual, another solidarity actor can be a group, public authority or civil society organisation.

This study focuses on the former, the micro-level phenomena, with the individual as the subject of solidarity. Herein, the interest is the exploration of individual actors to describe the existence of solidarity in the Netherlands with West Papua. More specifically, it is the solidarity of individual actors in the Netherlands with the Papuans living in West Papua.

Regarding the focus of study, according to Merriam-Webster (n.d.-b), the individual is “a single human being as contrasted with a social group or institution”. In another similar

definition, the individual is defined as “a single human, differentiated from a grouping or class of humans” (Vivanco, 2018). Herein, it can be stated that the individual as an actor is therefore considered as a person instead of a set of persons (social group) or organisation. Thus, the individual actor is a person as an acting agent. In solidarity, in other words, it can be qualified as an individual solidarity actor. Paolo Chiocchetti (2017) states that the individual as a subject of solidarity has internal reasoning with his/her relations and solidaristic behaviour. Specifically, Kuzmenko et al. (2017) state that the individual actor act in solidarity is determined by his/her social orientation based on his/her social worldview, a way of thinking about the world. The individual actor has distinct ideas and mindsets that might influence his/her decisions and behaviour in solidarity. Regarding solidarity *with*, Rippe (1998), who emphasises such solidarity as “project-related solidarity”, contends that solidarity expression of this type is often based on, for instance, social background factor.

In this research, the focus of the analysis is on individual actors in the Netherlands. They are considered as individual actors at the ‘sending’ end. Meaning, they are individual solidarity actors in the Netherlands who have solidarity towards the Papuans living in West Papua at the ‘receiving’ end. These actors in the Netherlands have reasoning, subjective reality of solidarity experience, solidaristic feeling and solidaristic behaviour. Considering the concentration is on individual actors at the ‘sending’ end, discussion related to the Papuans at the ‘receiving’ end is beyond the analysis scope of this research.

2.3 Network

The last discussion of concept concerns network. This concept is related to the sub-question “*How do the networks possessed by the individual actors influence the solidarity?*”. This sub-question implies the consequences of the type of network, assuming that the type of structural elements of the network influences individuals’ propensity to engage in solidarity.

The term of network is defined as “a set of nodes and the paths linking them together” (Rogers et al., 2013). In more simple words of Charles Kadushin (2012, p. 3), network is “a set of relations between objects”. According to David Knoke and Song Yang (2008), the network perspective reiterates structural relations as its primary basis orientation. Within these structural relations, a social structure comprises “regularities in the patterns of relations among concrete entities” (White et al., 1976, as cited in Knoke & Yang, 2008, p. 2). These entities or objects may be individual human being or people, (small)groups, organisations, or even nations or nation-states. These structural relations in the end influence entities or objects’ perceptions, beliefs, decisions, and actions (Knoke & Yang, 2008). Thus, patterned relations have

consequences or effects. Regarding this, it is assumed that through various structural mechanisms, social network influences perceptions, beliefs, decisions, and actions. It is said further that “direct contacts and more intensive interactions dispose entities to better information, greater awareness, and higher susceptibility to influencing or being influenced by others” (Knoke & Yang, 2008, p. 3). In the words of Robert D. Putnam and Kristin A. Goss (2002), social network matters as it has values. They explain further with examples that network has internal return, which many people find jobs because of whom they know as much as what they know, and external return, which social connectedness makes crime rates low in a neighbourhood. Thus, a network benefits people who are part of it.

With regard to the focus of analysis on the entity of individual human beings or people and based on the above assumption, it can be said that (social) network influences individuals. In other words, in the case of solidarity, social network affects individuals in solidarity. It resonates with the work of Anna Kurowska and Maria Theiss (2018), who employed social capital in relation to solidarity in which social networks may cause solidarity action(s). The result shows that it indeed contributed to solidarity practices.

In connection with solidarity, the notion of network intertwines in the discussion of this concept. Barry Markovsky and Edward J. Lawler (1994) on ‘group solidarity’ argue that solidarity emerges “for a given set of actors to the degree that they are directly connected to each other and there is an absence of subgroups or cliques” (p. 2). Markovsky and Lawler (1994) see solidarity with regard to relational patterns among actors. In more detail, they define solidarity as two network properties, being the relative directness of ties amidst actors and these ties homogeneity. It shows the first variant of solidarity: solidarity between members of a group (solidarity *among* a group of people). Although this is about solidarity among members of a group, this view can help to see the network of individuals who have solidarity towards outsiders of a group (solidarity *with* a group of people), the focus of this research.

Meanwhile, within cross-border solidarity discussion, Gould (2007) on ‘transnational solidarities’ states that the entities that stand in transnational solidarity with others at a distance are conceived of as autonomous individuals or associations (or groups) who connect via networks of interrelations with other individuals or associations (or groups). In such a way, Gould (2007) argues that solidarity with every human being on every corner of the globe is considered impossible and perhaps utterly vague. The idea of ‘network solidarity’ relies on the relations to merely some others, “one that holds among particulars” (Gould, 2007, p. 155).

Therefore, discussion related to network of Gould (2007) is similar to network of Markovsky and Lawler (1994). However, I would like to challenge that people have

network(s), and these network(s) affect(s) individuals in solidarity. I initially assume that there is a network between solidarity actor and solidarity recipient, and networks may cause an individual to have solidarity towards outsiders of a group (solidarity *with* a group of people). Accordingly, no matter the type of solidarity, either solidarity between members of a group (solidarity *among* a group of people) or solidarity towards outsiders of a group (solidarity *with* a group of people), the existence of solidarity is also helped by the consequence of the network possessed by people who have solidarity. This view becomes a starting vantage point of analysis of this study related network.

2.4 Conceptual framework

To wrap up this chapter, a conceptual framework is illustrated below (see Figure 1), showing the assumed relationships of the core concepts of this research study. Visualising the key concepts in a conceptual framework can help the inquirer demarcate the research subject, support formulating the assumed relationships of concepts, and link the study to theories (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2010).

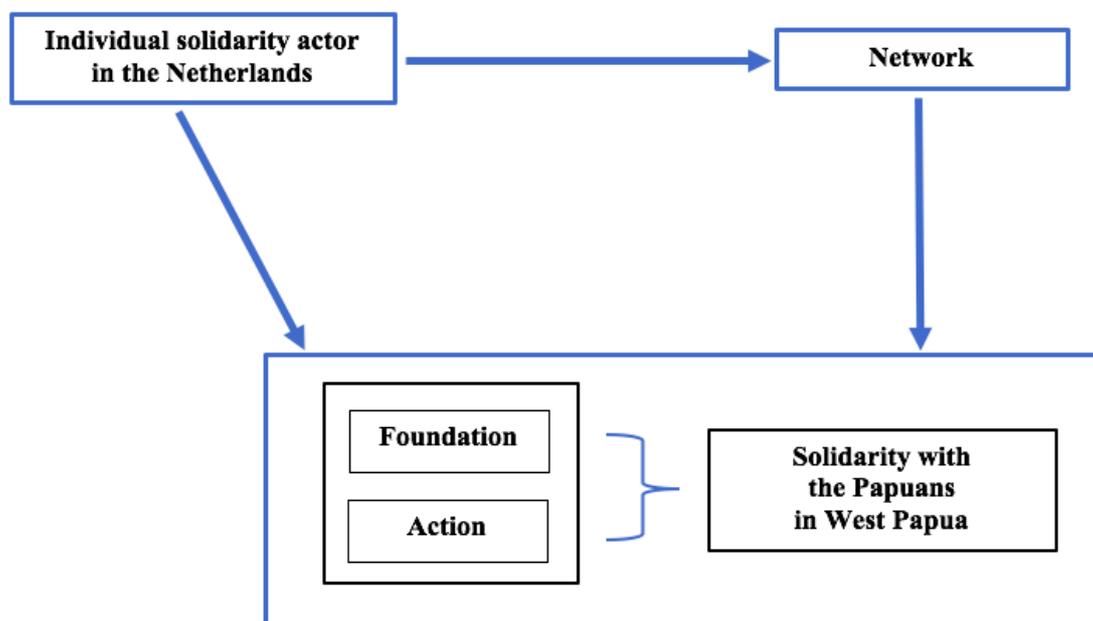


Figure 1. Conceptual framework

In Figure 1, the three concepts, solidarity, individual, and network, are brought together in explaining the solidarity of individual actors in the Netherlands with the Papuans living in West Papua. This research will inquire the solidarity with the Papuans living in West Papua

(dependent variable) by linking up the individual solidarity actor and network (independent variable).

In the first place, solidarity is possessed by certain individual solidarity actors in the Netherlands. Who they are might be an important factor and possibly relate to having this specific solidarity. Therefore, the concept of individual solidarity actor has a direct link with the concept of solidarity. This is assumed to be a unilateral relation in which the background of individual solidarity actor might lead to the emergence of solidarity with the Papuans living in West Papua.

In addition, within solidarity towards the Papuans living in West Papua, the solidarity of individual solidarity actors in the Netherlands holds two solidarity aspects. These are the foundation(s) for solidarity and the action(s) of solidarity. Both deserve attention because the former pertains to the reasoning why individual actors have solidarity, a source of commitment for feelings of solidarity. The latter involves the activities of individual actors for their solidarity, the readiness to take any action of individual actors in the Netherlands for their solidarity, and whether the actions have been determined by themselves or individuals on the 'receiving' end. Both aspects of solidarity allude to the solidarity for the Papuans in West Papua. As both elements are the values of the concept of solidarity, they are brought together and are assumed to relate to solidarity with the Papuans singularly.

Furthermore, the concept of individual is assumed to have an immediate connection with the concept of network leading to the concept of solidarity. The concept of network itself is also considered to have a unidirectional linkage with the concept of solidarity. In more detail, individual actors own or build-up (social) network in social life. People have certain interaction or contact with certain people or organisation. Eventually, having a certain network might play a role in fostering solidarity. That is to say, a particular network among people might lead to the emergence of solidarity with the Papuans living in West Papua. In the linkages between the concept of individual, network and solidarity, it can be said then that the concept of individual might have an indirect link with the concept of solidarity, mediated by the concept of network.

Chapter 3. Methodology

This chapter describes the qualitative research method with phenomenological strategy is chosen, how data is collected, transcribed, coded and analysed.

3.1 Qualitative research: phenomenological strategy

As mentioned in the research objective section, this research attempts to understand the solidarity of individual solidarity actors in the Netherlands with the Papuans living in West Papua. To achieve this objective, this research project is guided by a research strategy. The chosen research strategy was from the step-by-step approach of Verschuren and Doorewaard (2010, p. 156-157, p. 200) that is a set of crucial decisions taken by an inquirer. First, an in-depth research is opted by using a small-scale approach to yield knowledge that enables a generalisation to a lesser extent. Second, for the previous option, a qualitative approach is chosen to acquire an in-depth understanding of human action, emphasising words in collecting, analysing, and reporting data. Third, the empirical type of research in which primary data will be gathered from the real world is chosen. Fourth, a phenomenology approach as a strategy to conduct the study is selected. Finally, transcendental phenomenology is preferred as this type focuses more on describing research participants' experiences that suit well with the research objective.

From the approach above, the chosen research strategy was qualitative research using a phenomenological strategy. John W. Creswell and Cheryl N. Poth (2018) argue that the qualitative method is used, *inter alia*, when we want to study a population, to explore a problem or issue in which variables identification is not easily measured as measuring known variables is done using quantitative research, and to achieve a detailed understanding of an issue which can be done by only talking directly with the people. Further, qualitative research is suitable to answer research questions why, how, when or who rather than what, how many, or how often. As this study has a how main question, therefore, the qualitative research method is fully relevant.

Within this qualitative research, a phenomenological research approach was adopted. The adoption was based on the research problem, that is, "to understand several individuals' common or shared experiences of a phenomenon" (Creswell & Poth, 2018, p. 79). Phenomenology is a research strategy that aims at describing people's perceptions, experiences, and also their feelings and emotions of their lived experiences of a concept or a phenomenon (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Johannesson & Perjons, 2014). Phenomenological

research emphasises a phenomenon to be explored, focusing on what all research participants have in common in experiencing a concept or a phenomenon. The aim is to reduce individual experiences to a common meaning characterisation to yield insight into the topic under investigation. Besides presenting the similarities they have, the differences in experiencing the concept or phenomenon will also be discussed. In this matter, the phenomenon “solidarity” was explored with a case of solidarity in the Netherlands that focuses on West Papua. Within this approach, interviews were conducted for which individuals who have experienced the phenomenon were selected, recruited, and studied.

3.2 Data collection

3.2.1 Type of data

As this study is a phenomenological study to explore the solidarity phenomenon of individual actors in the Netherlands, the collected data was noteworthy statements, information or explanations expressed in words from people’s stories related to solidarity with the Papuans living in West Papua. It included personal lived experiences, meanings, perceptions, feelings and emotions, and the practices related to the phenomenon.

These data were derived from a unit of observation and a unit of analysis. For the former, the decision on the unit of observation was based on the statement of Cresswell and Poth (2018) that a group of individuals who have experienced the phenomenon are explored. They were not distinguished by their age (as long as they were adults), sex, and race background, as long as they have experienced the phenomenon. For the latter, the unit of analysis was the solidarity of individual solidarity actors, in which data collection followed the rule suggestion of H. Russell Bernard “always collect data on the lowest-level unit of analysis possible” as it makes data aggregation possible (2011, p. 40).

In this study, the unit of observation is the same as the unit of analysis. Therefore, data were collected from individuals in the Netherlands who meet the essential criteria that they have experienced the phenomenon of solidarity with the Papuans living in West Papua (unit of observation) for the purpose of understanding individuals and their solidarity with the Papuans living in West Papua (unit of analysis).

3.2.2 Selecting and recruiting respondents

Once the type of data and the unit of analysis had been set, research participants were selected and recruited. As this research is a phenomenological study of solidarity, individuals who have solidarity with the Papuans living in West Papua were selected. Before recruiting the participants, individuals in the Netherlands who have this solidarity were first being identified.

In that respect, the identification was discussed with the contact person (informant) from HAPIN or *Hulp aan Papua's in Nood* (Aid for Papua in need), an organisation in Utrecht that focuses on development in West Papua, where an informal internship was done in which HAPIN served as a facilitator in contacting people. From the discussion, people in the Netherlands who were assumed to have solidarity with the Papuans living in West Papua are 1) Dutch people who have lived or worked in West Papua before the Dutch withdrawal in 1962, either civil servants, such as the army, teachers, and health care providers, and people from the Dutch missionaries stationed in West Papua; 2) Papuan community, specifically Papuan-Dutch with a background as Papuan in exile; and 3) Moluccan community. The Moluccan community was assumed to have solidarity because of their support for independence in West Papua. Thus, participants from this identification were recruited. Still, this study was also open for other candidates as long as the research participants met the essential criteria mentioned in the previous sub-chapter.

Various strategies were employed in order to find as many respondents as possible and to have a wide range background of respondents as well. There were five strategies. First, the informant from HAPIN was asked whether he knows persons who have solidarity with the Papuans living in West Papua from initial identification and would like to participate in the research. From him, several names and/or email addresses were obtained. Then, personal messages were sent to them by email asking whether they have indeed solidarity with the Papuans living in West Papua and would like to be a respondent by giving the general letter of request for an interview (see Appendix 2). Second, the boards of Papuan-Dutch organisations that focus on West Papua were contacted by email. They were asked whether one of the board members would like to be the respondent (if the essential criteria are met) and also whether their donor member(s) would like to participate in the research. Nevertheless, recruiting respondents by contacting organisations did not work unless trust existed; a list of names of people (contact details) could not be provided due to privacy.

Third, friends and acquaintances were asked whether they know people in and/or from the Netherlands who have solidarity with the Papuans living in West Papua. Also, the general letter of request for an interview was spread to them, especially the one who has parents and family members who lived or worked in West Papua. This general letter was also attached to a personal request when contacting organisations. Fourth, personal requests to individuals were sent by email and/or through their social media, in this case, Facebook. The latter was put into action when I did not find their email addresses. Facebook was chosen because this social media site is one of the most popular sites in the Netherlands (de Best, 2020; Statcounter

GlobalStats, n.d.). Some of them were participants or speakers of the Papua Solidarity 2020 and their names were stated on the website of the Papua Solidarity. Using social media to recruit research participants is good but not great. It is because social media is quite broad, as many people have access to it. Despite this, some people set their account private. Thus, other users who are not friends of the account holder cannot find the users.

Lastly, once a participant was recruited, snowballing sampling method was implemented. After the participant answered that she/he is willing to participate, the participant was asked whether the participant knows other people who have solidarity with the Papuans living in West Papua and would like to participate. Snowballing strategy is “using one contact to help you recruit another contact, who in turn can put you in touch with someone else.” (Valentine 2005, as cited in Longhurst, 2016, p. 149). However, a snowballing method to recruit respondents had a shortcoming, in the sense that ‘snowball’ participants often have the same social and/or cultural background. This had the consequence that the stories of the ‘snowball’ participants were similar, the number of participants with a certain background was more compared to other backgrounds, and more participants with a certain similar background instead of more participants with new dissimilar backgrounds considering that the expectation of participants to be found in this study is a wide range of respondents.

Nevertheless, the resulting sample remained useful as it met the first expectation to recruit as many participants as possible. The ‘snowball’ participants remained to have different experiences and subjectivity. Furthermore, this technique was effective to recruit other people considering that, in general, people who have solidarity with the Papuans living in West Papua were unknown. Also, the number of people in the Papuan community in the Netherlands is relatively small, around 1500-2000 people (Jouwe, 2012).

3.2.3 Conducting interviews

In this qualitative research method with a phenomenology strategy, the data’s collecting technique used was interviews. Interviews are verbal interchanges between the interviewer (researcher) and interviewee (respondent) to elicit information (Dunn, 2005, as cited in Longhurst, 2016). According to Steinar Kvale (2007), conducting interviews is the best way to understand why certain people or groups do or act because by talking with them, we can know how people understand their world and their lives. Interviewing is then important to obtain data to understand individuals’ meanings, perspectives, feelings, and the practices of solidarity in the Netherlands and why they have taken those actions.

In this matter, an in-depth interview was employed. Creswell and Poth (2018) state that in-depth interviews are primarily held in the process of collecting data for a phenomenology study. Within this in-depth interview, a semi-structured type was chosen. This kind of interview has some structure, but it still can probe deeper into the topic and ask for explanations. In other words, this interview type gives complete control of what the interviewer wants in the interview, but it provides space of flexibility for the interviewer and interviewee to follow new leads (Bernard, 2011). This type of interview was based on the formulation of an interview guide (see Appendix 1). An interview guide, explained by Bernard, is “a written list of questions and topics that need to be covered in a particular order” (2011, p. 158). The list of questions of the interview guide was sent to the participant in advance if the interviewee required such.

In the process of collecting data, ethical issues have to be addressed. These issues relate to three principles of ethical behaviour: respect for persons, concerns for welfare or beneficence/non-maleficence, and justice (Hay 2016; Creswell & Poth, 2018). For this reason, before doing an interview, a participant information letter (see Appendix 3) was sent by email and/or online instant chat via WhatsApp/Facebook/Skype, depending on the communication tool used with the participant candidate. The letter gave a preparation guide for the online interview (explained later), consent and information related to the interview. It also asks the participant’s permission whether they agree to participate in the research and that the interview will be recorded to aid the analysis.

The interviews were conducted in the Netherlands from June to August 2020 (see Appendix 4). The duration varied between 30 minutes and 2 hours. As the Netherlands is a small country, it is easy to reach the interviewees to collect the data by doing traditional face-to-face interviews as the distance is not far and the places are not remote. Nevertheless, during the pandemic time of COVID-19, the Dutch government has taken measures since March 2020, amongst others, to work/study from home if possible. Therefore, two forms of interviewing have been taken: technology-assisted interview and traditional offline interview.

The first form was a technology-assisted interview. It was an online interview mediated by internet or internet-mediated research (IMR) (Hewson, 2014). This form was mostly conducted in June. In this form, a synchronous (real-time) approach was used by conducting online video call interviews via online instant chat. This approach was taken because it is argued that the approach is comparable to the offline, face-to-face method (Hewson, 2014; Janghorban et al., 2014). The used online instant chats were WhatsApp, Skype, and FaceTime. They were preferred because they are free and accessible, and people are already familiar with

these communication services (Statista Research Department, 2016). For the interviewee's convenience, the interviewee was allowed to choose one of the platforms. One time, Microsoft Teams was used due to technical problems experienced by the participant. Nevertheless, online video call has a shortcoming where a headshot will pose obstacles in thoroughly observing all interviewee's body language (Cater, 2011, as cited in Janghorban et al., 2014).

In general, the form of internet-assisted interview has benefits and drawbacks. The benefits are "cost and time efficiency, expanded geographical reach, and access to hard-to-reach populations" and the flaws are "possible sample bias, reduced levels of research control, and potential unreliabilities due to technical issues" (Hewson et al., 2003, as cited in Hewson, 2014, p. 424). Considering that the research was conducted amid the COVID-19 pandemic, the advantages outweigh the disadvantages of using virtual interviews. This form suits collecting data to follow the Dutch government advice to work/study from home if possible.

The second form was a traditional offline, face-to-face interview. This form was mostly conducted in July as the Dutch measures for COVID-19 were loosened. Moreover, this method was taken when the interview participant had no device that supports conducting an online interview or specifically requested an offline interview to meet me in person. The offline interviews took place in the research participants' place for their convenience while also considering the basic rules of Dutch measures against the Coronavirus (Government of the Netherlands, n.d.).

The interview was conducted in one of three languages, i.e. English, Dutch, or Bahasa Indonesia, for the interviewer's and interviewee's convenience. Considering that I am least proficient in Dutch, I preferred to conduct the interviews in English. Interviews in Bahasa Indonesia were conducted when the respondents were more fluent in Bahasa Indonesia than English. Dutch was used when the respondents were not fluent in English or Bahasa Indonesia. The preference and availability for language were initially given, but the language used was in the end decided by the interviewees. Overall, most interviews were carried out in English. During the interviews, the most important answers were jotted down, and the interviews were recorded using several devices. Finally, the crucial process was recording information, in which the interviews were logged on the interview guides (logging data) (Lofland & Lofland, 1995, as cited in Creswell & Poth, 2018, p. 170).

Once there were follow-up questions or requests for confirmations, questions have been sent by email or instant messenger, depending on the used mode of contact with the respondents. This method was used because email and instant messenger are familiar tools for the participants (Hewson, 2014), the questions were not many, the flexibility for the

participants to respond to the questions (Hewson, 2014), and the questions and answers were automatically transcribed (Hinchcliffe & Gavin, 2009).

In total, 34 respondents were interviewed within 32 interviews (see Appendix 4). Once three respondents were interviewed simultaneously because of their request as they are from the same organisation. It had consequences in which sometimes it was difficult to follow the arguments or explanations, leading to confusion and one/two interviewees talked more than the other. Nevertheless, several perspectives about the same topic were still obtained and highlighted the differences and similarities within a certain topic. As this project discusses specifically the solidarity of individuals in the Netherlands, all respondents were from the Netherlands, either lived in the Netherlands or abroad. The participants were both male and female, with an approximate age between 20-70 years. Within 34 respondents, there were 20 Dutch (individuals who were born from both Dutch parents), 6 Papuan-Dutch (individuals who were of Papuan descent), 4 Moluccan-Dutch (individuals who were of Moluccan descent) and 4 Indo-Dutch (individuals who were of Indo people or Eurasian descent). For reasons of confidentiality, all respondents have been anonymised. The respondents were presented in numeric order (see Appendix 4). Once the respondents mentioned the names of a person, an organisation, or a campaign, the person's name has been pseudonymised. The organisation or campaign's name has not been mentioned.

3.3 Transcribing and analysing data

3.3.1 Transcribing interview

Once the data had been collected, the next step was transcribing. Martyn Denscombe (2003) recognises transcribing as a substantial part of the method of interview, where the inquirer is “close to data” (p. 183). Steinar Kvale and Svend Brinkmann (2014) also see it as “an initial analytic process” (p. 206), where the interview transcriptions are considered as “the solid rock-bottom empirical data” (p. 204).

After conducting an interview, transcribing was done as soon as possible to remember and get familiar with the discussion and situation. Added to that, transcribing is, among other things, to include information that is missing to note down and to quote the interviewee correctly (H. Murray-Carlsson, personal communication, November 12, 2018). There is no universal rule to transcribe. Nevertheless, the verbatim oral style was chosen as it is considered as “the most loyal and objective interview transcript” (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2014, p. 214). The recording with the best quality sound was selected and used to transcribe the interview, then transcribed by using Otter.ai.

Finally, as suggested by Kathryn Anderson, all transcribed interviews were reviewed “to listen critically to [their] interviews, to [their] responses as well as [their] answers” (as cited in Gregory et al., 2009, p. 394). The review aims to understand the interviewee’s responses by hearing the interviewee’s implication, suggestion, unwillingness to respond, and interpreting pauses (Anderson & Jack, 1991, as cited in Gregory et al., 2009). This step was done before conducting analysis.

3.3.2 Coding and Analysing interview

After having all transcribed interviews, the data was organised and analysed. In aiding my analysis, the whole interview transcriptions were uploaded in the computer software for qualitative analysis “ATLAS.ti” (Friese, 2014; Friese, 2015). ATLAS.ti was preferred rather than word processor because it is most widely used and claimed as “a powerful workbench for qualitative data analysis... in which where texts are analysed and interpreted using coding and annotating activities.” (Smit, 2002, p. 65).

To assist in analysing the data, the grounded theory approach to code and analyse was chosen. The choice argument was in grounded theory procedure the analysis is simultaneous and iterative with repetitive coding and constant memoing (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Bernard, 2011). This analytical way, iteration, is helpful for understanding the phenomenon under study as it is “key to sparking insight and developing meaning... visiting and revisiting the data and connecting them with emerging insights, progressively leading to refined focus and understandings” (Srivastava & Hopwood, 2009, p. 77). The codes are not given in advance in the grounded theory analysis as they are not established from certain pre-existing theory. They develop progressively from the researcher’s work with the text of interview transcripts (Johannesson & Perjons, 2014). However, in this research, the codes were derived from theoretical ideas (theoretical framework). Nevertheless, more new codes were discovered by repeated coding and constant comparing in an attempt to saturate. Therefore, the codes kept on developing progressively.

The coding of grounded theory has three structures: open, axial, and selective coding. Creswell & Poth (2018, pp. 87-88) explain that in open coding, information categories are formed by segmenting information. In axial coding, the data is assembled in new ways by presenting a coding diagram or logic diagram, identifying a central phenomenon, exploring causal conditions, specifying strategies, identifying the context and intervening conditions, and delineating the consequences of a phenomenon. In selective coding, a ‘story line’ that connects the categories is written. Within these three structures of the analysis procedure of grounded

theory in ATLAS.ti, open codes to all interviews were firstly given, corresponding to the theoretical framework by tagging the data accordingly. It resulted in ‘individual actor’, ‘aspects of solidarity’ and ‘network’ as core categories. From each category, sub-categories were also created to find the continuum of the property. Memos at this stage were also written. Then, the interconnection of the categories or open codes was analysed by exploring the relationship and making connections between open codes in the previous stage. At this stage, a network of categories was built. Finally, certain codes were picked selectively in finding the central category to develop the explanation of the phenomena of individual actors’ solidarity in the Netherlands with the Papuans living in West Papua. From the coding results, the segments of actual data in the form of interview quotes were presented. In chapter five, the description of “what” the respondents experienced with the phenomenon based on core concepts in chapter two was created.

Chapter 4. The Netherlands and West Papua: overview

As mentioned in Chapter 1, King (2010) states that due to historical reasons, the Netherlands is the epicentre of Papuan solidarity activities in Europe, without giving a detailed explanation of what kind of historical reasons they are. Moreover, there is no further deeper discussion of these historical reasons resulting in solidarity in the Netherlands with West Papua. Because of the above statement related to history, this chapter attempts to present the historical relations between the Netherlands and West Papua to understand solidarity. This thesis argues that this context is imperative for the reality of today's solidarity. The historical relations between both places, one way or another, shaped the current solidarity as it exists today. To understand the present, one needs to understand the past because the past greatly influences the present. Hence, historical perspective was used to sharpen one's understanding of the present (Lawrence, 1984). By presenting the past, we can understand the existence of solidarity today. The historical aspect is then relevant for this study. By knowing the history, one can understand why there is solidarity between these two places, the Netherlands and West Papua.

This chapter presents the historical relationship between the Netherlands and West Papua in the past. It describes the historical ties between these two places, involving Indonesia because West Papua is part of Indonesia. In the past, Indonesia (in that time, it was called the Netherlands East Indies or Dutch East Indies) was the colony of the Netherlands. Knowing the historical relations gives some insight into how today solidarity exists in the Netherlands with West Papua in the first place. Before exploring the historical ties between both, the following section presents a brief description of West Papua.

4.1 West Papua

Bordered by Papua New Guinea in the eastern half of New Guinea island, West Papua refers to Indonesia's territory in the western half of the island, called Western New Guinea. In Indonesia itself, this territory is called Papua since the end of 1999. This territory has several names, such as Irian, Irian Barat, Irian Jaya, Papua and West Papua. See Bilveer Singh (2008) for a discussion of Papua's etymology, whereby most of the names were given by outsiders instead of by the native inhabitants themselves. West Papua is chosen in this study as this name is widely known in the literature nowadays, is given by many indigenous populations in the region, and is preferred by Papuan nationalists since 1961 and by independence activists (Blades, 2020; King, 2010; Rutherford, 2012; Budiardjo, & Liong, 1988). In this study, when referring to this territory, the term 'West Papua' is used.

West Papua was part of the Netherlands East Indies or Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia). Because of it, when Indonesia gained independence, Indonesia desired to include this region within its territory, creating conflict in the region, elaborated in the next section. From 1949, it was one of the former colonies of the Netherlands overseas, called West New Guinea or Netherlands New Guinea as its colonial name, well-known as Dutch New Guinea. As seen in figure 2, it is the western part of New Guinea island, the second-biggest island in the world located in Oceania. West Papua was integrated formally into Indonesia as a province in 1969 (explained more in the next section). Since 2003 it consists of two provinces, namely the Indonesian provinces of Papua and West Papua. In this research, when referring specifically to either province, the term ‘Papua Province’ or ‘West Papua Province’ is used. Based on the population census in 2020 and 2017 from both provinces, respectively, the current estimated population is 4.3 million people (Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi Papua, n.d.; Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi Papua Barat, n.d.).



Figure 2. West Papua Map. Blades, J. (2020). *West Papua: the issue that won't go away for Melanesia*. Lowy Institute Analysis, May 2020, 1-46. Retrieved from <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/publications/west-papua-issues-wont-go-away-melanesia>

Both provinces are the least developed provinces in Indonesia. Regarding poverty, these provinces, most of the time, share the highest and the second-highest poverty level in Indonesia based on Badan Pusat Statistik (Statistics Indonesia) between 2012 and 2020. As of

March 2020, Papua Province and West Papua Province have 26.64% and 21.37%, respectively (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2020a). Meanwhile, both provinces share the lowest and second-lowest achievement regarding the 2020 Human Development Index (HDI): Papua province achieved 60.44 and West Papua province achieved 65.09 (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2020b). Meaning, quality of long and healthy life (life expectancy), being knowledgeable (education), and a decent standard of living (gross national income per capita) of people in this region are inadequate.

Additionally, since its integration into Indonesia, the conflict has emerged. The conflict is between the Indonesian government and Papuan nationalists over the territory until today, contested especially after the Dutch withdrawal in 1962 from the region (Strand et al., 2020). It becomes the only and the most protracted secessionist conflict in Indonesia following the 'peace deal' in Aceh in 2005. Regarding this secessionist conflict, West Papua experiences what Peace Research Institute Oslo calls a 'war' at the end of the 1970s, a conflict that has more than 1,000 death threshold per calendar year; a 'minor conflict' in 2018, a conflict that has between 25 and 1,000 death threshold per calendar year; and an 'inactive conflict' in 2019, with very few death (Strand et al., 2020). According to LIPI (Widjojo & Entus, 2010, p. 6), the main sources of conflict within five issues are: 1) history of the integration of West Papua to Indonesia and political identity of the Papuans; 2) political violence and human rights violations; 3) the failure of socio-economic development; 4) inconsistency of Special Autonomy Law implementation, as well as 5) marginalisation towards the Papuans.

4.2 The historical relationship between the Netherlands and West Papua

The Netherlands took power over West Papua in 1824 with the signing of the Anglo-Dutch Treaty (Treaty of London) between Great Britain and the Netherlands. The official claim over West Papua by the Netherlands was made in 1848 when this territory was included within the territorial control of the Sultanate of Tidore (Bertrand, 2004). The Sultanate of Tidore itself controlled the northern, western, and southern part of Papua from 1453 to 1890 (Alua, 2006, as cited in Widjojo & Entus, 2010). Afterwards, West Papua was officially part of the colonial Dutch East Indies as the Netherlands held power over the Sultanate of Tidore.

In 1828 the Dutch military started an occupation in coastal West Papua (Lagerberg, 2005). It was mainly for trade interests. This occasion opened a chance for other interests, among other things, the spreading of Christianity. The missionaries Ottow and Geisler arrived on the island of Mansiman near Manokwari 27 years later. Only in 1898, the Netherlands established its first government outposts in Manokwari and Fak-Fak. For the first time, the

Netherlands allocated a small budget for the West Papua administration (Lagerberg, 2005; Bertrand, 2004). However, the establishment of the Dutch presence in the region only started in the 1920s and 1930s. Until the 1950s, the presence of Europeans was mainly limited to coastal areas. The mainland was rugged and access was limited to reconnaissance missions, cartographers, and adventurers. The recorded European population in West Papua was 200 habitants, and there were only 15 European administrators in 1938. In those days, it was still unknown for economic benefits in that region and merely viewed as a buffer zone to protect the epicentre of the Dutch colonial enterprise in the Moluccan islands.

In 1945, Indonesia proclaimed its independence, and in 1949 the Netherlands definitively lost its Dutch colony, the Netherlands East Indies, by surrendering its control to Indonesia. Indonesia claimed that West Papua was part of the Netherlands East Indies and demanded its full control over this territory to include this region within Indonesian territory. However, the Netherlands insisted that West Papua should be treated differently from the rest of the former colony and retained its control over this region after 1949. Since then, West Papua became a dispute between the two countries.

Both countries had an interest in dominating West Papua. In the case of the Netherlands, the main interest was that the Netherlands desired to “retain some colonial prestige after losing most of the Dutch East Indies in 1949” (Bertrand, 2004, p. 145). There were also other interests for the Dutch. Among other things, for one thing, Indo people or Eurasian, persons of mixed European and Indonesian descent, groups who lived in the Dutch East Indies desired to establish a new homeland for them where they could build their existence. It was called “a space of purified hybridity” (Rutherford, 2012, p. 78). Due to the impact of the global economic crisis in the 1930s, most Indo people lost their jobs. Living in the Dutch East Indies became difficult for them, especially when they had to compete with cheaper *inlander* (native Indonesian) (Aeckerlin, 2010). For another thing, during World War II, the Dutch branch of the national-socialist movement fantasised about the creation of a ‘tropical’ Holland or ‘white New Guinea’ (Rutherford, 2012). This group supported the New Guinea Colonisation Society that desired to make West Papua ‘white New Guinea’, a place of racial purity. However, these ideas did not meet much support among the Dutch authorities and population after the war.

In the 1930s, a thousand Eurasians went to West Papua to start a new life as farmers, such as in Manokwari and Hollandia (now Jayapura) with the support of the Immigration and Colonization West Papua Foundation (Aeckerlin, 2010). According to Tjaal Aeckerlin (2010), most of them experienced failure due to diseases and very harsh conditions. They were not used to live as farmers because in the Netherlands East Indies, they worked in the office, either

in government or industry. The ones who failed returned to where they came from in the Netherlands East Indies. The rest survived and remained living there. West Papua was still considered a region of little significance within the Dutch East Indies. Despite that notion, later, after the sovereignty transfer of the Dutch East Indies to Indonesia, some Eurasians who did not wish to choose Warga Negara Indonesia (Indonesian citizenship) and also because of the loss of all their holdings and securities left in Indonesia preferred to move to West Papua rather than to the Netherlands. In early 1950, several thousand from about 200.000 Indo people who left Indonesia went to West Papua (Hewett, 2017), encouraged by recruiting officers, calls in the media, and even from the Eurasian associations (Aeckerlin, 2010).

The Netherlands started making heavy economic and political development investments in the region after 1949 (Bertrand, 2004). And as a result of world opinion, the Dutch government had a goal of self-determination for West Papua by devoting a “large amount of money, manpower, and political capital” (Rutherford, 2012, p. 69). Related to manpower, about 5,000 people were sent to Netherlands New Guinea (as West Papua was called at that time) from the Netherlands for this development since 1952. The development project was observed as “impressive and led to remarkable achievements” (Lijphart, 1936, in Bertrand, 2004, p. 146). The Dutch government gave funding for the Christian missionaries to broaden their activities in West Papua, in which the missionaries were involved in social work, education and healthcare. The government also educated the Papuans, and the ones who benefitted from the development welcomed the ‘Dutch colonialism’ (Bertrand, 2004). Besides that, the Netherlands deployed approximately 30,000 Dutch soldiers in 1950-1962 (Nieuw-Guinea, 2014). All of this was aimed to win the hearts and minds of the Papuans. It filled those who benefitted with hope. Regarding attaining a goal of self-determination for West Papua, nationalistic sentiments were encouraged by introducing a national anthem and flag, a parliament (The New Guinea Council), and preparing for a Papuan army. Nevertheless, due to international political relations during the Cold War, self-determination in West Papua never became a reality at the end of the day.

The Netherlands withdrew from West Papua in 1962. The New York Agreement in 1962, an international political agreement between all parties involved and enforced by the United States, concluded that the administration of West Papua belongs to Indonesia. After a short interim period of 7 months, whereby West Papua was administered by the United Nations, Indonesia took control over the last Dutch colony in the East in 1963. Consequently, people who had a Dutch passport were expelled from West Papua by the Indonesian government.

From 1962 about 13,000 Eurasians alone were ready to be evacuated to the Netherlands (Aeckerlin, 2010).

It was not only Eurasians who left West Papua, the Papuans too. One of the groups was the Papuan elites, who were educated and created by the Dutch colonial administration during the economic and political development and lived in danger. Some of these elites went into exile in the Netherlands since 1962, especially after Indonesia took control of West Papua. They were called “the Dutch pensioners”, described by Richard Chauvel (2008) as “Papuans who had worked with the colonial administration and were known to be anti-Indonesian and whose lives were thought to be in jeopardy if they had remained in West Papua” (pp. 159-160). Around that time, several hundred Papuans came as political refugees (Jouwe, 2012). From that time until today, Papuans are fleeing. Nowadays, the Papuan community in the Netherlands consists of three or almost four generations. Some of them remain devoted to the situation in and development of West Papua, among other things, the struggle for independence of West Papua (Jouwe, 2012).

Apart from the New York Agreement, there was the implementation of the Act of Free Choice, the Act of Papuan self-determination, no later than 1969 by the Indonesian government with the assistance of the United Nations (UN). The Act allowed the inhabitants to exercise freedom of choice whether they wish to remain or sever their ties with Indonesia. The legitimacy of the Act is considered controversial. John Saltford (2003) states that Indonesia, the UN, and the most international community recognises officially that the Act fulfilled the agreement’s requirement about Papuan self-determination, while Papuan nationalists and their supporters argue that legitimate self-determination did not occur. For the latter, it was argued that the procedure of the Act was defrauded through an unfair vote involving 1,025 Papuan representatives, in which the results were considered not to reflect the true Papuans’ aspirations (Widjojo & Entus, 2010). In the Netherlands, a thorough study about the Act was conducted by P. J. Drooglever (2009), resulting in a book titled “*Een Daad van Vrije Keuze: De Papoea’s van Westelijk Nieuw-Guinea en de grenzen van het zelfbeschikkingsrecht*”². This study, finished in 2005, was commissioned by the Netherlands’ Minister of Foreign Affairs, J. van Aartsen, at the end of 1999. According to Drooglever (2009), in the practice of the Act of Free Choice, the process of self-determination was considered to be a sham. Consultative councils were created to carry out the Act rather than ‘one man, one vote’. These consultative councils

² “An Act of Free Choice: The Papuans of Western New Guinea and the limits of the right to self-determination” (self-translation). In English version, the book titles “An Act of Free Choice: decolonisation and the right to self-determination in West Papua”.

primarily consisted of uneducated Papuans, who were easily manipulated, instead of the politically active elite. The members of consultative councils were quarantined, bribed, received prepared statements to rehearse in favour of integration with Indonesia, and were threatened in case they would not act as expected; they voted to remain part of Indonesia. Despite what happened, the results of the Act met little resistance and was accepted at the General Assembly of the United Nations. The Dutch government even accepted the results.

Since 1998, there is an attempt to request a review of the validity of the Act of 1969 and for conducting a new independence referendum. In the Netherlands, among other things, the Netherlands branch of the Free West Papua Campaign coordinated by Papuan-Dutch makes this demand. An e-petition is held, addressed to the Dutch government to initiate another referendum within a short term (Stop de 'slow motion', n.d.). At the time of writing, more than 37,000 signatures have been collected.

From the above chronological history, it can be said that people in both places are connected due to the historical relations between the Netherlands and West Papua. And within this connection, a kind of network also exists, in which what and how that network is based will be explored in the following chapter. Furthermore, according to an informant (personal communication, October 19, 2020), many people in the Netherlands, mainly with a Christian background, experienced what happened in 1962 and sympathised with the Papuans. Thus, the historical events that involved the Netherlands in West Papua may foster people's solidarity in the Netherlands. Furthermore, the fact that many Dutch and Eurasian have been to West Papua in the past, and many Papuans from West Papua currently live in the Netherlands and conduct significant activities related to West Papua, also may play a prominent role in the existence of today's solidarity. In the next chapter, the solidarity of individual actors in the Netherlands with the Papuans living in West Papua will be discussed.

Chapter 5. Description of empirical results

Following the exploration of the context of solidarity in the Netherlands with the Papuans living in West Papua by seeing the historical relationship between the Netherlands and West Papua in the previous chapter, this chapter provides the first part of empirical results of the qualitative analysis in which the empirical data gathered through the interviews is revealed descriptively. The first result is about the individual solidarity actors and their connection with West Papua and the kinds of solidarity they possess. After that, the second result is concerning the aspects of solidarity that individuals hold. And finally, the last result is relating to the network they have in their solidarity.

5.1 Individual solidarity actors

5.1.1 Backgrounds & connections with West Papua

To understand solidarity in the Netherlands with the Papuans living in West Papua, it is important to reveal who the individual actors are who have solidarity. Within this research study, these actors were divided into four cultural identity groups. They all had Dutch nationality with mixed racial backgrounds. The first group was Papuan-Dutch. Individuals who were of Papuan descent, meaning that one of their (grand)parents was a Papuan from West Papua (respondent #1, #17, #20, #24, #28, #33). Most of them were born in the Netherlands and had visited West Papua. By having a Papuan background, although they were not born in West Papua, these individual actors had a direct connection with West Papua.

The second group was Moluccan-Dutch. The individuals who were of Moluccan descent, meaning that their (grand)parents were from the Maluku islands or the Moluccas and migrated to the Netherlands in the 1950s (respondent #4, #5, #14, #22). They were the second and third generation of Moluccans in the Netherlands. They had mostly never been to West Papua. By not living there and having no Papuan descent, these individual actors had no direct connection with West Papua. Only one respondent (#22) was born in West Papua and has visited West Papua several times.

The third group was Indo-Dutch. The individuals who were of Indo people or Eurasian descent, who lived in West Papua (respondent #2, #6, #7, #9, #18). Their parents moved from the Netherlands East Indies or Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia) to West Papua in the 1940s and 1950s and lived in West Papua until the early 1960s. Some of them were born in West Papua. Several respondents had vivid memories of living in West Papua, while other respondents said that they did not have memories and did not understand what happened at that

time. By living there, these individual actors had a direct connection with West Papua. Only one respondent (#18) was not from West Papua, was not born or did not live in West Papua, and never visited West Papua.

The last group was Dutch. The individuals who were born from both Dutch parents. In this study, they are merely called “Dutch”. Within this group, they were divided based on three criteria. First, Dutch who were born and/or had lived in West Papua when they were still at a young age (toddler – adolescence) because their parents came to West Papua for work (respondent #10, #11, #13, #15, #16, #23, #26). The length of living in West Papua varied between six months and nine years. Depending on the age of the respondents when they lived in West Papua, a number of respondents did not have vivid memories of living in West Papua. In contrast, other respondents said that they had memories and understood what happened. Indo-Dutch had the same experience. By living there, these individual actors had a direct connection with West Papua.

Second, Dutch who had been or had lived in West Papua because of work (respondent #12, #21, #25, #32). In early times, they came as a civil servant, military or missionary. Later, they came as an employee of a company that had a project in West Papua. By this, these individual actors had a direct connection with West Papua as well.

Third, Dutch who did not have a direct connection with West Papua but knew about West Papua by having second-hand knowledge about West Papua (respondent #3, #8, #19, #27, #29, #30, #31, #34). For the older actors, they knew about West Papua from the news when the historical event related to West Papua and the Netherlands took place in the 1960s. For the younger actors, they heard and knew about West Papua for the first time from the literature or Papuan-Dutch in the Netherlands. In this criterion, they all were in a combination of those who had visited and had not visited West Papua.

All the various individual actors in different groups within this study are illustrated in Figure 3 and presented in Table 1 for more detailed information. In the sub-section that follows, the kinds of solidarity among the individual actors will be described.

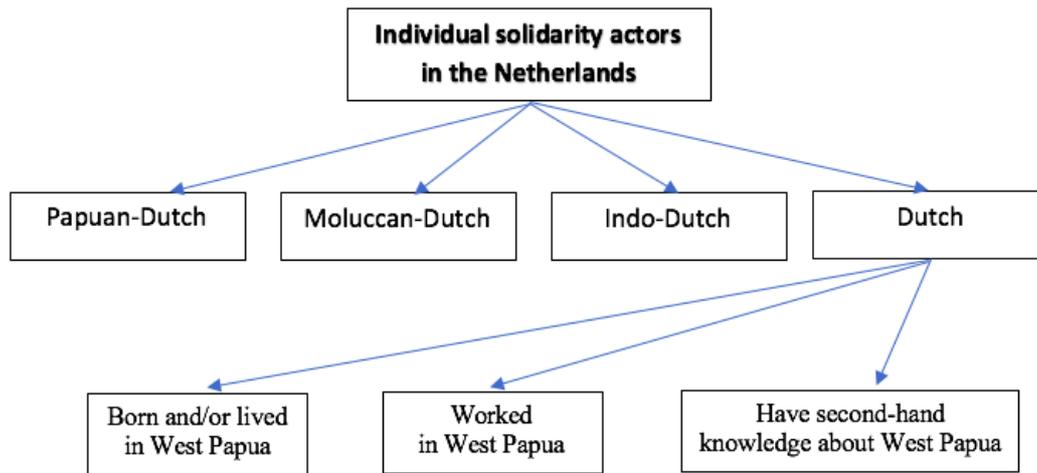


Figure 3. Individual solidarity actors in the Netherlands

| Individual solidarity actors In the Netherlands | | List of respondents | |
|--|---|---|--------------------------------------|
| Papuan-Dutch | Having direct connection with West Papua | #1, #17, #20, #24, #28, #33 | |
| Moluccan-Dutch | Having no direct connection with West Papua | #4, #5, #14, #22 | |
| Indo-Dutch | Having direct connection with West Papua | #2, #6, #7, #9, #18 | |
| Dutch | Born and/or lived in West Papua | Having direct connection with West Papua | #10, #11, #13, #15, #16, #23, #26 |
| | Worked in West Papua | Having direct connection with West Papua | #12, #21, #25, #32 |
| | Having second-hand knowledge about West Papua | Having no direct connection with West Papua | #3, #8, #19, #27, #29, #30, #31, #34 |

Table 1. Individual solidarity actors in the Netherlands

5.1.2 Kinds of solidarity

Having explicated the individual solidarity actors' backgrounds and connection with West Papua, this section addresses the kinds of solidarity. Within these four groups of individual actors, in general, there were different kinds of solidarity that have been found. To begin with, almost all groups of individual actors stood in solidarity with the Papuans for the cause of self-determination or independence of West Papua. Respondent #1 said that her solidarity was related to the independence that the Papuans struggle with, in which she emphasised, "I don't know any West Papuan people, or in the diaspora who's not in solidarity with that. [...] It's very strong, and it's very much alive. I don't think anyone ever gives up on it." (personal communication, June 08, 2020). Respondent #14 was also in solidarity for this cause as he said, "I respect the people of Papua who go for freedom. People in Papua are much further in the fight than we the Moluccans" (personal communication, June 22, 2020). Respondent #2 (personal communication, June 10, 2020) said as well, "This is what I want. I personally want (wish) they get their freedom." The last, respondent #3 explicitly mentioned that he stood in solidarity for the cause of independence (personal communication, June 11, 2020).

Aside from that, some individual actors stood in solidarity with Papuans in West Papua for the oppression. Respondent #7 contended that his existing solidarity was "solidarity with the Papuans that they are more or less disciplined in their own country, they are oppressed. [Thus] they cannot develop [...] My solidarity is that in their culture, they are forced to adopt another culture." (personal communication, June 17, 2020). The contention was similar to respondent #13 (personal communication, June 19, 2020) "I feel solidarity with people who try to establish a right to exist and who are constantly being suppressed by political pressure."

Furthermore, individual actors also stood in solidarity with the needy Papuans. A small part of the respondents had this solidarity. Respondent #21 said that he focused his solidarity on poverty with the poor Papuans in West Papua because "the poor people have all kind of problems, from too little education, too little food, poor housing. That is always a complex whole, of course." (personal communication, June 26, 2020). Similarly, respondent #9 (personal communication, June 16, 2020) also focused her solidarity on the livelihood, the economic situation of the Papuans with the reasoning that the Papuans had almost no jobs, while the transmigrants, non-Papuans who are from other islands in Indonesia living in West Papua, were the ones who had the most jobs and stores there.

5.1.3 Summary

Individuals in the Netherlands who have solidarity with the Papuans living in West Papua had diverse cultural identities. These were Papuan-Dutch, Moluccan-Dutch, Indo-Dutch, and Dutch. Individual solidarity actors from the last group were divided within people who were born and/or had lived in West Papua, had been or had lived in West Papua for work, or had second-hand knowledge about West Papua. Regarding their lived experience, Papuan-Dutch, Indo-Dutch, Dutch with the first and the second criteria had a direct connection with West Papua. In contrast, Moluccan-Dutch and Dutch with the third criteria had an indirect connection.

Within these various groups, individual solidarity actors had three kinds of solidarity. Predominantly, individual solidarity actors stood in solidarity for the cause of self-determination or independence of West Papua. Furthermore, several individual actors stood in solidarity for the oppression. Finally, a small part of actors stood in solidarity for the suffering.

5.2 Solidarity: foundations and actions

Thus far, the background and the connection with West Papua and the kinds of solidarity of individual solidarity actors have been shown. Whereas now, the exploration of the aspects of solidarity in order to understand the solidarity of individual actors in the Netherlands with the Papuans living in West Papua will be presented. This is carried out through the foundations for solidarity and actions of solidarity.

5.2.1 Foundations for solidarity

Based on the interviews, the individual solidarity actors had various foundations for solidarity. To begin with, respondent #33 described that his racial identity as a Papuan motivated him to be in solidarity specifically with the Papuans living in West Papua, as the extract shows:

“My ethnic background, my root is going back to West Papua, to the island of New Guinea. So, therefore, to accept myself as a person, as an individual, I must understand where I’m coming from. And that is the sort of connection and the solidarity with my root, West Papua. And I feel that I am really affiliated with our identity, the way we eat, the way we communicate with each other, which is respecting, apologise.” (personal communication, July 23, 2020).

This description was in line with the statement of respondent #1, who said that she was West Papuan, therefore, she was born with solidarity (personal communication, June 08, 2020). Respondent #17 thought that the first reason for her to be in solidarity was because of her Papuan roots (personal communication, June 24, 2020), and respondent #20, “Because I’m a

Papuan myself. So, for me, it's personal, it's important to have affection, empathy, for my people.” (personal communication, June 26, 2020).

The individual actors above conceived themselves as Papuans. It does not matter whether the individuals are from both Papuan parents or mixed-race parents, as expressed by respondent #20:

“I feel more Papuan than I feel to be a Dutchman. Even though I live here [the Netherlands], I was born here, live my life longer here than in Papua, [however] there's a stronger bond with me and Papua than I have here.” (personal communication, June 26, 2020).

Furthermore, although these individuals were born and raised in the Netherlands, they saw West Papua as their homeland. Respondents #1 (personal communication, June 08, 2020) and #29 (personal communication, July 10, 2020) said that they were raised to grow up in the Dutch society, integrate into and live in the Netherlands. Their parents had encouraged them to do the best they can in the current society where they live in. Nevertheless, they continued to relate to the homeland as the extract shows, “I think I am a Papuan, but I live here, I was born here. So, there was always this thing that is drawn from the motherland, from West Papua” (respondent #29, personal communication, July 10, 2020).

Aside from the reasoning above, some solidarity actors had another similar rationale. Respondent #14 said that he had solidarity with the Papuans in West Papua because he saw the Papuans and Moluccans were “in the same boat”, having “Indonesia as a common enemy” (personal communication, June 22, 2020). This statement was similar to the assertion of respondent #4 that he had a feeling of togetherness with the Papuans by virtue of ‘friendship’ of one enemy, seeing “Indonesia is a coloniser” (personal communication, June 12, 2020).

Furthermore, both respondents #14 and #4 recognised the Papuans in West Papua as brothers and sisters. This recognition is also revealed in the excerpt from respondent #5 (personal communication, June 12, 2020):

“If you see the islands, [West] Papua is basically one of our brothers. It's our neighbour, and I think we feel very strongly connected because we understand what they're going through, and we understand where they came from, what the story is.”

“That comes the Maluku part. I'm in solidarity with West Papua mainly right now because that's the part that makes like a trinity to myself. We have the Netherlands, myself, and Papua. Me as Moluccan. [...] It shows me that I'm in sort of way, I'm connected to them. I do know about Palestine as well, or Hong Kong, or any oppressed cultural group. But what makes me

close to them (the Papuans) right now is the connection in history. The Moluccans want their independence.”

Further, respondent #5 emphasised that the struggle of the Moluccans for independence added an extra layer to her feeling of solidarity.

Next, several other individuals mentioned a different basis for solidarity from the two rational grounds above. To exemplify, respondent #16 (personal communication, June 23, 2020) said that the reason she has solidarity had to do with the emotional bond she feels with West Papua and the people because she was born there. It is remarkable that the respondent stated to have solidarity simply due to seeing West Papua as the birthplace. She was born in Hollandia (now Jayapura) and lived in West Papua for only one year when she was a baby. It means that she did not have real memories of West Papua. Nevertheless, she felt that she had a bond with the region and, therefore, thought it was important to have solidarity with the native inhabitants. She emphasised further that if she was born in South Africa, she would have solidarity for the people who live in South Africa. Respondent #26 also mentioned the connection with the place although he had lived there for only three years:

“Because I lived there as a kid. I think that’s the most important connection that I have. And I feel because I lived there and my parents lived there. I also have the responsibility to do something with it. Because it is a part of my life. And, so, also the future of this land is also a part of my life.” (personal communication, July 8, 2020)

Similarly, respondent #10 (personal communication, June 17, 2020) contended further that if he had never lived in West Papua, he would not have a solidarity like the rest of the Dutch people who do not know about West Papua.

Besides people who had lived in West Papua, individual actors who had worked there also mentioned the same argumentation for their solidarity. As respondent #21 (personal communication, June 26, 2020) explained:

“It [West Papua] has now become my second homeland actually, how strange that may sound. [...] It is usually the case that if you have been somewhere, you may get that connection. And I want to do something for those people. At some point, you get to know those people too. [...] People are much more modest, but so open, that gives a feeling of great warmth. [...] After all, it is the way you interact with those people, how you deal with it, that does give at a given moment creates a bond. And of course, I also see things around me there, in more places. At a given moment you just have a sympathy for the place and also for the people there.”

“On television, in all kinds of other countries, it is too sad for words what you see, [for example] famine. But we cannot help every person. At some point, we have our focus; and those are the people we know and who we deal with. [...] It could also have been a country in Africa. If I had been there, it could have been exactly the same. But, I don’t know it there. [...] [Thus,] our priority is Biak [an island in West Papua], which is close to us.”

Additionally, several people stated that solidarity specifically towards the Papuans was considered to have happened accidentally. For instance, the statement of respondent #25 reveals this view:

“Because I have experience there [West Papua], I had lived there and had worked there for many years to help, develop them [the Papuans]. At the same time, [I] had seen that the works were not very successful in the sense that they remain marginalised. [...] It was just by coincidence. It was a coincidence that I lived there. Therefore, there is more attention to this part of the world than any other part of the world. As I know more about the situation there, I can assess the situation more carefully and more deeply than in other parts of the world, Argentina, for example. I have never been there, so I keep silent about it.” (personal communication, July 8, 2020)

Several actors stated that they also had solidarity with the people worldwide, but their solidarity focus was on the Papuans. The statement of respondent #12 exemplifies this attitude:

“I have solidarity not only with Papuans but everyone in the world. I don't feel like I'm a citizen of Nieuwegein, or Dutch citizen, or European citizen. I'm a world citizen. [...] I can't take the sorrow of the whole world on my neck. So, I have to choose. [...] But Papua is special for me because of the past [...] that I've been there. I've experienced the people.” (personal communication, June 18, 2020)

Some individuals held another distinctive justification for solidarity. Respondents #29, #30, and #31 shared the same sympathy for the right to self-determination within their political organisation. This sympathy was for all human beings. But the focus of their solidarity on the Papuans was because of a historical point of view, the historical connection that the Netherlands has with its former colony of the Dutch East Indies. Based on this, therefore, they limited themselves to the peoples living in this former colony, the Papuans and the Moluccans, who struggle for the right to self-determination. Since in the beginning, respondent #30 had sympathy towards the Papuans as he had followed the debates about West Papua with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Joseph Luns, in the Dutch Lower House of Parliament in the early 1960s. These debates concerned the position of the Netherlands towards Indonesia regarding West Papua and, in particular, the question of whether West Papua should remain a part of the

Netherlands, or would be a part of Indonesia, or would become independent (Vlasblom, 2004). In these debates, the self-determination of Papuans was an important topic. Respondent #30 argued that the Papuans were a distinct people with their own culture and customs compared to the Indonesians. Therefore, he supported that the Papuans have their own independent state instead of being part of Indonesia (personal communication, July 10, 2020).

Identically, respondent #27 believed in “dignity and justice for all” (personal communication, July 9, 2020). Yet, her solidarity was directed to the Papuans due to the consequence of her activity as a human rights activist for East Timor. In her words, “for me, West Papua is a logical next step after Timor.” In addition, as a Dutch, she felt that she has a responsibility towards West Papua as the former colony of the Netherlands. She argued further, “It’s like you almost feel guilty for being focused on Timor and not on Papua.”

A similar reason was also shared by respondent #19 (personal communication, June 25, 2020). He supported the cause for human rights, especially the right to independence for all. The trigger which made his solidarity focus on the Papuans was because he knew about the people from West Papua and heard the personal stories of the people. He argued that the story of West Papua was not finished. It would finish when the people gain their independence. His solidarity was to get the independence closer for the Papuans.

Likewise, respondent #8 (personal communication, June 16, 2020) had solidarity with all oppressed people. The reference to her solidarity foundation was driven by justice, primarily related to the world and its natural environments, longing for a more just world that concerns nature. However, the solidarity towards the oppressed, indigenous people in West Papua was special because of the consequence of a campaign she has been involved in at the university, her contact with the Papuan community in the Netherlands, and later on, because she has relatives by marriage in West Papua. She argued that having direct contact with the oppressed people was a crucial precondition in shaping her solidarity, rather than starting her own solidarity ideas just from the literature.

Finally, the individual actors had the last motive. Several individual actors thought that the Dutch government in the 1960s had made a mistake and abandoned the Papuans. For respondent #12, his statement revealed this thinking:

“We had promised independence for them. But, you know how politics are. They are fairly different to what people want. So, they decided in August 1962 to end the hostility with Indonesians and to give the Indonesians supremacy about Papua without asking the Papuans themselves. So, we left in October 1962 back to Holland without keeping our promise to give

them independence in 1970. And that's part of the solidarity with the Papuans, the unkept promise to give them independence." (personal communication, June 18, 2020)

The description of respondent #12 was similar to that of respondent #13:

"What a pity that our queen at the time, Queen Juliana, also promised those people in a government statement that they would become independent, that they would be guided until then, and that then could come to their own government. But, there is ultimately nothing that came of it. [...] In the end, the original inhabitants of West Papua were abandoned by the Dutch government." (personal communication, June 19, 2020)

Additionally, respondent #15 (personal communication, June 22, 2020) mentioned that she felt sorry for the Papuans remaining colonised, "They were colonised by the Dutch. And now they are colonised by Indonesia. And they never, they can never be themselves or take their own decisions. And, so, it hurts to think of that." Respondent #24 also mentioned about human rights violations experienced by the Papuans, "It's very painful when you think of the excessive situations, like murders and everything, and the abuses, you name it. I can cry for it. I do cry for it" (personal communication, July 1, 2020). Another expression was also given by respondent #29:

"You get angry when you know what's going on there. And there is no freedom there. [...] It's dangerous, and people get killed. And we see the bloody reports every month and particularly at the United Nations. Every day I get messages from human rights defenders or other actors. At the Human Rights level that there are violations taking place every day. So, it angers you. And, that's why I wanted to participate in getting something done." (personal communication, July 10, 2020)

Another kind of expression was concerning the economic condition in West Papua. Respondent #9 stated, "I feel very sorry for them. You can see it in their face. It's hard for them to live there. [...] Because most Papuans have not so much money, no job, or they earn little. They deserve a better life" (personal communication, June 16, 2020). It was in line with the description of respondent #32 (personal communication, July 30, 2020), who mentioned that the Papuans were marginalised. When he came to Jayapura for the first time in the 1960s, he saw that Papuans still had shops. But nowadays, all the shops are in Indonesian (the transmigrants from outside West Papua) hands. The Papuans have no shops and sit outside on the street, selling betel nuts. Moreover, according to respondent #33, the Papuans were blocked from good employment opportunities, in which they did not have the best jobs at the upper level of employment (personal communication, July 23, 2020).

5.2.2 Solidarity actions

Forms of solidarity actions

Solidarity entails taking action. In this regard, the forms of solidarity actions differed. The most common action was giving financial donations. There were two ways financial donations were made. In one way, financial donations were directly given to the Papuans in West Papua when the individuals were visiting West Papua. Respondent #7 said, “We (he and his wife) have been a few times to Jayapura, and there are a lot of children as orphans. We donated an amount there to support. [...] If I want to give something, I want to do that on the spot” (personal communication, June 15, 2020). Giving financial support straight to Papuans in West Papua was also done by setting up a project and establishing a charitable organisation in the Netherlands. In another way, financial donations were given indirectly. In this fashion, it was prevalent that the financial donations were given through development charitable organisations in the Netherlands that focus their help on social-economic development and education projects in West Papua. Besides, through charitable organisations, financial donations were given to private projects. The donations were given through friends or people they knew who give help in West Papua.

“Sometimes friends who visit West Papua. When they, when a friend directly knows somebody in West Papua say “look! he needs a new camera.” or “she needs that.” Then I do it like this because then they bring the money directly to the person.” (Respondent #11, personal communication, June 17, 2020).

Moreover, donations were given to political organisations and/or a political campaign branch in the Netherlands that focus on self-determination or the independence of West Papua. Respondent #4 said that he made merchandise using the symbols of West Papua, such as the flag, in which the selling profit was donated to the political campaign branch in the Netherlands (personal communication, June 12, 2020). The action of respondent #4 was similar to that of respondent #20:

“I have done different donations, but mainly to a political foundation. It is the oldest Papuan organisation here in the Netherlands. [...] It is the oldest youth organisation but also the oldest political organisation here in the Netherlands. I think it is the only organisation I actually donated to for their missions to the United Nations.” (personal communication, June 26, 2020)

Next to giving financial donations, another common solidarity action was raising awareness by informing people and/or organisations about the current condition and situation in West Papua. The aim was to make the Dutch people aware of what is going on in that region.

Several respondents argued that the Dutch media was utterly silent about it. “There are almost no articles about the situation in West Papua” (Respondent #6, personal communication, June 15, 2020). Furthermore, respondent #6 claimed that the Netherlands profited a long time from West Papua in the colonial days. Therefore, the Dutch people should know what is going on in that western part of New Guinea island.

Different actions to raise awareness were undertaken. It was done dominantly by sharing articles or news concerning West Papua on new online media, such as social media or blog. In addition to sharing online, it was done by telling directly in conversation to friends, family, acquaintances, or other (private) people interested in West Papua. Respondent #1 conveyed that she tried to tell the story of West Papua and her personal family story to everyone she knew (personal communication, June 8, 2020). Her statement was corresponding with respondent #5:

“I mostly share. That’s what I was trying to do my part in it. Share the stories, share everything with the world, with the friends that I have. Just to show the situation in the spotlight. So, there is no longer hidden behind the touch of Indonesian systems.” (personal communication, June 12, 2020)

The least common actions in raising awareness were giving (guest)lectures; writing articles or books about West Papua; informing the spokes(wo)men of Dutch political parties, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and numerous organisations, such as Amnesty International and United Nations; organising events; organising and/or signing (e-)petition. Giving (guest)lectures were done by individual actors who have a mixed story between personal (family) story and related with West Papua. Informing institutions or organisations was done by individuals who are involved in (several) organisations, on behalf of the organisation and with the approval of the organisation. Regarding this, writing an open letter was, among others, a way to gain the attention of the Dutch government. Related to organising events, Papua Solidarity Day was an example. The event was held by individuals who were involved in the organisation. In this annual event, one of the guest speakers comes from West Papua, giving the Papuans a voice to tell the audiences in the Netherlands directly about the situation in the field in West Papua. Another event was organising an art exhibition or performance, held by individual actors as artists by profession. In organising and/or signing (e)petitions, to exemplify, respondent #5 said that she had signed several (e-)petitions, such as a petition against racism in Indonesia, a petition against anything that had to do with the oppression of

the Melanesian Papuans and a petition for the injustice of political prisoners in West Papua (personal communication, June 12, 2020).

In the effort of raising awareness, certain events held in the Netherlands were taken advantage of. One of them was the *Nijmeegse Vierdaagse* (International Four Days Marches Nijmegen), a walking sport event held in Nijmegen annually. In this event, the participants come from all over the world from various backgrounds. Solidarity actors who joined this event brought a West Papuan “Morning Star” flag along with them. The idea was to show and introduce the existence of the Morning Star flag to other participants and spectators along the route to trigger questions regarding the flag. Once a participant raised questions about the flag, the actors would tell what flag it was and tell the story about West Papua.

Finally, the last common action of solidarity support was going on demonstration that was usually held by a political campaign in the Netherlands for West Papua. Joining a demonstration was a minor action compared to the two previous actions. The extract from respondent #18 describes the reason for joining a demonstration “I also participate in demonstrations, for example in front of the Vredespaleis, the Peace Palace or the Indonesian embassy because of size, the number, sometimes the number of demonstrators is small, and every extra voice can be of help.” (personal communication, June 25, 2020). Respondent #26 explained his experience and reason for going on demonstration, “That was strange to do. Because it was a long time ago, I went to demonstrations. But I think I had to do it. Just be there” (personal communication, July 8, 2020). This type of action, it might be done frequently or only once in a lifetime.

Decision, limitation, and recognition & reciprocal expectation of solidarity actions

Within solidarity actions for the Papuans, decision, limitation, and recognition and reciprocal expectation in taking solidarity actions were revealed. Regarding the decision to take solidarity action, the first source of decision was self-decision of the solidarity actors themselves. Respondent #1 stated that she did not ask the Papuans what kind of support they needed. She decided herself what actions she took, emphasising, “I never experience people from there [West Papua] really ask me “go to protest”. So, it’s really my own choice for sure.” (personal communication, June 08, 2020). This source was similar to respondent #24, “I do it by myself. Nobody said what I have to do.” Respondent #9 also mentioned that she decided by herself through learning about what was needed in West Papua without asking the solidarity recipient directly.

In contrast with the first, the second source was an indirect source, namely through the Papuan-Dutch, organisations and/or campaigns, or individuals in the Netherlands, either by asking or being asked. Respondent #15 (personal communication, June 22, 2020) pointed out that she relied on a charitable foundation in the Netherlands where she donated financially with the argumentation that the foundation had Papuan members on the board and in West Papua itself and had many connections. Respondent #5 stated that she had never spoken directly to someone in West Papua. It always had been through the friends she had or a political campaign in the Netherlands (personal communication, June 12, 2020). Respondent #18 (personal communication, June 25, 2020) contended that it was safe for her and the Papuans in West Papua via the Papuan community in the Netherlands. Regarding this, respondent #31 asserted, “The Papuans here in the Netherlands work [politically] for the Papuans there” (personal communication, July 10, 2020).

The last source of decision was from the Papuans living in West Papua as the solidarity recipient itself by talking with or asking them. Respondent #20 said, “I have talked to them about what they need and what they want. Many plenties of times. The time when I was here [in the Netherlands], or the time that I was there [in West Papua].” Nevertheless, he also said, “They didn’t tell me exactly what to do, but I knew exactly what to do.” This statement is parallel with respondent #21:

“We drive all over the island [Biak], so they could tell exactly what was needed. And also, having conversations with the people there, we did that often. [...] We went to the pastor in the village and we asked what the most aid is needed. Through the pastor there (because) he knows basically everything. [...] Because of that, we came to certain types of help. And that mainly included schooling and things like that.” (personal communication, June 26, 2020)

Finally, respondent #27 said that she talked directly with the Papuans although she had never been to West Papua:

“With the Papuans that came from Papua to the Netherlands, with Papuans that I met in East Timor, and Papuans that I met at a conference in Bali. I always tell them, “I am from the Netherlands. What do you want Dutch activists to do for Papua?”” (personal communication, July 9, 2020)

Though the actors were willing to act, performing particular action depended on individuals’ ability to do, such as time, opportunity, and expertise and profession. The extract from the statement of respondent #28 shows how opportunity enabled him to join the demonstration:

“Sometimes I go to The Hague when we protest. But, that’s when another group organises something, and I’m free and available and ‘Okay, I’ll go.’ But, there has to be a possibility. I’m an entrepreneur. I have my business here. We live in an expensive society here.” (personal communication, July 10, 2020)

The actors did not always want or were not able to express their solidarity into particular actions. There were four reasons for hindering. The first justification was safety. According to respondent #1, her action was raising awareness, but she would not go fully activist as she was afraid that she could not see her family anymore (personal communication, June 8, 2020). For respondent #11 (personal communication, June 17, 2020), she did not always post articles about West Papua on her social media. She did it ‘very limited’ as she was very aware of the ‘consequences of things’. The second argument was a concern of being refused to enter Indonesia if the actors were involved in politics or had a connection with the political campaign for West Papua. As respondent #23 stated:

“It was a strange feeling that I thought the Indonesian government watch that kind of organisation, and I don’t know how much they know about that organisation and which people are with that organisation. And then I thought, “Yes, I think about it that I would like to do” because I thought maybe if one time I will go back to West Papua, they say “No. You have a connection with them.”” (personal communication, June 30, 2020)

The third reason was belief. This is exemplified in the view of respondent #21 that he did not sign any (e-)petition if there was a petition for West Papua because, according to him, signing (e-)petition did not bring about much effect (personal communication, June 26, 2020). The last reason was a personal situation. Having a job and location of residence might hinder individual actors from acting. For example, because of these both situations, respondent #24 could not take part in demonstrations all the time when there was a protest that usually took place in The Hague. Living in the northern part of the Netherlands and having a job had limited her to join demonstrations, she added.

Related to doing actions, all solidarity actors stated that they only wanted to help or support the others who were oppressed or in a needy situation and did not need any recognition, as can be seen in the excerpt from the statement of respondent #11, “not for my own purpose, only for the purpose that the country will be free” (personal communication, June 17, 2020). This statement resonated with the notion of respondent #20. “It’s not really necessary that they know what I did. As far as they receive and get a better future from it. [...] What was important

is that their lives get better” (personal communication, June 26, 2020). The non-reciprocal expectation was also shown by respondent #5:

“And, of course, they can help us in the fight to be independent. But personally, I want them to be independent first. That to focus on themselves first, get them safe, and do anything that has to be done for their independence.” (personal communication, June 12, 2020)

5.2.3 Summary

There were diverse foundations for solidarity among the individual solidarity actors. Several individuals mentioned that their root and place of origin of the ancestor as their homeland were the motivations to have solidarity with the Papuans. With this, identity was the foundation for solidarity. Moreover, some other individual actors stated that the Papuans and their own people in a group, where these individuals belong, were “in the same boat”, had a common enemy, and acknowledged the Papuans as brothers and sisters. These were the reasons that encouraged them to stand in solidarity. With this, brotherhood in struggle was the foundation for solidarity. Furthermore, numerous solidarity actors said that their emotional bond with West Papua and the people had motivated them to be in solidarity with the Papuans. Herewith, place tie was the foundation for solidarity. Then, certain people revealed their support for the right to self-determination and a cause for human rights, and their belief in dignity and justice, with a combination of close proximity to West Papua and the Papuans as stimuli to stand in solidarity with the Papuans. By this means, idealism was the foundation for solidarity. However, all solidarity actors felt emotions such as guilt, sorry, pity, anger, and sadness about what happened with the Papuans in the past and the current situation, have solidarity with the Papuans. By means of this, empathy or sympathy was the foundation for solidarity. Thus, there were five foundations: identity, brotherhood in struggle, place tie, idealism, and empathy or sympathy. By seeing all foundations, the first four foundations for solidarity were possessed by specific individuals depend on the group where they belong, while the last foundation was possessed by all individuals regardless of the group.

Regarding solidarity actions, all individual solidarity actors took actions, and certain individuals took at least one action with specific reasoning. There were three common actions, giving financial donations, raising awareness, and joining demonstrations. When individuals gave donations, they gave it directly to the Papuans in West Papua or indirectly via organisation, private projects, political organisations and/or a political campaign branch in the Netherlands. In raising awareness by informing the current condition and situation in West Papua to make Dutch people aware of the region, the forms were diverse. These were sharing

articles or news concerning West Papua on new online media; telling directly in conversation to friends, family, and acquaintances, or other (private) people; giving (guest)lectures; writing articles or books about West Papua; informing the spokes(wo)men of Dutch political parties, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and numerous organisations; organising events; and organising and/or signing (e-)petition. In joining demonstrations, it might be done frequently or only once in a lifetime.

In taking solidarity actions, it entailed various issues. The first issue was sources of decision. A decision was from the actor itself, through the Papuan-Dutch, organisations and/or campaigns, or individuals in the Netherlands, or from the Papuans living in West Papua. The second issue was a limitation in taking actions, in which the actors did not always want or were not able to express their solidarity into certain actions due to a particular reason. Overall, there were four reasons: safety, a concern of being refused to enter Indonesia, belief, and personal situation. The last issue of solidarity actions was that the individuals merely wanted to help or support and did not require any recognition from the Papuans as the solidarity recipients.

5.3 Network

Having described the foundations for solidarity and solidarity actions, a description of networks that individual actors have will be presented in this section. In the solidarity of individual solidarity actors in the Netherlands, there were several typologies of network. In these network typologies, there is some overlapping with individual characteristics, which is hard to avoid. Part of the instrument used in characterising the individuals does have a network notion in it. In this section, it is not about the individuals but networks.

The first network was family network, that is having contact with the immediate and/or extended family members related to West Papua. Fifteen solidarity actors had this network. Respondent #1, her network was her grandfather. She stated that she was influenced by her grandfather, a West Papuan figure, but her grandfather did not ask her specifically and explicitly to do something related to West Papua, “my granddad was the vice president of West Papua council. And, he told me a lot of story about it, and of course I was raised by this story and it’s a huge part of it.” Furthermore, from her family, she became knowledgeable about West Papua and its people. The similarity was shown by respondent #5. She said that when she was young, her parents told her about Indonesian history: the connection between them and the Netherlands, West Papua, and Timor Leste. Through the network with her parents, her parents’ story made her interested in the places of her origin, questioning, researching, deepening, and finally being kept busy about it (personal communication, October 10, 2020). And, eventually,

she had solidarity for the Papuans in West Papua, according to her. Respondent #13 also mentioned the same:

“My parents were very deeply involved in that (West Papua), and you get that as a child. In addition, as a child, you get to know how your parents here in the Netherlands deal with the politics concerning the Papuan and the Moluccan movement. Whether you want it or not, you get that. And that remains.” (personal communication, June 19, 2020).

Interaction with family was not only with immediate family members but also with extended family, as respondent #14 (personal communication, June 22, 2020) mentioned, “I also grew up with the Papuans (family and neighbour) in our Moluccan neighbourhood. And then you also see their struggle for their independence at that time. Then you also automatically show an interest in their fight. And it starts at a very young age.” Furthermore, he argued that if maybe he had grown up with people from Timor or something, he might have focused more on Timor. For respondent #8, her solidarity for oppressed people was focused more on people in West Papua, arguing, “in West Papua, it will be maybe a little stronger because I have relatives in West Papua” (personal communication, June 16 2020).

The second network was a friend or acquaintance network, consisting of having contact with friends or acquaintances, mainly those who had lived or had been in West Papua in the 1950s and 1960s. Ten individuals had this network. According to respondent #6 (personal communication, June 15, 2020), he had a network with friends who had a similar background as he had, Indo-Dutch, who had lived in West Papua. But for him, this network did not influence the emergence of his solidarity. He mentioned that his solidarity emerged since he left West Papua in the 1960s “I have always been interested in the fate of the Papuan people ever since I arrived here (the Netherlands).” With his friends, he took solidarity action to make the Dutch people aware of what is going on in West Papua by standing up for the West Papuan case on Facebook.

In addition, respondent #9 (personal communication, June 16, 2020) had also this network, but she stated that having contact with her friends who were born in West Papua like her, through the stories that they had, has helped her to have solidarity towards the people in West Papua. Meanwhile, because of work, respondent #13 (personal communication, June 19, 2020) had contact with veterans who had been in West Papua in the 1950s and 1960s. From them, she knew the situation in West Papua. Finally, from having contact with friends and colleagues who travelled to West Papua, respondent #16 (personal communication, June 23,

2020) said that she started thinking about West Papua and having knowledge about West Papua. She added further that due to this, her solidarity feeling emerged.

The third network was Papuan community network, consisting of having contact with Papuans living in the Netherlands. Thirty people had this network. The ones who had contact only with Papuans living in the Netherlands had never been to West Papua or had not been to West Papua anymore since they left in the 1960s or had no prior knowledge about West Papua. More specifically, individuals who did not have a direct connection with West Papua and had no prior knowledge about West Papua usually had this one single network in the beginning. Respondent #3 exemplified this network and said that he knew West Papua from a Papuan-Dutch family in the beginning:

“I got in contact with a Papuan community through my (Papuan) in-law family [...]. And through the years, I’ve gotten to know the family better, and also the culture better, because there are a lot of family meetings and a lot of activities. So, every time I went to those activities and I spoke to the Papuan people, I learned more and more about the story. Which I initially didn’t know that much because Papua isn’t that known in Holland. But as I spoke to more people, I got to learn more about it.” (personal communication, June 11, 2020)

Afterwards, by having this initial knowledge, the solidarity towards the Papuans in West Papua emerged, as he confided, “The more stories and experiences I hear from different families fleeing to the Netherlands, the more I realise how much it has affected others from everywhere in West Papua.” (personal communication, October 26, 2020).

Another example is respondent #34, who only knew and had contact merely with one single Papuan-Dutch.

“To be honest, I didn’t know where West Papua was in the world and what kind of country it was before I met Septinus (pseudonym). And I was reading two months ago the book "extinction rebellion", "nu het nog kan". [...] In this book, Septinus wrote a story about the relation between West Papua and climate change and the extinction rebellion. And I was so shocked when I read this story that I was like, why I didn’t see all those connections between climate change, racism, and colonialism. And why I didn’t know anything about West Papua. [...] We talked for an hour about West Papua, how I was feeling about racism and a lot of different topics. And I think that was my first connection with West Papua. That I was getting more the story of West Papua known.” (personal communication, August 14, 2020)

Because of her network with the Papuan community, from knowing West Papua through the Papuan-Dutch, respondent #34 had solidarity specifically towards the Papuans. “I think because of the personal story of Septinus. [...] it’s hard to focus on everything if you don’t

have a personal connection. And I have a personal connection with Septinus, and that's really helped me." (personal communication, August 14, 2020). For respondent #27 (personal communication, July 09, 2020), according to her, through a solidarity movement for East Timor (Timor-Leste) in the Netherlands, she met the Papuan-Dutch, made the most personal connection with them. This good interaction gave her insight into what was going on in West Papua and has led her to have solidarity towards the Papuans after East Timor gained its independence. Somewhat different than previous respondents, respondent #26, who already had solidarity had a different experience. He said that his solidarity grew because "the personal stories they tell help in understanding what is happening in West Papua in the past and in these days" (personal communication, November 2, 2020).

The fourth network was dual Papuan network, consisting of having contact both with the Papuans living in the Netherlands and West Papua. This network distinguishes the last category, which merely concerned contact with Papuans living in the Netherlands. Twenty-four people had this type of network. Solidarity actors had dual Papuan networks mainly because of visiting West Papua. The ones who had never been to West Papua had contact through social media. Within this network, the actors had different experiences. Respondent #12 said that the contact with the Papuans, either in the Netherlands or abroad, came much later. Specifically, having contact with the Papuans in West Papua has begun after the start of social media around the years 2005-2006. Nevertheless, he stated that, in general, this kind of network did not influence his solidarity (personal communication, October 22, 2020). This experience was similar to another actor. According to respondent #10 (personal communication, October 26, 2020), his solidarity had nothing to do with the interaction with the Papuans. He said that his solidarity was always there, but he had no idea how to handle or what to do with his solidarity for the Papuan people in West Papua. Nevertheless, due to his contacts with the Papuans living in the Netherlands, he could start doing real things, such as establishing a charitable foundation for West Papua.

In contrast with what has been mentioned before, respondent #24 said that when she was more involved with actions or meetings with other Papuan-Dutch in the Netherlands, she found some company in her ideas that made her solidarity with the Papuans in West Papua stronger. Furthermore, according to her, her solidarity became also stronger when she had contact with the Papuans in West Papua because of her visit, "It always opens my eyes more and will be more motivated to do something." (personal communication, July 1, 2020). Strengthening solidarity due to having dual Papuan contact was also mentioned by respondent #20, "I have more empathy, more feelings for them than I had before" (personal

communication, June 26, 2020). Likewise, respondent #17 (personal communication, November 3, 2020) stated that recent contacts helped her understand the severe meaning of living under pressure and not being able to speak out for the Papuans in West Papua. This understanding made her realise the importance of solidarity.

The fifth network was organisation network, consisting of having contact with organisations in the Netherlands and/or in West Papua. Twenty-seven solidarity actors had this network. Within this network, the actors had contact with organisations as they were (board)members. Respondents #29 and #31 were board members of a political organisation in the Netherlands that focused on the right to self-determination. Within their organisation, they first had sympathised with the Moluccan community in the Netherlands for their wish for an independent state, the Republic of South Maluku (RMS). Through the organisation and because the Moluccan community has sympathy for the Papuans, they began to sympathise with the Papuans. The sympathy led to solidarity with the Papuans. Besides due to being (board)members of the organisations, the individuals also had contact with other organisations as their organisations worked together. Respondent #19 said that he was involved in the human rights group for the Moluccas. His organisation worked together with, among others, a campaign for West Papua (personal communication, June 25, 2020).

Furthermore, the actors had contact with organisations because they were donors of the organisations. As donors, they were informed about the current situation in West Papua. Some individuals also had no direct contact with organisations but merely followed organisations' social media after they had the Papuan community network. Because of this, they also knew what happened in West Papua. Thus, the individuals had different experiences from the organisation network. Because of this network, most of them knew the situation of what happened in the area. Moreover, from the organisations, they had connections with the Papuans living in the Netherlands as well. Finally, several actors said that the solidarity also became more substantial due to this network, as mentioned by respondent #23 (personal communication, November 09, 2020) "Because of the organisation my solidarity strengthens".

5.3.1 Summary

There were five networks in this research. These were family network, friend or acquaintance network, Papuan community network, dual Papuan network, and organisation network. The family network consisted of having contact with the immediate and/or extended family members. This network affected establishing solidarity with the Papuans living in West Papua. The friend or acquaintance network consisted of having contact with friends or acquaintances.

This network exerted an effect on knowing West Papua. It also affected the emergence of solidarity for individuals who did not have a sense of solidarity feeling towards the Papuans. However, this network did not affect one's solidarity when the individual already had a solidarity feeling but taking solidarity action. The Papuan community network consisted of having contact with Papuan-Dutch only. This network brought about having initial knowledge about West Papua, the emergence of solidarity, and strengthening solidarity. The Dual Papuan network consisted of having contact with the Papuans living in the Netherlands and West Papua. On the one hand, this network produced an effect on strengthening solidarity for individuals who mostly had a solidarity feeling from having an initial family network. On the other hand, this network did not affect individuals' solidarity for those who already had solidarity in the beginning without the influence of any network. Nevertheless, they were able in taking solidarity actions because of this network. Finally, the organisation network consisted of having contact with organisations in the Netherlands and/or in West Papua. This network had several effects. These were knowing West Papua, taking solidarity actions, interacting with the Papuan community in the Netherlands, and strengthening a solidarity feeling for those who had already a solidarity feeling from having an initial family network.

Chapter 6. Discussion of empirical results

Following the description of empirical data gathered through the interviews, this chapter contains the second part of the empirical results of the qualitative analysis. Here, the empirical data in the previous chapter is discussed. The first discussion is about the connection between the individual actor and solidarity. The second discussion is concerning the connection between the individual actor and aspects of solidarity. And the last discussion is relating to the connection between the individual actor, network, and solidarity. At the end of the chapter, the conceptual framework is revisited.

6.1 The connection between individual actor and solidarity

As shown in section 5.1, the individual actors in the Netherlands who had solidarity with the Papuans living in West Papua were heterogeneous. They were Papuan-Dutch, Moluccan-Dutch, Indo-Dutch, and Dutch background. This heterogeneous formation is understandable considering that the Netherlands consists of a multi-ethnic society from the late 1950s. One of the causes for multi-ethnic society was immigration from its former colonies, as an effect of historical ties, the Dutch East Indies and Dutch New Guinea, in which Dutch, Moluccans, Eurasians, and Papuans from the areas came to the Netherlands (UCL, n.d.; Jouwe, 2012). Within this variation, one thing was prominent in the sense that they had one most common thing: they were connected with West Papua. This connection has led the actors to have solidarity with the Papuans living in West Papua specifically. Without it, the solidarity of individual actors in the Netherlands with the others or certain others might be with anyone.

For the individual solidarity actors who were not connected with West Papua but had solidarity with the Papuans living in West Papua, it can be argued that by living in the Netherlands, given the history that the Netherlands had with its former colonies, people in the Netherlands had the opportunity to develop a sense of solidarity towards the Papuans. It should be noted that this study is not suggesting a glorification of colonialism in the sense that colonialism (West Papua was a former colony of the Netherlands, see section 4.1) encourages solidarity, per se: bad happened in the past has a positive effect on people in the development of solidarity in the future. However, this research emphasises that the history between both places affected the solidarity establishment. In this case, it was just by chance that the history was a colonialist history, a colonial relation history between the Netherlands and its former colony. It is proven from the statement of respondent #32 stating, “We already have a relationship with Papua [...] the relationship still exists because of history. History means we

are also responsible. We in the Netherlands are responsible for Papua (people), I think.” (personal communication, July 30, 2020).

Regarding the effect of history on solidarity, on the one hand, the actors of Moluccan descent had an indirect connection with West Papua. Still, they had solidarity towards the Papuans in West Papua. It can be understood because they were connected with the former colony of the Netherlands, Indonesia. Meanwhile, Indonesia had a connection with West Papua (see section 4.2). On the other hand, Dutch solidarity actors who had no direct connection with West Papua had also solidarity because they knew what happened in West Papua, either from the news, literature, or Papuan-Dutch. This knowledge was also due to the historical ties between the Netherlands and West Papua, the former colony of the Netherlands. Finally, this knowledge has influenced people in the Netherlands to possess solidarity towards the Papuans in particular. Without the history that the Netherlands has with its former colonies, there was a possibility that the solidarity of people in the Netherlands with the Papuans specifically would not exist.

It was also evidence of why the backgrounds of solidarity actors for the Papuans were very specific. None of the solidarity actors had a Moroccan or Turkish background, for instance. It is because they do not have a relation or connection, either with West Papua or Indonesia. Therefore, without a “special” connection, in this case, a special relationship because of history, solidarity with “particular others” would not have occurred.

Turning now to the kinds of solidarity, the backgrounds of solidarity actors determined the existence of solidarity. As mentioned in section 5.1, most individual actors stood in solidarity with the Papuans for the cause of self-determination or struggle for independence. This solidarity was dominant among individual actors, especially within the group of individual actors of Papuan-Dutch and Moluccan-Dutch.

None of the Papuan-Dutch solidarity actors did not stand in solidarity for this cause. Clearly, it had to do with the history of West Papua in the past that the Papuans were promised to gain independence by the Dutch government, and according to this group, the Papuans were entitled to independence. For Moluccan-Dutch, it has to do with their similar history of struggle to be independent from Indonesia, in which the Dutch government had promised them a Moluccan state, Republik Maluku Selatan (RMS). To this day, the state does not exist.

Furthermore, this kind of solidarity for the cause of self-determination or struggle for independence hints to conflict. Thus, it can be said that conflict played a role. Herein, conflict shaped the kind of solidarity of individual actors. Solidarity for the cause of self-determination or struggle for independence can be considered as a kind of solidarity-related conflict.

It was different among individual actors in other groups, Indo-Dutch and Dutch, regarding the first kind of solidarity. The kinds of solidarity of them were mixed of three kinds of solidarity that have been found within this research. Herein, Indo-Dutch and Dutch did not have a specific history related to who they are, interest or wish (for example, for independence), except that they have been to or lived in West Papua and/or knew about the region. Their backgrounds have led them not to have one specific kind of solidarity. This study argues that it depends on their distinct ideas and mindsets how they identified and saw the Papuans regarding the lived situation of the Papuans in West Papua, that is to say, the perspectives for one of the solidarity foundations in the following section.

6.2 The connection between individual actor and aspects of solidarity

6.2.1 Foundations for solidarity

This study has found various sources for the emergence of solidarity by the individual actors in the Netherlands who had solidarity with the Papuans based on section 5.2.1. These were identity, brotherhood in struggle, place tie, idealism, and empathy or sympathy as the foundations for solidarity. Identity was the first foundation for solidarity. This foundation was specifically visible in individual actors of Papuan descent who pointed to their root as the source of the emergence of solidarity. Identifying the identity and place of origin of the ancestor has led them to be in solidarity with their fellow people who live in the place of origin. Herein, the identity and place of origin incurred a moral obligation to be in solidarity with ‘certain others’. Therefore, individual actors with Papuan descent had solidarity with the Papuans living in West Papua, especially those in a needy situation. For them, the Papuans in West Papua were considered to be ‘one of us’. Thus, based on identity and a feeling of being ‘the same’ with the Papuans, there was a sense of necessity to be solidary. In addition to that, as these individual actors continued to relate to their ancestral homeland, the solidarity towards fellow people in the ancestor homeland emerged. It corresponds with the notion of Safran (1991) that the orientation of homeland, either the homeland is real or imagined, significantly influences the emergence of the solidarity of the individuals in the diaspora. In that respect, Papuan-Dutch had not only solidarity towards their fellow Papuans living in the Netherlands but also with Papuans living in West Papua.

Brotherhood in struggle was the second basis for solidarity. The individual actors of Moluccan descent mostly experienced this type of foundation. It can be explained because the Moluccans in the Netherlands predominantly wish for an independent Moluccan state in the Moluccas, Indonesia. According to Margriet Rozema (2018), the wish for a state among the

Moluccan-Dutch remains today. It means that they have the same interest and goal as the Papuans who wish for “Papua merdeka” (independent Papua). Both are longing for self-determination or independence from Indonesia. Consequently, the ones who had this aspiration incline to stand in solidarity with the Papuans and support the cause for independence. The fact that having a feeling of Indonesia as one mutual enemy and recognising the Papuans as brothers and sisters for their independence struggle has proven to be the cause of having solidarity with the Papuans in West Papua specifically.

This foundation shows that conflict played out in the emergence of solidarity with. Herein, the conflict was related to self-determination or independence. From this conflict, by having the interest to become independent from Indonesia and seeing Indonesia as an enemy, the Papuans were recognised as brothers and sisters in struggle. Eventually, it created an alliance from other people from a certain background or group with a shared interest and common enemy. The conflict played a role in establishing a solidarity foundation.

Place tie was the third source of solidarity. It commonly occurred with individual actors who lived or worked in West Papua. That is to say, this source of solidarity was possessed by Indo-Dutch and Dutch individual actors who were born and/or had lived in West Papua when they were young and who had been to West Papua for work. In terms of theory related to place, according to Schuermans et al. (2013, p. 5), “people maintain deep emotional ties to places”. Eventually, this emotional tie to a place has impacted in shaping solidarity towards the inhabitants living in that particular place where one lives or had been or lived in the past. This research argues that visiting or living for work in West Papua created a connection feeling towards the place through the interaction with the Papuans. This special connection with the place and the people by knowing West Papua and the people has resulted the individual actors in having solidarity specifically. That was “special” solidarity with the Papuans in West Papua rather than with other people living in another corner of the globe. By this, this research challenges theoretical perspectives that view that place will decline its significance as a foundation for solidarity (Crow, 2001).

Idealism was the fourth basis for solidarity towards the Papuans. This foundation was mainly visible among individual solidarity actors who indirectly connected with West Papua but had second-hand knowledge about West Papua. This foundation emerged because the individuals are longing for a just world: a desire to erect justice, support dignity, or stand up for a certain right. In this case, sympathy for the right to self-determination or support for the cause for human rights related to the right to independence, as shown in section 5.2, hints to conflict. And by this, the conflict played out in the emergence of solidarity with. From the

existence of conflict, by having an interest in a just world, the Papuans were recognised as victims. This view triggered sympathy. Eventually, it created an alliance with other people who are not involved in the conflict and have no common enemy. The conflict played a role in establishing a solidarity foundation.

Nevertheless, idealism itself was clearly not sufficient to make individual actors' solidarity focused on certain people. By just having an ideal worldview, solidarity could be addressed towards anyone, for all human beings regardless of who they are or where they are from. Therefore, this general motive of basic value for humanity must be narrowed down by the historical connection between the Netherlands and West Papua, supported by the interaction that the individuals had with the Papuans living in the Netherlands or other people who had experienced what happened in West Papua. An idealism possession combined with closeness connection, either history or network, had the consequence of making the feeling of solidarity for the others to become specific. Meaning, having an ideal perspective combined with a close connection with West Papua has tended to encourage the individuals in the Netherlands to have solidarity towards the Papuans. Otherwise, particularistic solidarity disposition towards them might not exist.

Last, empathy or sympathy was the fifth basis for solidarity towards the Papuans. Unlike the former four foundations for solidarity that were possessed by specific individual actors based on their background or connection with West Papua, this source of commitment was found by all individual solidarity actors.

Clearly, all of them had a feeling of empathy or sympathy for the Papuans for what they had been through in the past and the current situation expressed in various ways, such as anger, pity, or sadness, related to issues of human right violations, economic condition, or marginalisation. A demonstration of various expressions by individual actors in the Netherlands about negative experiences of the Papuans has shown that the actors had a cognitive understanding or empathy for the Papuans in West Papua. It also means that the individuals referred to Papuans' social standpoint and social context, which was considered different from the situation of the individual actors in the Netherlands. Having empathy or sympathy for the Papuans and recognising Papuans' social standpoint or social contexts has impacted fostering solidarity with the Papuans among individual solidarity actors in the Netherlands.

This foundation for solidarity is in line with Gould's view on the basis for transnational solidarity (2007) that cross-border solidarity encompasses cognitive understanding or empathy for others by understanding the others' situation and putting oneself to others' feelings and

needs. It also corresponds with the notion of May (1996) that moral virtues, for instance, empathy in combination with recognition of the others' plight, can stimulate individuals to come to one another's aid.

Nevertheless, this study argues that the last foundation, empathy or sympathy, does not always stand alone for what is called a "particularistic solidarity". To feel empathy or sympathy for the Papuans, the solidarity actors might initially hold one of the four foundations: identity, brotherhood in struggle, place tie, or idealism possession combined with a close connection. Within this study, these five foundations can be looked upon in the form of layers. The first four foundations refer to a first layer foundation for solidarity, while the last foundation refers to a second layer foundation for solidarity. The second layer foundation is present when the first layer initially emerges. Then, this study found a multi-layer foundation for solidarity with, beyond the national border. It is because empathy or sympathy for solidarity can be for anybody. To make the solidarity specific, individuals need the first layer.

To conclude, individual actors in the Netherlands had a certain basis or foundation for solidarity towards the Papuans. Identity, brotherhood in struggle, place tie, idealism possession combined with closeness connection, and empathy or sympathy played a role in fostering solidarity towards the Papuans. A single foundation of the first layer was enough to encourage individual actors in solidarity with the Papuans. This foundation depended on who the actors were (the backgrounds of solidarity actors) and their experiences.

6.2.2 Solidarity actions

Solidarity involves a readiness to act in support of the others in needs. Regarding this, there were some findings based on section 5.2.2. The first finding was the forms of solidarity actions. This study has found that the forms of actions varied (giving financial donations, raising awareness, and joining demonstration), depending on the solidarity actors themselves. The thing that was standing out was all individual actors were taking and/or have taken (certain) solidarity action(s) for their solidarity with the Papuans in West Papua. Taking solidarity actions then corresponds with the notion of Stjernø (2005), where the actors of solidarity are prepared to act through personal contributions to the people who are in struggle or in a needy situation. It is also in line with Laitinen and Pessi (2014b) contention that solidarity involves a practical nature to act rather than merely a passive feeling. In exceptional circumstances, the one who started having (the sense of) solidarity would think first about what kind of actions he or she could take. It can be said then that solidarity action(s) was an activity(s) manifestation from the impact of solidarity possessed by individual actors.

Analysing each of the kinds of solidarity actions deeper, the similarity and difference among them were present. Regarding giving financial supports, it was done by the majority of individual actors. It can be explained from the current situation of West Papua as an underdeveloped region, for example, poverty. Individuals who had contact with individuals or organisations in West Papua or visited the region had allowed them to give the donation directly to the Papuans, while individuals who did not have this kind of opportunity has incited them to donate indirectly to certain organisations/campaigns or private project. Furthermore, actors who paid attention to and support self-determination or the independence cause were mainly triggered to donate to political organisations or a campaigning branch in the Netherlands that focus on that cause. Regarding the last action, this action also shows the importance of conflict, in the sense that conflict played a role in taking certain solidarity actions related explicitly to conflict issue.

Concerning raising awareness, this action was taken because of the actors' view that Dutch media was completely silent about their former colony, seeing the Papuans as a forgotten people. Clearly, this notion has induced them to do it. Furthermore, most individual actors from different groups have tended to write and/or share articles or news concerning West Papua and tell directly in conversation to friends, family, and acquaintances, or other (private) people who were interested in West Papua. It was because these actions are easy to undertake and can be carried out by everyone. However, certain actions were exclusive because not all solidarity actors were able or had the privilege to perform them.

Regarding joining the demonstration, this action was taken because of the actors' opinion to show solidarity, show their support. Joining a demonstration was not always having the purpose of drawing attention or even demanding change. It showed the results of the previous chapter from the statements of respondent #18 and #26, for instance, stating "sometimes the number of demonstrators is small and every extra voice can be of help" and "just be there".

Within this study, considering the kinds of actions that have been found, it is safe to say that most of them could be seen as non-violent actions. Also, they can be considered as low risk/cost forms of solidarity actions. The most striking of the actions was that none of them was new. Still, the forms of actions were related to Papuans' social standpoint or social contexts identified by the individuals and were to show solidarity. Without these, certain actions would not be taken.

The second finding was the decision to take solidarity actions. Regarding solidarity actions, Gould (2007) states that aid or support action requires the allowance for the others, the

people in the oppressive and needy situation, decide the kinds of aid or support most favourable to them. It is argued further that the others in need are the ones who know and express the wished and expected aid or support. This study has proven that it was not always the case. Only the ones who had contact with the solidarity recipients could ask the exact forms of aid and support they need. By doing this, the respondents have allowed the Papuans to decide the kinds of aid support most valuable to them. The individual actors who did not have contact with the Papuans living in West Papua could not ask what kinds of aid or support the Papuans wish and expect, relying on the second source through their networks established in the Netherlands. Consequently, this has prevented the individual actors from finding out the exact types of aid or support, although the information from the indirect sources was actual and factual.

Nevertheless, although the solidarity actors had contact with the Papuans, they did not always ask the support forms. Furthermore, even though the decision to act was from direct and indirect sources, in the end, the decision of certain forms of aid or support was determined by the individual actors themselves, their own initiative. It has demonstrated the agency of individual actors to act in solidarity because the nature of solidarity action was on a voluntary basis.

The third finding was that solidarity actions entailed a limitation to act based on individual actors' decision in taking certain solidarity action(s). That is to say, the individual actors were not always able or did not want to express their solidarity in certain ways or constantly proved that taking solidarity actions was not without its boundary lines. Ability and personal reasons have impacted the personal contribution of solidarity actions, whether they can be made or not.

Finally, this study has found that the solidarity of individual actors in the Netherlands with the Papuans did not involve a reciprocal expectation of support and aid being given and no need for any recognition from the Papuans in West Papua. It can be explained because the individual actors in the Netherlands did not share a situation of oppression or suffering as the Papuans in West Papua did. Thus, the finding has shown that it does not correspond with the notion of Gould (2007), whereby solidarity may involve a reciprocal expectation of aid from the others. Clearly, having solidarity did not automatically mean hoping or requiring reciprocity. David Miller (2017) calls this a one-way relationship. In this matter, the individual actors merely showed solidarity towards the Papuans, in which their position was only to express their solidarity by helping and supporting the oppressed or needy Papuans.

6.2.3 Linkage between foundations and actions

Connecting the foundations and the actions from the results, it can be said that a foundation for solidarity affected taking certain action to a certain extent. Not all foundations gave the same linear effect on solidarity actions. This research argues that identity and place tie as foundations for solidarity had no impact on certain actions, while brotherhood in struggle, idealism, and empathy or sympathy had.

Regarding identity and place tie, they led to only having solidarity towards the Papuans living in West Papua. Identity created a sense of sameness and finally solidarity feeling towards the Papuans. Still, it did not encourage the solidarity actors to perform particular action-related identity based on what kind of identity they have. It also applied for place tie. None of the actors who had this foundation took one certain action. Or the other way around: no one mentioned their actions based on place tie.

On the contrary, brotherhood in struggle, idealism, and empathy or sympathy led to not only having solidarity but also led to certain actions. It is because these foundations entail issues or causes that require certain actions. In more detail, brotherhood in struggle involves issues of having an interest for independence. To attain it, individual solidarity actors took actions related to it. For instance, donating for the cause, raising awareness about a certain issue so that other people know and finally sympathise, or joining demonstration to show their support. Idealism also involves a belief in a just world. To achieve this vision, individuals also took certain actions based on the cause or issue they support. Finally, having empathy or sympathy has led the solidarity actors to take certain solidarity actions. Possessing this foundation means that the actors understood the Papuans concrete situation, their sorrow, and needs by referencing their social standpoint and context of the Papuans. It led to taking particular action to aid the Papuans in overcoming adversity, restraining oppression, or fighting for a cause.

Considering that brotherhood in struggle, idealism and empathy or sympathy hint to conflict issues, it can also be said that conflict played a role in establishing a solidarity foundation to trigger solidarity feelings. These feelings led to solidarity actions. That is to say, conflict had a linear effect on solidarity: a conflict-related solidarity foundation led to conflict-related solidarity and finally to conflict-related solidarity action.

6.3 The connection between actor, network, and solidarity

Based on section 5.3, the study has found that individual solidarity actors indeed had network(s) related to their solidarity, and these networks were diverse. These were family

network, friend or acquaintance network, Papuan community network, dual Papuan network, and organisation network. Individual actors inclined not to have a one by one network but a combination of several networks, although they tended to have only one network initially. These various kinds of network played a different role.

In the family network, it was visible within Papuan-Dutch, Moluccan-Dutch and Dutch actors who were born or have lived in West Papua. This network played a role in forming individuals' solidarity. The family background has influenced the lives of individuals, in which the individual actors grew up with the stories they heard. Eventually, the stories have impacted individual actors in having solidarity towards the Papuans specifically. Hence, possession of a family network has caused the emergence of solidarity. Moreover, related to the kind of solidarity, this network tended to lead to have solidarity for the cause of self-determination or independence of West Papua.

In the friend or acquaintance network, Dutch actors who were born or have lived in West Papua were detectable to have this network considering that people tended to contact other people from the same background, either origin or experience. In connection with solidarity, on the one hand, this network played a role in having a sense of solidarity for individuals who had no solidarity feeling in the beginning, through knowing stories from friends or acquaintances about the Papuans and West Papua, even the individuals had no interaction with the Papuans living in the Netherlands or West Papua. On the other hand, for the ones who had already (strong) solidarity initially, this network did not play any role in shaping solidarity. Nevertheless, it gave a chance for the individuals in taking solidarity actions. Thus, the friend or acquaintance network has played a role in emerging solidarity and providing an opportunity in taking solidarity action(s). Furthermore, related to the kind of solidarity, this network tended to lead to have no certain kind of solidarity for individual actors from a particular background/group. Regardless of the background or group, an individual actor might have one or a combination of three kinds of solidarity found in this research.

In the Papuan community network, all individual actors from different groups tended to have this network. This network has two roles. First of all, this network played a role in establishing solidarity for the individual actors who did not have any direct connection with West Papua and no prior knowledge about what happened in West Papua through the stories of the Papuan-Dutch. Herein, in the beginning, interacting with the Papuan community caused knowing West Papua and the Papuan community in the Netherlands. Having this initial knowledge resulted in the emergence of solidarity towards the Papuans in West Papua. Second of all, this network fostered solidarity towards the Papuans in West Papua for individuals

interested in a certain topic or supported a particular cause, such as human rights, racism, and climate change. This network influences individuals with a certain interest in making the solidarity specific towards the Papuans living in West Papua related to the interest issue. Next to establishing solidarity, this network has caused to make solidarity stronger. It prevailed within the individual actors who already had solidarity towards the Papuans living in West Papua. Therefore, the Papuan community network has played a role in emerging and strengthening solidarity. Individual solidarity actors who had solidarity from this network tended to have solidarity for the cause of self-determination or independence of West Papua.

In the dual Papuan network, all individual actors from different groups who have visited West Papua had this network. Regarding solidarity, this network played a different role. First of all, having this network did not affect ones' solidarity, especially for the individuals who already had solidarity with the Papuans as they had a stagnant solidarity feeling or even strong solidarity feeling instead of latent. Second of all, this network played a role in giving opportunity for several individual actors in taking solidarity action(s). Finally, this network played a role in making the feeling of solidarity stronger than before by having more sympathy and empathy. Thus, having the dual Papuan network has played either no role in emerging solidarity or has played a role in giving an opportunity in taking solidarity action(s) and strengthening solidarity. This network did not lead to having a certain kind of solidarity, considering this network did not play a role in establishing solidarity.

In the organisation network, this network was prevalent among solidarity actors involved in organisations, donors, or the ones who followed the page of organisations/campaigns regardless of their background or group. This network did not tend to shape someone's solidarity in general. However, this network has caused knowledge about West Papua, providing a possibility for individuals to perform solidarity actions and strengthening solidarity. Therefore, the organisation network has played either no role in solidarity emergence or has played a role in giving an opportunity in taking solidarity action(s) and strengthening solidarity. Regarding the kind of solidarity, like the previous network, this network did not lead to having a certain kind of solidarity for the same reason.

In summary, the salient thing was that certain individual solidarity actors had particular network(s), had no one by one network. Moreover, the majority of them, regardless of their background or group, tended to have several networks. At least they had one kind of network necessary to feel solidarity or to take solidarity action. Depending on the individuals, network(s) played varied roles in solidarity: either no role in shaping solidarity, emerging or strengthening solidarity, and/or giving an opportunity in taking solidarity action(s).

The network had a different effect on individual solidarity actors, although the actors were from one group. For several individuals, regardless of their background or group, a certain network has caused latent or 'on hold' solidarity to grow and surface, having solidarity feeling. And one network was sufficient to shape individuals' solidarity. However, only the network of family, friend or acquaintance and Papuan community were very supportive of the emergence of solidarity compared to the dual Papuan and organisation network. In the case of dual Papuan and organisation network, although the solidarity did not need to emerge for the first time due to these networks, they supported strengthening solidarity for several actors regardless of their background or group. Furthermore, regarding the kind of solidarity, it can be said that to a certain extent, a particular network led to a certain kind of solidarity for individual actors who had solidarity with the help of network.

6.4 Revisiting conceptual framework

A conceptual framework was created at the outset of the research and showed in chapter 2 (see Figure 1). From the knowledge gained in this research, the conceptual framework must be revisited and renewed to generate a more comprehensive and clear-cut framework of which concept relates to other concepts concerning solidarity of individual solidarity actors with the Papuans living in West Papua. A modified conceptual framework is presented in Figure 4.

Before doing the research, who the solidarity actors are was assumed to be essential to understand the solidarity with the Papuans living in West Papua; nevertheless, a specific feature was still unknown. During the research, it became clear that the actors' background and connection with West Papua have a relation in having particularistic solidarity with the Papuans. That is why the concept of individual solidarity actor has remained the same and is specified.

Regarding the aspects of solidarity, foundations for solidarity and solidarity actions, this research has strengthened the concept of solidarity by highlighting these two elements. Before doing the research, both elements were the values of solidarity. Therefore, in Figure 1, they were put together. However, from the study, these two elements are sequential. The foundation precedes the action. That is to say; the foundation is the cause for having solidarity, while taking solidarity actions is the impact of having solidarity.

In more detail, the former shows that there are various solidarity foundations, yet the foundation can differ per person, although it can be similar with other individuals. The latter indicates that having solidarity causes taking solidarity action(s) and the forms are diverse. Based on these, the foundation for solidarity initially relates to possessing solidarity then relates

to solidarity actions. There is no causality but order in it. That is why the line and the box of the two elements are now changed. However, they have remained in the main box, and both concepts are specified. Furthermore, from the research, the concept of solidarity action relates to the concept of action decision and action limitation. Solidarity actions involve sources of decision for taking actions and limitation to take certain action(s). That is why both concepts have been added to the conceptual framework.

In the case of solidarity with the Papuans living in West Papua, considering this region is a conflict area, solidarity entails a role of conflict in having solidarity. The existence of conflict creates a brotherhood in struggle from certain solidarity actors who have a similar conflict by having a notion of friendship and a common enemy. Contrary to the idea of commonality, the existence of conflict creates sympathy or empathy regarding the distress situation that the Papuans encountered due to conflict from individuals who do not have a similar conflict or mutual enemy. Thus, these two things lead to the foundation of solidarity. From this foundation, an individual solidarity actor has solidarity and eventually takes a certain action. However, this might not be the case for other cases of solidarity with considering that the context might be different. Nevertheless, the concept of conflict has been added to the conceptual framework.

Finally, the network has proven to relate to individual actors and solidarity based on the reality found in the field. An individual solidarity actor has indeed (a) certain network(s). Eventually, this results in emerging and/or strengthening solidarity. Not only that, it also relates to solidarity action in which the solidarity actor has an opportunity to take certain solidarity actions due to possessing a network. Although a network may not play a role in shaping one's solidarity, this condition applies only when people already have solidarity, and the network still has a role to fulfil. Therefore, the arrow between the concept of network and the concept of solidarity has remained the same. Nevertheless, this research cannot answer why the solidarity feeling of a certain individual due to network strengthens while others remain stagnant. There must be another certain factor that influences it, which should be investigated in the future.

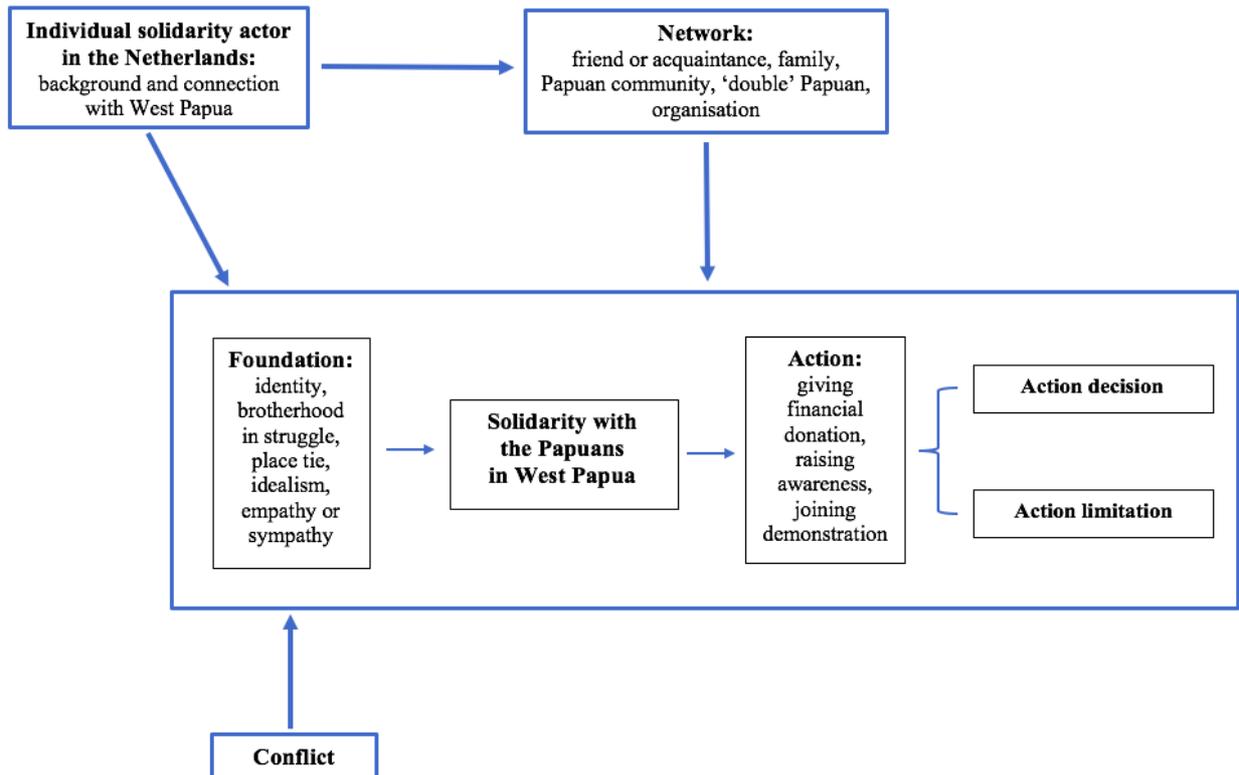


Figure 4. Modified conceptual framework

Chapter 7. Conclusions

In this final chapter, the main research question will be answered. Following this, the limitations and strengths of the research, and suggestions for further research will be given. Finally, reflection and positionality as a researcher during the research process will be shown.

7.1 Findings

This research has attempted to understand the solidarity of people in a certain place with other people in another place. In this case, the solidarity of people in the Netherlands with the Papuans living in West Papua, by focusing on the subject of solidarity, i.e. individual actors on the sending end, the Netherlands. To achieve the study objective, the individual solidarity actors, their foundations and actions of solidarity, and their networks were explored using qualitative research method with phenomenological strategy, collecting data through conducting semi-structured in-depth interviews, and employing grounded theory as a method of coding and analysing. This methodology was effective since describing and understanding the lived experiences of people has provided insight into the phenomenon. From this research design, data were able to be extracted and integrated, and eventually used to answer the research questions.

Four sub-questions were fielded to answer the main research question. The first raises a question about the backgrounds of the individual solidarity actors. Regarding this, four characterisations of individual actors were exhibited. The individual actors consist of Papuan-Dutch, Moluccan-Dutch, Indo-Dutch and Dutch. Within this variation, they were connected with West Papua directly or indirectly due to a special historical relationship. A direct connection means that the individual solidarity actors considered themselves from West Papua, had been, or lived there. This factor influenced them to have solidarity with the Papuans. An indirect connection means that the individual solidarity actors knew about West Papua from the literature and/or through Papuan-Dutch, connected by history, coincidentally a colonialist history between the Netherlands and its former colonies, Indonesia and West Papua. This factor also influenced them to have solidarity with the Papuans. Eventually, a direct or indirect connection has led the actors to have solidarity specifically towards the Papuans living in West Papua. Without it, the solidarity of individual actors in the Netherlands with the others or certain others might be with anyone.

The second poses a question about the first aspect of solidarity of individual actors, the foundation for solidarity. Concerning the element of solidarity foundation, the sources for emergence varied. Identity, brotherhood in struggle, place tie, idealism combined with closeness connection, and empathy or sympathy influenced the emergence of solidarity by the individual actors. Identification of individuals' root and place of origin of the ancestor as their homeland incurred a moral obligation for Papuan-Dutch to be in solidarity with fellow Papuans, causing identity as a solidarity foundation. Having a shared interest and goal as the Papuans regarding self-determination or independence struggle and seeing Indonesia as a mutual enemy caused brotherhood in struggle as a solidarity foundation with the Papuans for Moluccan-Dutch. Having an emotional tie to West Papua and its people for Indo-Dutch and Dutch individual actors who were born and/or had lived in West Papua and/or had been to West Papua for work caused place tie in shaping solidarity towards the inhabitants living in that particular place. Having a longing for a just world combined with knowledge about West Papua and the Papuans caused idealism for individuals who had an indirect connection with West Papua to stand in solidarity with the Papuans specifically. And finally, a demonstration of anger, pity, or sadness about the negative experiences of the Papuans caused empathy or sympathy as a solidarity foundation for all people to be in solidarity with the Papuans.

The third asks a question concerning the second aspect of solidarity, the solidarity action. Regarding solidarity actions, all individual actors were taking and/or had taken (certain) solidarity action(s) for their solidarity. The individual actors took various actions through personal contribution: giving financial donations, raising awareness, and joining demonstrations. The action was an activity or activities manifestation from the impact of possessing solidarity, in which the form of action was based on certain notions possessed by the individuals. And to a certain extent, the foundation of solidarity affected taking certain actions. Brotherhood in struggle, idealism, and empathy or sympathy led not only to solidarity but also to certain actions because these foundations entail issues or causes that require certain actions.

All actions can be considered non-violent and low risk/cost forms of solidarity actions, and none was new. The decision in taking solidarity action was from the actor itself, by asking the kinds of aid or support most beneficial to the Papuans through the Papuans living in West Papua or indirectly through the Papuan-Dutch, development charitable foundations, private projects, and/or the political campaign in the Netherlands. Nevertheless, the individual actors took solidarity action(s) depending on their ability and beliefs to do so, and encountered limitations to act due to safety, a concern of being refused to enter Indonesia, belief, and

personal situation. And the actions did not involve a reciprocal expectation of support and aid, and no need for any recognition from the Papuans in West Papua, considering that the individual actors in the Netherlands did not share a situation of oppression or suffering as the Papuans in West Papua did.

The fourth brings up a question about network in solidarity. In this research, five networks were found: family network, friend or acquaintance network, Papuan community network, dual Papuan network, and organisation network. In the family network, the family background has influenced individuals' lives, growing up with the stories they heard about West Papua and the Papuans, causing solidarity towards the Papuans specifically and kind of solidarity for the cause of self-determination or independence of West Papua. In the friend or acquaintance network, knowing stories from friends or acquaintances about the Papuans and West Papua affected having a sense of solidarity with the Papuans for individuals who had no solidarity feeling in the beginning and no particular kind of solidarity. However, for the ones who had already (strong) solidarity initially, this network did not play any role in shaping solidarity. Still, it gave a chance for the individuals to take solidarity actions. In the Papuan community network, the stories of the Papuan-Dutch influenced establishing solidarity for the individual actors who did not have any direct connection with West Papua, nor had prior knowledge about what happened in West Papua, but had an interest in a certain topic or supported a particular cause, and having solidarity for the cause of self-determination or independence of West Papua. Furthermore, the stories caused making the solidarity stronger for the individual actors who already had solidarity towards the Papuans living in West Papua by understanding more about the situation in West Papua. In the dual Papuan network, a feeling of stagnant or strong instead of latent solidarity did not affect someone's solidarity but allowed taking solidarity action(s). Having more sympathy and empathy due to interaction with Papuans in the Netherlands and West Papua made the solidarity feeling stronger for individuals who had solidarity from the family network. And finally, in the organisation network, this network did not tend to shape someone's solidarity but gave a possibility to perform solidarity actions and strengthen solidarity.

In general, individual solidarity actors had particular network(s), had no one by one network. Network(s) played varied roles in solidarity: no role in shaping solidarity, emerging or strengthening solidarity, allowing taking solidarity action(s), and/or having a certain kind of solidarity. Network had a different effect on individual solidarity actors, even if the actors were from one group. Networks of family, friend or acquaintance, and Papuan community supported the emergence of solidarity. Networks of Papuan Community, dual Papuan and organisation

were very supportive in strengthening the solidarity of several actors regardless of their background or group.

Finally, to answer the main research question:

How can the solidarity of individual solidarity actors in the Netherlands with the Papuans living in West Papua be explained?

The solidarity of individual actors in the Netherlands with the Papuans living in West Papua can be explained as follows. The ‘particular’ solidarity emerged because the individual solidarity actors had certain backgrounds. These backgrounds had a connection, either direct or indirect, with West Papua and the Papuans because of history. Without this special connection, this solidarity was not directed specifically at Papuans. Eventually, these backgrounds and connection caused individual solidarity actors to have a certain kind of solidarity towards the Papuans. The solidarity also related to the foundations for solidarity, in which identity, brotherhood in struggle, place tie, and idealism combined with knowledge about West Papua and the Papuans, and empathy or sympathy, influenced the emergence of solidarity of individual actors with the Papuans. From having a sense of solidarity feeling, the individual solidarity actor took solidarity actions through personal contribution: giving financial donations, raising awareness, and/or joining demonstrations. To a certain extent, a solidarity foundation had an effect on taking certain actions when the foundation entailed issues or causes that required action. Finally, solidarity emerged, strengthened, or solidarity actions could be performed because of the network possessed by individual solidarity actors. As West Papua is a conflict region, the conflict played a role in the sense that it had a linear effect on solidarity: a conflict-related solidarity foundation led to conflict-related solidarity and finally to conflict-related solidarity action.

7.2 Limitations and strengths of the study

When interpreting the results of this research, it is crucial to understand and acknowledge the limitations of the research openly. As a result of the chosen study design and/or the used method, constraints existed in generalising and utilising the findings. This study has limitations as well. Nevertheless, the strengths of the study overcame these limitations. To begin with, the outcome of this thesis cannot be applied to all individual actors in the Netherlands who have solidarity with the Papuans. The 34 respondents were not a representative sample of solidarity of all individual actors. Nevertheless, the results gave insight into the solidarity of respondents under inquiry and the objective and relevancies of this research. Apart from that, the number

of respondents, 34 people, was relatively a large sample amid the world pandemic of COVID-19, providing a rich and significant amount of data.

Furthermore, the participants under investigation formed a limitation as well. The respondents were not selected on characteristics of age, sex, or race background, as long as they met the essential criteria that they have experienced the phenomenon of solidarity with the Papuans. Because of this, it was not easy to analyse the sources for the emergence of solidarity by the individual actors. As the basis of solidarity became quite broad, it was uneasy about narrowing down and interpreting the results. The age gap of participants, 20-70 years, was also a limitation. I realised that the older participants witnessed what happened in the past regarding political events and developments between the Netherlands and West Papua and, therefore, had prior knowledge about West Papua. In contrast, the young participants did not experience it by themselves. Hence, it was not easy to generalise the views between old and young participants as they had different experiences. The distinction for respondents could be made beforehand to limit the scope and increase the depth of the focus level of the research discussions. However, as the participants were not selected with a certain distinction, the study was then not limited to certain individuals. Correspondingly, the study found extensive results.

Another limitation was the strategy to recruit the research participants. Although various strategies were employed, the recruitment of respondents relied excessively on identifying individuals in the Netherlands who probably have solidarity with the Papuans before recruiting the participants (see section 3.2.2). As a consequence of the investigation, individuals from other major groups, such as the Turkish, Moroccan, or Indonesian community in the Netherlands who might have solidarity with the Papuans, were not available and not interviewed. To find respondents as diverse as possible in the future to generate more accurate findings, adverts could be published online, for example, on community pages on social media. Aside from the constraint of the recruitment strategy, this study still presented depth and rich data of solidarity of individuals in the Netherlands who were assumed to have solidarity with the Papuans. Also, respondents beyond the identification were still present and interviewed, although they were not from the major groups mentioned above.

Finally, the language used was another restraint. As stated in the methodology chapter, three languages - English, Bahasa Indonesia, Dutch - were used. On the one hand, as Dutch is my least proficient language compared to Bahasa Indonesia and English, I could not express myself in probing the questions. Consequently, yielding sufficient depth and detailed data from interviews in Dutch was not always maximal. On the other hand, respondents who were not fluent in English also encountered problems. They could not express themselves wholly or

sometimes did not understand or misunderstood the questions. Accordingly, the quality - rich and detailed data - of interviews in English suffered. During the interview, probing the question by using different questions or words was done to overcome this limitation. Meanwhile, after the interview, reviewing the interview (see section 3.3.1) helped identify suffered rich and detailed data. Based on this, email or instant messenger was then employed by sending questions to ask confirmation and clarification. Regardless of the constraint on the possibility of undetailed data, the research provided a wide-ranging group of respondents by using various languages. Not only respondents who could only speak English. Thus, overall, although this research had shortcomings, it also had strengths, as previously stated, and therefore the results of the research results are still valid.

7.3 Suggestions for further research

Departing from the used methodology and the results of this research, there are four leading suggestions for further research. First, this thesis is a phenomenological study of solidarity in a certain place with another specific place, in this case between the Netherlands and West Papua, by studying an instead select group of individual actors who have solidarity with the Papuans. The results revealed that most of the individuals who have solidarity directly relate with West Papua, either they are from there or have visited or lived there. The subsequent research can study individuals from West Papua or have visited or lived in West Papua but do not have a sense of solidarity with the Papuans to understand the solidarity in the Netherlands more in-depth and more nuanced. An explorative study can be conducted to examine which factors prohibit individuals from having solidarity. The results will give an alternative insight in understanding the existence and non-existence of solidarity of individual actors in the Netherlands, especially solidarity with a group of people in another place beyond the national border, solidarity from people in a certain place with people in another specific territory, about which knowledge remains scarce.

Besides that, the following research may discuss another subject of solidarity. It would be interesting to study solidarity at the level of organisations, such as non-governmental organisations that focus on West Papua, and their role in sustaining the solidarity of individual actors. Additionally, considering the Netherlands was the former coloniser of West Papua, the state level is an interesting topic to analyse and, in particular, whether the solidarity of the Dutch government exists, exploring facilitating and hindering factors. From both levels, the research will yield further insight into the variant subjects of solidarity.

Second, a future research recommendation is to focus on the role of certain events in the development of solidarity in the Netherlands for the Papuans living in West Papua. In 2020, the death of George Floyd sparked an international wave of protest against racist violence, so-called Black Lives Matter movement protests. The demonstration also happened in the Netherlands. Future research can investigate to what extent the Black Lives Matter movement in the Netherlands influences and shapes the sense of solidarity with the Papuans. Besides, the emergence of COVID-19 can be investigated, focusing on whether a disastrous global event impedes or promotes solidarity with the Papuans.

Third, this research study has shown insight into the current knowledge of solidarity between the Netherlands and West Papua. It would be interesting to conduct follow-up research about the development of solidarity in the Netherlands with the Papuans living in West Papua in the future by using a longitudinal design. The study will provide the latest knowledge of demographic characteristic of actors or new kind of solidarity actions as an example. Furthermore, the results will show the differences in or change of solidarity over time, whether the solidarity of individuals in the Netherlands with the Papuans declines or increases, exhibiting which factors inhibit or trigger solidarity. These results might be necessary for policymakers, campaigners, or activists who want to promote solidarity for West Papua.

Last, this study has focused on the phenomenon of solidarity in the Netherlands. Another possible research is then a comparative study of solidarity with the Papuans between or among countries, such as between the Netherlands and Australia, where the solidarity with the Papuans also exists. The follow-up study will identify the differences and similarities of solidarity between or among countries. Besides between countries, further research can carry out a comparative study of solidarity in a certain region, such as in Oceania, or between regions, such as Europe and Oceania. It will show an illuminating insight into the geography of solidarity, considering that most of the discussion about solidarity nowadays is focused on a national dimension.

7.4 Reflection and the positionality of the researcher

In general, the research process of this master's thesis has been a challenging and enriching journey for me, teaching me a great deal in doing good and proper research as a researcher. During the study, I undertook positioning and reflecting on myself as this role is pivotal to the quality of the produced scientific knowledge and decisions to conduct qualitative research (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2014). As a researcher who studied solidarity for West Papua, with the Papuans living in West Papua, I positioned myself to be solidary with this region. I shared a

sense of solidarity with all interviewees. I also have a sense of solidarity with the Papuans because I have visited this region as a tourist in 2011. I look at this region where the Papuans live as one of the poorest regions in Indonesia. The economic development and education are less especially compared to the region I come from, Java. Nevertheless, the experiences and how West Papua and the Papuans were being seen between my respondents and I could differ, making my solidarity position also differ. Aside from that, I had a hunch before starting the research that the participants would have the same view on West Papua and the Papuans. In doing phenomenology research to understand other people's perceptions and experiences clearly, I kept reminding myself to step back from my own presumption and common sense, including everyday beliefs and theoretical assumptions, before collecting data. Over time, I became open-minded to approach other people and aware of diversity in looking at West Papua and the people.

Furthermore, as an Indonesian researcher, especially from Java, studying a topic related to West Papua, I realised that this would raise the suspicion of working for the Indonesian government. Consequently, it was possible that I did not find respondents with a high position and/or an intimate relation with West Papua and the Papuans, inhibiting rich, valuable data. For the same reason, research participant candidates cancelled their participation or questioned my personal purpose regarding West Papua. Nevertheless, it was overcome by telling my background information (such as the status of my immigration to the Netherlands, marital status, and personal story of my connection with West Papua), the reason and purpose of the study, and sending a participation information letter. Furthermore, in interviews, I realised that I could not probe the answers to a certain topic in more detail, for instance, the name of people or organisations and activities. I overcame this by asking about the kind of organisations and activities in general.

Moreover, as a student, I have the privilege of having more knowledge on the topic I study for my research. I benefit from all aspects of the research, such as collecting data and choosing the questions to be addressed. The latter might have caused an asymmetrical power relation, putting me in a more powerful position in which I knew the questions beforehand. To overcome this, I sent the list of questions for the interview in advance when the participants asked it to make them more comfortable preparing the answers to the questions.

All in all, I endeavoured to position and reflect on myself. Notwithstanding, adapting a statement of Gillian Rose (1997), I could not notice everything, nor could I scrutinise power as I could not be wholly conscious or transparent to myself. As an Indonesian doing research in the Netherlands, I probably have made mistakes unintendedly in contacting the participants,

interviewing, and writing the research results due to cultural differences, habits, false expectations and interpretations. What I was able to do was, then, to write what I have so far identified.

Besides positioning and reflecting on myself during the research, I also reflected on myself by linking the study finding and my own experience regarding my solidarity with the Papuans. Seeing West Papua as the least developed region in Indonesia when I was in Sorong and Raja Ampat in 2011, my identity as an Indonesian motivated me to have solidarity with fellow citizens living in West Papua. Then, I contacted my friends whether they would like to help me for building a library in an elementary school in Raja Ampat. As this plan has never been implemented, the fund collected would be given to HAPIN as this organisation has an education project in West Papua, and I knew this organisation quite well since 2019. Thus, from my own story, place tie and identity were the foundations for solidarity. Building a library was a solidarity action to help students in West Papua to have a decent education. Furthermore, my network in this solidarity was friend network in the beginning and organisation network later. Clearly, my solidarity feeling for the Papuans was not influenced by this network, but I could do real things through my networks: helping students in West Papua to have a better education.

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Appendix 1: Interview guide project

Time:

Date:

Place:

Duration:

Interviewer:

Interviewee:

Position of interviewee:

Intro: consent and information to the interviewee (has been sent beforehand)

Questions (in English):

Background of information:

- Tell me about yourself, please!

Network:

- How do you have a connection/relation with West Papua?
- Have you been to West Papua before? How was your experience?
- Did you have an interaction with Papuans in West Papua? With whom?
- Did you also have an interaction with Papuans community in the Netherlands? With whom?

Aspects of Solidarity:

- **(General meaning)**
 - o What does solidarity mean for you?
- **(affection feeling/empathy)**
 - o How do you feel about West Papua? / What do you think about West Papua? Why?
- **(basis for solidarity)**
 - o How do you have solidarity with West Papua?
 - o Why is it necessary for you to have solidarity with West Papua?
 - o Why is it then West Papua? Why not another corner of the globe?
 - o Which situations in West Papua you pay attention to? Why?
- **(inclusiveness)**
 - o With whom do you have solidarity in West Papua? All people who live in Papua or only indigenous/native Papuans (Melanesian)? Why?
- **(action in support)**
 - o What kind of action in support have you done or are you doing for your solidarity with West Papua?
 - o Did you ask them what they need? Did you ask them what forms of aid or support most beneficial to them?
 - If not, self-decision?
 - o Do you want your support/action to be recognised by the people there?

Questions (in Dutch):

Achtergrondinformatie

- Kunt u mij iets over uzelf vertellen?

Netwerk:

- Kunt u de achtergrond van uw band/relatie met West-Papoea nader toelichten?
- Heeft u West-Papoea bezocht? Zo ja, wat waren uw ervaringen?
- Heeft/Had u contact/interactie met Papoea's in West-Papoea? Met wie?
- Heeft/Had u contact/interactie met de Papoea gemeenschap in Nederland? Met wie?

Aspecten van solidariteit:

- **(Betekenis)**
 - o Wat betekent solidariteit voor u?
- **(Gevoel van affectie/empathie)**
 - o Kunt u uw gevoel met betrekking tot West-Papoea beschrijven? Hoe denkt u over West-Papoea? Waarom?
- **(Basis voor solidariteit)**
 - o Hoe komt het dat u solidariteit heeft (solidair bent) met West-Papoea?
 - o Waarom is het nodig voor u dat u solidariteit heeft (solidair bent) met West-Papoea?
 - o Waarom met West-Papoea? Waarom niet een ander land/gebied?
 - o Welke gebeurtenissen in West-Papoea hebben uw aandacht/interesse? Waarom?
- **(Inclusiviteit)**
 - o Met wie heeft u precies solidariteit (met wie voelt u zich solidair) in West-Papoea? Alle mensen die in Papoea leven of alleen de inheemse Papoea's (Melanesiërs)? Waarom?
- **(Ondersteuning)**
 - o Wat voor acties ter ondersteuning van uw solidariteit met West-Papoea heeft u ondernomen of onderneemt u?
 - o Heeft u hen gevraagd wat zij nodig hebben? Heeft u hen gevraagd wat voor soort hulp zij nodig hebben of bij welke steun zij het meeste baat hebben?
 - Zo niet, heeft u zelf besloten welke hulp u verstrekte?
 - o Wenst u dat uw steun wordt erkend door de mensen in West-Papoea?

Questions (in Bahasa Indonesia):

Latar belakang informasi:

- Ceritakan tentang dirimu! Umur, aktivitas (belajar / bekerja)

Jaringan:

- Bagaimana anda memiliki relasi/ koneksi / hubungan dengan Papua Barat?
- Pernahkah anda ke Papua Barat sebelumnya? Bagaimana pengalaman Anda?
- Apakah anda berinteraksi dengan orang Papua di Papua Barat? Dengan siapa?

- Apakah anda juga berinteraksi dengan masyarakat Papua di Belanda? Dengan siapa?

Aspek Solidaritas:

- **(Pengertian umum)**
 - o Apa arti solidaritas bagi anda?
- **(Perasaan sayang / empati)**
 - o Bagaimana perasaan anda tentang Papua Barat? / Apa pendapat anda tentang Papua Barat? Mengapa?
- **(Dasar untuk solidaritas)**
 - o Bagaimana anda memiliki solidaritas dengan Papua Barat?
 - o Mengapa penting bagi anda untuk memiliki solidaritas dengan Papua Barat?
 - o Mengapa harus solidaritas dengan Papua Barat? Mengapa bukan sudut dunia yang lain?
 - o Situasi apa di Papua Barat yang Anda perhatikan? Mengapa?
- **(Inklusivitas)**
 - o Dengan siapa anda memiliki solidaritas di Papua Barat? Semua orang yang tinggal di Papua atau hanya orang asli Papua (Melanesia)? Mengapa?
- **(Tindakan mendukung)**
 - o Apa jenis tindakan dalam dukungan yang telah Anda lakukan atau Anda lakukan untuk solidaritas Anda dengan Papua Barat?
 - o Apakah Anda bertanya kepada mereka apa yang mereka butuhkan?
 - o Apakah Anda bertanya kepada mereka bentuk bantuan atau dukungan apa yang paling bermanfaat bagi mereka?

Closure:

- End with cooling off question & thank for contribution.
- Contact for further question.

Appendix 2: A letter of request for an interview

(English version)

Dear friends of West Papua,

My name is Tri Mulyasari, I am a master student of Human Geography at Radboud University, Nijmegen. Currently, I am conducting a research for my master thesis about “Solidarity in the Netherlands with West Papua”. Furthermore, I have an informal internship at Hapin with Mr. Wietse Tolsma as my contact person.

The master thesis contributes to an MSc Human Geography degree from Radboud University. The research aims to get an understanding of the existence of solidarity in the Netherlands with (the people of) West Papua. Specifically, I want to have an insight in how and why there is solidarity in the Netherlands with West Papua and among what specific social groups in Dutch society solidarity does exist.

At this moment, I am looking for respondents in the Netherlands with essential criteria that they have solidarity with West Papua. If you have this solidarity, I would like to request you to participate in my research for an interview around June 2020. I can come to your place or city for an interview to meet you in person. However, due to the corona crisis, we can do the interview online by Skype or WhatsApp (video call), or if you feel more comfortable by telephone.

In the interview, I would like you to tell me your story of having solidarity with West Papua. I am interested to hear about your connections to West Papua, what leads you to have solidarity with West Papua, which themes in West Papua you pay attention to in particular, and how you express your solidarity. If possible, I would like to do the interview in English. But if this is difficult for you, I am prepared to do it in Dutch, but in that case, you have to accept that I am not mastering Dutch language a hundred percent.

I am looking forward to your reply. If you respond positively, please let me know your email address and telephone number. Your privacy will be guaranteed. Inform me as well about the language you prefer.

Thank you in advance for your participation.

Kind regards,
Tri Mulyasari

(Dutch version)

Beste vriend, vriendin van Papua,

Mijn naam is Tri Mulyasari. Ik volg een Master Human Geography aan de Radboud Universiteit in Nijmegen. Op dit moment doe ik onderzoek voor mijn masterthesis met als onderwerp “Solidariteit in Nederland met West-Papua”. Verder loop ik (een informele) stage bij Hapin met Wietse Tolsma als contactpersoon.

De masterthesis draagt bij aan het behalen van de MSc Human Geography graad van de Radboud Universiteit. Het onderzoek heeft tot doel om inzicht te krijgen in het bestaan van solidariteit in Nederland met (het volk van) West-Papua. In het bijzonder ben ik geïnteresseerd in hoe en waarom er in Nederland solidariteit is met West-Papua, in welke maatschappelijke groepen die solidariteit voorkomt en op welke manieren die tot uitdrukking wordt gebracht.

Op dit moment ben ik op zoek naar deelnemers in Nederland die voldoen aan het essentiële criterium dat zij solidair zijn met (het volk van) West-Papua. Als bij u inderdaad deze solidariteit leeft, dan wil ik u vriendelijk uitnodigen deel te nemen aan mijn onderzoek. Dat kan door u een interview af te nemen omstreeks juni 2020. Ik kan naar uw woonplaats komen voor het interview en u in persoon ontmoeten. Echter, gelet op de corona crisis kan het interview ook via Skype of WhatsApp plaatsvinden, of gewoon per telefoon.

Tijdens het interview wil ik u vragen uw verhaal te vertellen over uw solidariteit met West Papua. Ik ben benieuwd om te horen over uw band met de Papoea's van West Papua en de achtergronden daarvan en in welke aangelegenheden betreffende West Papua u het meest geïnteresseerd bent. Indien mogelijk zou ik graag het interview in het Engels willen doen. Maar als dat op problemen stuit, dan kan het ook in het Nederlands. Ik verontschuldig mij dan bij voorbaat over mijn matige beheersing van het Nederlands.

Ik zie uw reactie graag tegemoet. Wilt u mij, bij een positieve reactie, dan ook laten op welke manier u het interview de liefste vorm geeft en in welke taal het gesprek gevoerd kan worden? Ook zou ik graag uw mailadres en telefoonnummer tegemoet zien. Ik zeg u toe dat ik met uw privacy op een zeer zorgvuldige manier zal omgaan en dat die gewaarborgd is.

Bij voorbaat dank voor uw medewerking.

Met vriendelijke groet,
Tri Mulyasari

Appendix 3: Participant information letter

(English version)

Dear participant,

Thank you very much for your interest and participation in my master's thesis research. This letter consists of a preparation guide for the online interview (Skype/Facetime/WhatsApp), and consent and information for the interview.

Preparation guide for the online interview

Before the online interview, please check your device and internet connection, and minimise background noise. If you use your mobile device, it could be more convenient for you to place it on the table instead of holding it.

Consent and information

- **Purpose of the interview and study.** The interview is for my master's thesis research with (tentative) title "A study of solidarity in the Netherlands with West Papua", regarding an understanding of the existence of solidarity in the Netherlands with (the people of) West Papua.
- **Length of the interview.** The duration of the interview is approximately 30 minutes up to an hour.
- **Right to withdraw and not answer questions.** You have the right to voluntarily withdraw from the interview at any time and not answer questions.
- **Permission to record.** To aid my analysis, the interview will be audio recorded. The recording will be used only for transcription and analysis purposes.
- **Usage and storage of data.** The data will be used for analysis. It will be stored safely according to the privacy-rules of the university. The data which I have in my laptop will be destroyed on completion of my study.
- **Anonymity.** You will remain anonymous and your confidentiality will be protected. Only myself will know your identity as a participant.

Should you have a question before the interview, do not hesitate to let me know.

Thank you for your participation.

I agree to take part in the interview "A study of solidarity in the Netherlands with West Papua".
I agree / do not agree (delete as appropriate) that the interview can be audio recorded for transcription and analysis.

Name: _____ Date: _____

(Dutch version)

Beste deelnemer,

Bedankt voor uw interesse en deelname aan mijn master thesis onderzoek. Deze brief bevat enkele aanbevelingen ter voorbereiding van het online interview (Skype/FaceTime/WhatsApp), alsook toestemming voor en informatie over het interview.

Aanbevelingen

Graag verzoek ik u voorafgaande aan het online interview uw internetverbinding te controleren alsook of uw camera en microfoon aanstaan en werken. Daarnaast verdient het de voorkeur om het interview in een rustige omgeving af te nemen met zo min mogelijk achtergrondgeluid.

Indien u gebruik maakt van een mobiel apparaat dan kan het handig voor u zijn om het apparaat op een tafel te plaatsen in plaats van het vast te houden.

Toestemming en informatie

- **Doel van het interview.** Het interview vindt plaats in het kader van mijn master thesis onderzoek met de (voorlopige) titel: “De bestudering van solidariteit in Nederland met West Papoea”, met als doel meer inzicht te verkrijgen in het bestaan van solidariteit in Nederland met West Papoea.
- **Duur van het interview.** Het interview duurt ongeveer 30 minuten tot een uur.
- **Beëindiging van het interview en het onbeantwoord laten van vragen.** Het staat u vrij om het interview op ieder gewenst moment te beëindigen en bepaalde vragen onbeantwoord te laten.
- **Toestemming voor opname.** Ten behoeve van de analyse van de onderzoeksresultaten, zal van het interview (het vraag en antwoord gedeelte maar niet de introductie) een geluidsopname worden gemaakt. De opname zal alleen worden gebruikt voor transcriptie en analyse.
- **Gebruik en opslag van informatie.** De beschikbare informatie zal worden gebruikt voor analysedoeleinden. De informatie zal veilig worden opgeslagen en bewaard conform de privacyregels van de universiteit. De informatie welke is opgeslagen op mijn laptop zal worden verwijderd op het moment van voltooiing van mijn studie.
- **Anonimiteit.** U blijft anoniem en de vertrouwelijkheid van uw gegevens wordt gewaarborgd. Alleen ikzelf ben op de hoogte van uw identiteit als deelnemer aan het onderzoek.

Mocht u nog vragen hebben voorafgaande aan het interview dan hoor ik dat graag.

Hartelijk dank voor uw deelname.

Ik neem deel aan het interview “Solidariteit in Nederland met West-Papoea”. En geef WEL / GEEN (s.v.p. doorhalen wat niet van toepassing is) voor de opname van het interview ten behoeve van transcriptie en analyse.

Naam: _____ Datum: _____

Appendix 4: Interview schedule

| Number of interview | Name | Date | Type of interview | Info sent |
|----------------------------|---------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------|
| 1 | Respondent 1 | Monday, 8 June 2020, at 11:00 | Online interview | Yes |
| 2 | Respondent 2 | Wednesday, 10 June 2020, at 13:00 | Online interview | Yes |
| 3 | Respondent 3 | Thursday, 11 June 2020, at 13:00 | Online interview | Yes |
| 4 | Respondent 4 | Friday, 12 June 2020, at 12:00 | Online interview | Yes |
| 5 | Respondent 5 | Friday, 12 June 2020, at 14:00 | Online interview | Yes |
| 6 | Respondent 6 | Monday, 15 June 2020, at 11:00 | Online interview | Yes |
| 7 | Respondent 7 | Monday, 15 June 2020, at 13:15 | Online interview | Yes |
| 8 | Respondent 8 | Tuesday, 16 June 2020, at 12:00 | Online interview | Yes |
| 9 | Respondent 9 | Tuesday, 16 June 2020, at 15:00 | Online interview | Yes |
| 10 | Respondent 10 | Wednesday, 17 June 2020, at 11:00 | Online interview | Yes |
| 11 | Respondent 11 | Wednesday, 17 June 2020, at 13:00 | Online interview | Yes |
| 12 | Respondent 12 | Thursday, 18 June 2020, at 13:30 | Face-to-face interview | Yes |
| 13 | Respondent 13 | Friday, 19 June 2020, at 14:00. | Online interview | Yes |
| 14 | Respondent 14 | Monday, 22 June 2020, at 10:00 | Online interview | Yes |
| 15 | Respondent 15 | Monday, 22 June 2020, at 15:00 | Online interview | Yes |
| 16 | Respondent 16 | Tuesday, 23 June 2020, at 10:00 | Online interview | Yes |
| 17 | Respondent 17 | Wednesday, 24 June 2020, at 16:00 | Online interview | Yes |
| 18 | Respondent 18 | Thursday, 25 June 2020, at 09:00 | Online interview | Yes |
| 19 | Respondent 19 | Thursday, 25 June 2020, at 13:00 | Online interview | Yes |
| 20 | Respondent 20 | Friday 26 June 2020, at 10:00 | Online interview | Yes |
| 21 | Respondent 21 | Friday, 26 June 2020, at 13:00 | Online interview | Yes |
| 22 | Respondent 22 | Monday, 29 June 2020, at 10:00 | Online interview | Yes |

| | | | | |
|----|---------------|----------------------------------|------------------------|-----|
| 23 | Respondent 23 | Tuesday, 30 June 2020, at 10:00 | Online interview | Yes |
| 24 | Respondent 24 | Wednesday, 1 July 2020, at 19:00 | Online interview | Yes |
| 25 | Respondent 25 | Wednesday, 8 July 2020, at 11:00 | Face-to-face interview | Yes |
| 26 | Respondent 26 | Wednesday, 8 July 2020, at 13:00 | Face-to-face interview | Yes |
| 27 | Respondent 27 | Thursday, 9 July 2020, at 11:00 | Face-to-face interview | Yes |
| 28 | Respondent 28 | Friday, 10 July 2020, at 10:00 | Face-to-face interview | Yes |
| 29 | Respondent 29 | Friday, 10 July 2020, at 13:00 | Face-to-face interview | Yes |
| | Respondent 30 | Friday, 10 July 2020, at 13:00 | Face-to-face interview | Yes |
| | Respondent 31 | Friday, 10 July 2020, at 13:00 | Face-to-face interview | Yes |
| 30 | Respondent 32 | Monday, 20 July 2020, at 11:00 | Face-to-face interview | Yes |
| 31 | Respondent 33 | Thursday, 23 July 2020, at 12:00 | Online interview | Yes |
| 32 | Respondent 34 | Friday, 14 August 2020, at 10:00 | Online interview | Yes |