

Ethnic Disparities in Educational Development: Lessons Learned from Indonesia's Secondary Education Affirmation Program



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ABSTRACT: This research evaluates the Indonesian government's affirmative secondary education (ADEM) policy towards Papuan ethnic minorities. The aim is to demonstrate the achievement of policy targets, namely increasing achievement motivation, building ethnic solidarity, building nationalism, and preparing students to compete in the national and international job market. The research was conducted using quantitative methods, totaling 289 respondents who were determined purposively. Data was collected using closed questionnaires and analyzed using descriptive statistics. From the 4 variables, it was concluded that students' achievement motivation was high (54.5%), moderate inter-ethnic solidarity (46%), and high nationalism (82%). While students' readiness to enter the national and international job market is low due to the policy of protecting ethnic Papuans from getting formal sector jobs in Papua, their attachment to the land and past experiences has not completely disappeared. Judging from the father's main job, students from entrepreneurial families stand out the most, they have high achievement motivation, ethnic solidarity, nationalism, and competitive readiness. Meanwhile, students from families whose parents do not work or are looking for work have the lowest achievement. Judging from the average father's income, there is a trend that the higher the parent's income, the higher the achievement in terms of achievement motivation, ethnic solidarity, nationalism, and competitive readiness. This research shows that affirmative secondary education policies are useful in reducing ethnic disparities. Therefore, this policy needs to be continued and expanded to other ethnic groups who are included in the critical mass.

KEYWORDS: affirmative action, Papua, Java, achievement motivation, ethnic solidarity, nationalism, readiness to compete

A. INTRODUCTION

Several studies on educational affirmation policy were conducted in the United States and China (Vue et al., 2017; Ding et al., 2017; Maes et al., 2021), and they all focused on increasing the participation of ethnic minorities in higher education. Many countries encountered challenges in the process of increasing the enrollment rates in secondary schools within the Southern Hemisphere. According to the annual analysis of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), there were continuous education disparities between the North and the South, and the participation rate of the population aged 5-14 and 15-19 years had average values of 95/84% and 78/66% in both regions, respectively (OECD, 2021). The South's low educational attainment was also in line with economic progress, as poverty, underdevelopment, and inequality characterized this region and affected the minimized school enrollment rate. Despite education being one of the former human development indexes (HDI), the low school participation rate still affects the minimized HDI. In Southeast Asian (ASEAN) countries, only Singapore and Brunei Darussalam had HDI in the global top 50 rankings, with most of them below 100 positions, such as the Philippines (106), Indonesia (111), and Cambodia (146) (UNDP, 2019). This indicated that the development disparities and failures were strongly correlated with institutions. According to Acemoglu & Robinson (2012), a country's inclusive social, economic, and political institutions were more successful in the development, although weak schools led to low productivity and abuse of power. Moreover, economic complexity is also in line with the poverty level and per capita income of a country (Wan et al., 2021). Another pattern of understanding the development disparity magnitude is to calculate the years needed by the affected region to meet up with the OECD countries within the selected indicators (Brooks et al., 2010). This clarified that poor countries need more time and higher economic growth than the OECD members.

The disparity is a problem in Indonesia's development, as observed between the West and East regions, Rural and Urban settlements, the social layers, as well as the internal and external parts of Java island. This often occurs as ethnic dissatisfaction, due to each island being inhabited by ethnic groups with different cultures. These are evident among the Javanese, with most of them living on islands with the best infrastructure, such as roads, communication and internet networks, electrification, education, health, and finance. Although this natural wealth is far below other islands, the welfare of the people is still the best, due to the observation of the high HDI. Meanwhile, the provinces of Papua and West Papua were at the bottom with scores of 60.62 and 65.26, respectively,

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due to being inhabited by ethnic minorities. This confirmed that the highest HDI was achieved by provinces on Java Island, such as DKI Jakarta (81.11) and DI Yogyakarta (80.22), leading to the average score of 72.29 for Indonesia (Adi & Budiati, 2021). The challenges of understanding ethnic disparities in this country are shown by the disadvantage of educational and medical minorities, which affects the labour market differences and low participation in reputable higher learning. This explains that the quality of institutions varies greatly between provinces, with the foremost being observed on Java Island. The secondary education affirmation program (ADEM) is also expected to reduce disparities between different ethnicities and regions. This program was initially established in 2013, through the transfer of Papua junior high school graduates to study in Java. It also aims to motivationally improve the quality of Papuan students, to achieve educational goals and have greater acceptance chances at a reputable university. Therefore, this strengthened nationalism and weakens the support for the Free Papua Movement.

After the implementation of affirmative action, a continuous debate is still observed regarding the beneficial status of affirmation, whose policies are designed to increase the representation of minority groups, where historical exclusion or discrimination has been encountered. These groups are often related to gender or ethnicity, with the common areas of exclusion including employment, housing, and education (Maes et al., 2021). Based on the proponents, affirmative action was very important for a multi-ethnic country, due to its equality and justice values, which promoted diversity and the acknowledgment of previous mistakes (Strauss, 2022). Meanwhile, oppositions stated no relationship existed between affirmative action and equality, although it had unintended consequences for the target students. This indicated that students with economic and ethnic admission privileges did not carry out any transformation activity, although defended injustice (Aygun & Bó, 2021). In multi-ethnic countries, affirmative action is also at the forefront of the policymakers' consciousness, obtaining more support than rejection. This led to the analytical performances in these regions, to test the mismatch hypothesis by Arcidiacono et al. (2011). In this condition, affirmation increased the possibility of minority students being matched with the schools that did not optimize their chances of success. However, this hypothesis was rejected by several scholars, with Ding et al. (2017) clarifying that the low educational participation of ethnic minorities was based on the incommensuration of human resources investment with their job opportunities. This exhibited that the Chinese government deliberately designed an affirmative policy to reduce economic inequality between different ethnic groups. Based on these results, the policy implementation revealed that ethnic minority students were better in the job market than the majority group. This rejected the discrepancy hypothesis of Arcidiacono et al. (2011), which was then observed as an effective instrument for correcting historical discrimination against minorities.

The results obtained by Ding et al. (2017) were subsequently supported by Liu (2020), where the abolition of China's race-conscious admissions policy directly affected the chances of admitting minority students. In the United States, Bleemer (2021) also showed that affirmative action promoted socio-economic mobility among minority youth, leading to an increase in education allocation efficiency. This proved that in the long term, the policy succeeded in becoming an instrument of intergenerational mobility while eroding social disparities between different ethnic groups. Cassan (2019) also stated that affirmative action increased educational attainment in India, although men benefit more from successful university studies, with the lowest castes and women obtaining low merits. There are gaps in previous studies that did not pay enough attention to region, teacher quality, and educational infrastructure. Liu's study starts from racial disparities, Bleemer pays attention to differences between generations, Ding focuses on majority-minority differences, and Maes et al emphasize discriminatory policies against minority groups. This study can fill the gaps left by previous researchers. The affirmation policy towards ethnic Papuans takes into account the history of discrimination, infrastructure inequality, and the quality of education between regions. Apart from that, previous studies did not pay attention to inter-ethnic solidarity and nationalism. These two things are very important for the relationship between Papua and Jakarta because of the dissatisfaction of the Papuan people which was manifested in the form of the Free Papua Movement. Therefore, this study aims to determine the impact of affirmative secondary education policies on the Papuan ethnic studying in Java. This is expected to specifically answer the following questions, (1) Do the participation of these students increase motivation for achievement? (2) Is inter-ethnic solidarity built up? (3) Is this policy capable of strengthening nationalism? and (4) Are the students ready to compete in the national and international job market?

By answering the questions above, this research can demonstrate the benefits of affirmative policies in multi-ethnic countries with socioeconomic disparities. While the novelty of this study is that affirmative action is the right step to end inter-ethnic inequality in education in a multi-ethnic country.

B. LITERATURE REVIEW

The findings above support the results of Ding's et al. (2017) research, that educational affirmation policies increase participants' achievement motivation. This is different from Ding's findings where the participants assessed the importance of education as an investment. This research shows that the environment plays an important role in shaping students' attitudes and actions. Being in a more competitive environment, participants are required to adapt to the rules of the game, so they are more confident. Through daily interactions and engaging in games together, participants forge themselves in an ethnic culture that they have always viewed as superior. Affirmative education policies also strengthen diversity and equality. The view of Free Papua Movement activists that

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discrimination continues and does not provide a future for the younger generation needs to be re-examined. Affirmative action is very important for multi-ethnic nations that experience inequality in the quality of human resources as stated by Strauss (2022). But the results of this research do more than just erode disparities. This affirmation policy can erode the views and attitudes of xenophobia and inferiority that have been shown by ethnic minorities.

Achievement motivation was not a single construction, although included various constructions such as social, cultural, and political freedom. According to McClelland (1965), the Need for Achievement (n Ach) was a subconscious drive to better performances toward a standard of excellence, exhibiting a clear purpose and will to perform risks. This showed that the students were aware of the standards set by various institutions and still strived to achieve them. These attitudes were reportedly formed in a socio-cultural environment that values achievement. Therefore, a democratic political environment becomes a healthy arena for spurring achievement, due to the free innovative allowance to realize various ideals. This was not in line with Steinmayr et al. (2019), where the ability of self-concepts was proposed to determine achievement in Germany. In this condition, the abilities were found to play a more important role than achievement motivation, task values, and goals, although an environment providing goal-oriented opportunities to individuals was needed.

Although the participants have high nAch, their competitive readiness was still low due to the demand of the n-Ach for open and fair competition. Blumer (1958) also stated that the students did not dare to leave the Papua region when they still feel a racial threat. Therefore, the positive observation of other ethnicities and strong nationalism led to the absence of ethnic discrimination and strengthen national unity. Based on the reasons the nationalism and attitude towards other ethnic groups were moderate and high, the answers should be sought in the history of the Papuan people, especially their attachment to the land. For indigenous Papuans, the land was observed as 'mother' or 'mama', as it is a place with life. Subsequently, this region is known as 'Tanah Papua', which shows the integration of the community with the land as a single unit of life. In contrast to industrial society (Burja et al. 2020; Dell'Angelo et al., 2021), Papuans interpreted land as the totality of life, due to being considered a pride, heritage, and family monument without external interference. Before integration with Indonesia, the ethnic groups in Papua were the owners of lands, forests; where a customary law regulated site utilization, which rests on the tribal chief (Oktafiani & Yogaswara, 2020). However, the use of Indonesian national law ethnically and racially caused various conflicts, to regulate land management (Gietzelt, 1989; Scott & Tebay, 2005; Anriani et al., 2021).

Papuan land tenure has reportedly been disrupted by the transmigrants' entry, with the movement of people from Java to the province observed to be on since 1902, when the Dutch colonial government needed skilled plantation workers. This step was continuously conducted by the Suharto government (1968-1999), which subsequently sharpened racial issues. These were due to the facilitation of transmigrants by the Indonesian government, which created social jealousy. In this condition, the transmigrants obtained 2 ha of land per family, with the development of complete infrastructures including roads, bridges, elementary schools, and health services. This effort by Gietzelt (1989) was known as Indonesianization, which was carried out with a security approach. For indigenous Papuans, the most damaging impact of transmigration was land grabbing, as hundreds of residents fled to the forest due to the failure to defend their sites, leading them to join the FPM (Scott & Tebay, 2005). Although the transmigration program had been discontinued since 2000, the racial problem still had not completely disappeared. This was in line with the attitudes towards other ethnic groups, which were weak by 15.2%. This historical discrimination embedded in public memory and the meaning of land for indigenous Papuans also explained the reasons 'working in Papua' was still the main choice. In this case, the priority of working in the government influenced the decisions of the indigenous children, based on the considerations of building cultural identity and affirming their rights as native Papuans after more than 3 decades of discrimination. This indicated that the natives felt equal with other ethnic groups since the leadership of Joko Widodo (2014-present). Many policies favouring Papua were also welcomed, with the feeling that discrimination was gradually being eroded (Lantang & Tambunan, 2020). However, the special autonomy policy operating since 2003 did not produce positive results, due to poor financial management by the local governments (Prabowo et al. 2021; Rumere et al., 2022). In a multiethnic society marked by serious disparities, affirmative action required support as an investment in human resources, due to increasing the relative income of ethnic minorities (Ding et al., 2017). This policy was designed to reduce economic disparities and the quality of human resources between regions, to prevent nation disintegration. Racial/ethnic awareness policies also affected quality diversity, leading to the development of a mutually supportive composition. Furthermore, the removal of affirmative action reduced the number of trained racial-ethnic minority professionals, which then provided a serious impact on the inequalities in various sectors (Liu, 2020). In this condition, the future of the nation was observed as a shared responsibility, indicating that the continuity of affirmative action was the right choice. This was due to the policy's ability to develop the diverse leadership needed to overcome environmental challenges.

In terms of nationalism, this research shows surprising results. Initially, researchers assumed that support for FPM came from various levels of society and across generations. Concerning the large number of victims of workers from outside Papua, the hatred towards immigrants and the desire to establish an independent Papuan state is very strong. This study shows the opposite result. Participants from various socio-economic backgrounds stated that 'integration with Indonesia is a final decision and Papua has become an inseparable part of Indonesia'. Participants whose fathers were 'looking for work' stated otherwise. This data confirms

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that the main problem is not politics but socio-economic. There are three major narratives of post-New Order nationalism, namely state-centered narratives, citizen-centered narratives, and ummah-centered narratives (Eddyono, 2020). The state-centered narrative emphasizes Pancasila democracy, positions the new role of the military after authoritarianism, and builds a new relationship between the state and civil society. The unitary state of Indonesia based on a single national ideology, Pancasila, is the guideline, basis for state practice and a source of national identity. Meanwhile, citizen-centered narratives reject efforts to return to the hegemony of New Order Pancasila interpretations. Pancasila as a state ideology must be seen as an open ideology that allows critical thinking and alternative interpretations outside the state. There is no need to reject various alternative ideas about Pancasila, the most important thing is to maintain the four pillars of nationalism.

State-centered nationalism, as practiced by the New Order government, frightens the people of Papua. This form of nationalism is highly militaristic and traumatizing. On the other hand, nationalism that is centered on citizens where human rights are respected will place ethnic Papuans on par with other ethnicities. Papuan, as revealed by (Anggara, 2023), requires emotional support to help them integrate with other ethnicities. Recognition and equal treatment are needed to help increase self-confidence so that they are ready to compete.

The consequence of being an archipelagic nation with multi-ethnicity is that the quality of institutions varies greatly from one province to another. Most of the reputable schools are located on the island of Java, as are state institutions and national and multinational companies. This situation benefits the population on the island of Java and gives the impression of ethnic discrimination. Ethnic discrimination is defined as the different treatment of groups of people in daily life based on ethnicity. These differences range from entering educational institutions, recruiting workers, and health services to promotions to administrative positions. In such situations, discriminated ethnic groups face racial or ethnic threats (Petts, 2021). Feelings of being discriminated against will lead to resistance and that is what has happened with the continued existence of the Free Papua Movement (FPM).

The theoretical implication of this research is that educational affirmation policies based on ethnic considerations in the long term can strengthen equality and justice. Although justice is a persistent universal cultural value in mankind's history, affirmative action is still observed as a social engineer. This is based on the creation of equality, the construction of minorities' access to vertical mobility, and the compensation for various suffered losses. Besides emphasizing the economic class, it is also based on the expansion requirements for race and ethnicity, especially for the critical masses that have experienced years of discrimination (Maes et al., 2021). Meanwhile, the arguments that affirmative action was a disruptive force (Baker, 2019) were not shown in this report. Despite these challenges, the Javanese group still accepted Papuan students to study in reputable schools, as racial threats were only possible when ethnic minorities seized jobs and developed their culture to disrupt the domination of the majorities, according to (Mangum & Block, 2021). However, the threats were not always observed through affirmative action, especially through migration, such as the influx of Asian, African and Hispanic people to Europe and the United States (Gorodzeisky & Richards, 2015; Gorodzeisky & Semyonov, 2019).

The practical implication of this research is that educational stakeholders need to continue this program and expand it to other ethnic groups who are left behind. Providing secondary education in a more advanced cultural environment can change attitudes, and ways of thinking and accelerate the educational progress of disadvantaged ethnic groups. Inequalities in the quality of education can be reduced more quickly and to motivate participants to return to their environment, it is necessary to develop educational infrastructure in the regions.

C. RESEARCH METHODS

This focuses on the evaluation of the affirmative education policy known as ADEM (Affirmation of Secondary Education). Evaluation is carried out by measuring the achievement of program objectives, namely (1) increasing achievement motivation, (2) strengthening inter-ethnic solidarity, (3) strengthening nationalism, and (4) preparing Papuan students for national and international competitive levels.

The population of this study was 688 ADEM program participants from the Papua and West Papua provinces. The sample was determined purposively, namely 289 class XII participants. This selection was based on their abidance with the program for 3 years, accompanied by their direct interactions with other ethnic students. However, class X and XI participants were not included due to studying online, leading to their shortcomings in meeting the requirements for "building inter-ethnic solidarity and strengthening national insight". Based on the analysis, the participants were distributed across 53 reputable and vocational high schools on Java Island. This indicated that secondary school participation varied widely and was partly due to the program structure, where the majority of the participants attended private schools (58%). The participation criteria of this program mostly focused on the outstanding students in Papua, which were selectively admitted into the institution. In this condition, 41 and 59% of male and female participants were observed, with 74.6 and 25.4% of them aged between 15-17 and 18-19 years old, respectively. In addition, approximately 43 people/22.7% originated from big cities, with the remaining observed in small towns and rural areas.

The program objectives were used as research variables, each measured using 3 indicators (strong, moderate, and weak) as stated in Table 1. Respondents' answers were converted to quantitative with the provisions: strong weighed 3, moderate: 2, and

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weak: 1. The total value is divided by the number of participants to produce an average value. This value is then crossed with sociological variables, namely the father's main job and the father's average income per month. Data was collected using a closed questionnaire.

Table 1. Variables and Dimensions

Variable	Dimension
Achievement motivation	Low: It is enough to go to high school and want to work as a civil servant. Moderate: Students want to continue their studies at the university level with government fees High: Students want to continue their studies at university, seek scholarships, and develop Papua
Relationships with other ethnicities	Weak: Just making friends and eating together Moderate: Willing to live in the same dormitory or house Strong: Willing to live in one room within a dorm or at home
Nationalism	Weak: Integration with Indonesia is an illegitimate decision Moderate: Integration is the best decision, although it should be reviewed. Strong: Integration with Indonesia is a final decision, as Papua has become an inseparable part of the country
Readiness to compete	Less: Not ready to compete and work in Papua Moderate: Ready to compete and work in national institutions High: Ready to compete and work in international institutions

Furthermore, the obtained data were processed with descriptive statistics, using cross-tabulation comparisons (crosstab). This was accompanied by the percentage comparison of different variables, with subsequent analysis carried out by comparing several indicators in one statistical test table. Although the cross-table analysis was classical, it was still rich in information and presented the relationship between indicators, especially sociological factors such as the father's main job and income. This data analysis technique is very popular with social scientists, due to being simple with the provision of more accurate information (Cooksey, 2020).

Descriptive statistical analysis does not require hypothesis testing, so researchers do not establish and test hypotheses. Meanwhile, cross-tabulation analysis plays a role in showing trends in the variables studied. This technique is both an advantage and a weakness of the methodology. The advantages are that it is simple, rich in information, and easy to use for making decisions. On the other hand, this technique is doubtful for pure quantitative researchers who like formulas and analysis of relationships between variables.

Researchers also utilize secondary data, especially those published by the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) to show the Java-Papua disparity. To compare development achievements between Papua and Java, accurate data is available, ranging from the human development index to the farmer exchange rate (NTP). Researchers compared the achievements of infrastructure development, human resources, and the economy.

Program evaluation research using program objectives as a variable has several limitations. First, there are dummy variables such as the 'relationship between other ethnicities' and 'nationalism'. Conceptually, if nationalism is strong, relations with other ethnicities will also be strong. To overcome this problem, the indicator of nationalism refers to the integration of the Papua region into Indonesia, which is still being questioned by activists from the Free Papua Organization (OPM). Second, the outstanding students in Papua who are sent to study in Java are dominated by students from the city, so when they return to Papua the impact is on increasing the city-village disparity. In terms of the program's aim to reduce disparities.

D. RESEARCH RESULT

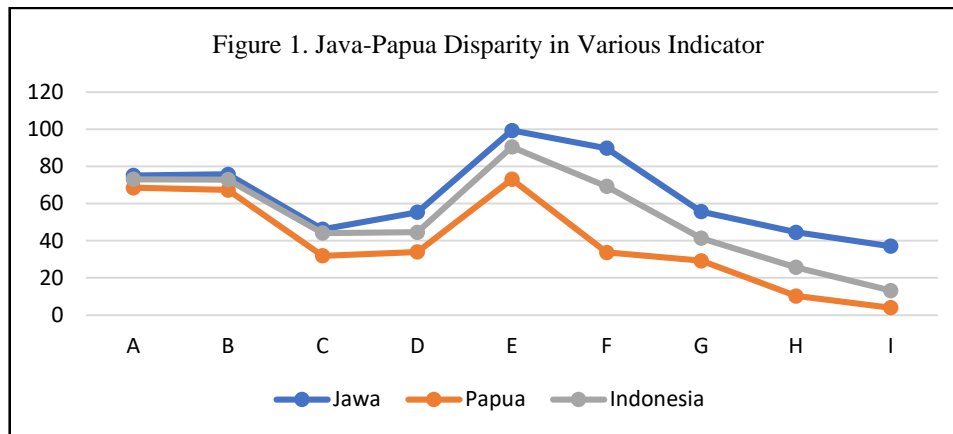
This research wants to answer the question: does Papuan students' participation in the ADEM program increase their motivation to excel? Is inter-ethnic solidarity built? Can this policy strengthen nationalism? Are they ready to compete for the national and international job market?

The results showed that the participants had high achievement motivation (54.5%), a positive attitude towards ethnic differences (46.2%), and strong nationalism (82%), although they were not ready to compete in the foreign job market. This indicated that approximately 58.1% of them wanted to continue working in Papua, due to the easier acquisition of work. All the entrepreneurs' children also had high achievement motivation, strong nationalism, and competitive readiness at national and global levels. However, the opposite condition was found in the children from poor families, whose parents were unemployed, farmers, and labourers.

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1.1 The Disparity of Java and Papua

The Indonesian territory is inhabited by 1340 ethnicities, with the majority being the Javanese groups containing 41% of the population. However, Chinese immigrants (about 2%) were the most prosperous race, leading to the jealous nature of other ethnicities (Rochadi, 2021). Regional disparities also indicate ethnic differences, due to each group inhabiting different administrative areas such as provinces, districts, and cities. This is a serious problem in Indonesia, which contained a total of 273.9 million people. Fig. 1 shows some striking disparity markings between Java and Papua. In this condition, the 9 development indicators revealed the underdevelopment of Papua, compared to Java. This indicated that the average school enrollment rates for Papua and Java children between 16-18 years were 68.5 and 75%, with the proportions of the full-time workforce being 67 and 76%, respectively. These results were in line with the number of workers in the formal sector, where Papua occupied the lowest position with 32%.



- A: Percentage of school participation of children aged 16-18 years (2021)
- B: Percentage of population aged 15 years and over that are working full time (2021)
- C: Percentage of population aged 15 years and over that work in the formal sector (2021)
- D: Job quality index (2021)
- E: Percentage of villages with land transportation infrastructure (2019)
- F: Percentage of households with proper sanitation (2019)
- G: Percentage of villages with health facilities (2019)
- H: Percentage of villages with a market (2019)
- I: Percentage of villages with financial institutions (banks) (2019)

Source: processed from Adi & Budiati (2019); Adi & Budiati (2021)

The low achievement of development in Papua was inseparable from the quality of infrastructure, with the rural settlements difficult to reach by transportation being observed at 27%. In this condition, the provision of public services was very difficult due to the traditional lifestyles of the tribes, which involves moving from one place to another. Moreover, only 34% of families have proper sanitation, leading to the effects on the high maternal mortality rate of 305/100,000 births. Despite this, the national maternal mortality rate was still observed at 177/100 births (Adi & Budiati, 2021). In this condition, the villages with medical facilities such as clinics, as well as health centres and posts were not up to 30%, compared to those on Java (56%). These data similarly applied to economic facilities such as traditional markets and banks, which were only possessed by 4% of Papua villages. Based on the labour force, approximately 97% of people worked in the informal sector. This was in line with Karpushkina et al. (2021), where the sector observed an unstable job market in Russia. These were due to the high level of competition, with the actors often marketing similar products. As observed in Papua, this sector sold non-durable products with little added value, which leads to very low margins. It also led to low incomes, which caused the poor status of about a quarter of the province's population. In addition, backwardness was observed based on a large number of villages without a cell phone signal (50.78%), compared to those in Java (0.88%) (Adi & Budiati, 2019).

Various policies were implemented to reduce inequality, such as (1) the granting of broad and special autonomy, (2) the provision of special allocation funds, and (3) the formation of new autonomous regions and various affirmation programs. Despite this, the implementations still did not succeed in liberating the underdevelopment of Papua. This was used as an excuse for the rebels to fight Jakarta as a separatist movement, i.e., the Free Papua Movement (Gault-Williams, 1987); Suter, 2001), which attacked foreign ethnic groups. During the last 5 years, the number of foreigners, both civilians and military, killed by this separatist movement was 59, with the overall casualty values including the FPM supporters reaching 190 people. These disappointing and disastrous attacks were triggered by the Java-Oriented development direction (Paddock, 2020), with all the best and most comprehensive schools, universities, hospitals, and infrastructures being located on the Java-island. This was because the good

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developmental services on the island had succeeded in improving the quality of education and health, as children over 15 years old (45.21%) were still illiterates in Papua (Sinang et al., 2021). Despite this, Papua-island still had the largest natural wealth, compared to other Indonesian islands.

Although a disparity had been observed between Java and Papua, the killings of foreign workers were more politically charged. This was due to the increased educational level of the workers, based on their development of Papua through the construction of roads, bridges, high schools, as well as communication and electricity networks, which were very beneficial for progress. With infrastructural development very much needed in this province, these attacks were used to create fear against such improvements. This was because the FPM activists did not want to lose the issue of movement through developmental success. In addition, they did not want to experience difficulties in obtaining support from small countries in the Pacific. Besides the transfer of the best Papuan students to study in Java, the government also provided incentives to teachers and health workers in outermost and innermost remote areas (3T). Despite this, the vast territory of Indonesia still caused difficulties to reach the interior and traditional minority groups. Due to these challenges, 11 tribes refused to have direct contact with foreigners, based on the assumption that different cultural values often destroyed their traditional life.

DATA ANALYSIS

The ADEM program participants varied according to the socioeconomic background of their families, with their fathers observed as farmers (33%), labourers (13%), and unemployed job seekers (14.5%). This indicated that the main occupation of the father often described the welfare of the family. In this condition, the families of the farmers and labourers, whose children contained the majority of respondents, lived in poverty. This was due to their income levels being less than IDR 2 million (137.9 USD) per month. Meanwhile, only 6% of the students originated from prosperous families working as civil servants and entrepreneurs. This kind of economic condition is observed as a consideration for the Indonesian government, towards implementing the ADEM program. Fig. 1 shows the achievement motivation of students from entrepreneurial and civil-servant families, where the scores of 3.0 and 2.6 points were observed to be slightly higher than those from farming households. For the unemployed job seekers, the desire to progress and improve the quality of life ranked the lowest at 1.9 points. Despite this, the ADEM program was still successful in motivating the participants, as 54.5% of the students had high achievement motivation. Based on the average income of fathers per month, greater financial stability was also found to lead to the higher achievement motivation of the children. This verified that almost all the participants from middle and rich families had high motivation, with 35.5% only observed for those from poor households.

The parents' jobs also affected children's attitudes in responding to ethnic differences, as approximately 46.0% of the participants had positive behaviors towards other ethnicities. These were observed as the students whose parents had high horizontal mobility, such as civil servants, labourers, and entrepreneurs (Figure 2). Moreover, the adaptation to change, innovation, hard work, and tenacity affected the children's attitudes, as characteristics of entrepreneurship. This revealed that all the participants from this family agreed to 'live in the same dormitory and one room with different ethnicities'. Meanwhile, the participants whose parents were farmers and unemployed job seekers were observed at 10.4% and were only willing to be friends with different ethnicities. The greatest lack of openness was also observed in those whose parents were unemployed, with a score of 1.7.

Table 2. Distribution of respondents based on father's main job, achievement motivation, attitude towards other ethnicities, nationalism, and readiness to compete

Father's main job	Achievement motivation			Attitude towards other ethnicities			Nationalism			Readiness to compete		
	L	M	H	W	M	S	L	M	H	L	A	H
Government employees	3.9	4.5	22	2.8	4.2	23.5	0	0	30.4	17.6	9	3.8
Labourer	1.7	3.9	7.2	2.0	4.8	6.2	0	2.4	10.6	8.3	3.1	1.7
Farmer	5.9	12.5	13.8	3.8	22.8	5.5	1.7	1.4	29.0	17.6	14.5	0
Entrepreneur	0	0	9.7	0	1.7	8.0	0	0	9.7	0	1.4	8.3
Unemployment	3.	9.7	1.7	6.6	5.2	2.8	7.3	5.2	2.0	14.5	0	0
Total	14.6	30.8	54.5	15.2	38.7	46.0	9	9	82	58.1	28.0	13.9

Note: L= low or less M= moderate H= high S= strength A= adequate

Based on these results, a strong relationship was observed between the average monthly income and attitudes towards other ethnicities. This indicated that the greater income of the father led to more openness towards different ethnicities, as shown in Figure 3, where students from upper-middle-class families were willing to "live in the same dormitory and room with those from distinct groups". These conditions enhanced intensive interactions and mutual understanding, leading to the occurrence of very strong acculturation.

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Table 3. Distribution of respondents based on the average monthly income of fathers, achievement motivation, attitudes towards other ethnicities, nationalism, and readiness to compete

Average father's income per month (IDR)	Achievement motivation			Attitude towards other ethnicities			Nationalism			Readiness to compete		
	L	M	H	W	M	S	L	M	H	L	A	H
≤ 2 million	10.5	19.5	35.5	10	23.9	31.1	6.6	2.8	55.7	44.3	17.3	3.5
2.1- 4 million	3.1	7.9	11.7	4.2	11.8	6.9	1.7	5.2	15.9	11.4	8.3	3.1
4.1 - 6 million	1.0	1.5	3.2	1.0	3.1	1.7	0.6	1.0	4.1	2.4	1.7	1.7
6.1 - 8 million	0	1.0	2.0	0	0	3	0	0	3.1	0	0.3	2.7
≥ 8.1 million	0	0.7	2.3	0	0	3	0	0	3.1	0	0.3	2.7
Total	14.6	30.8	54.5	15.2	38.7	46	9	9	82	58.1	28.0	13.9

Affirmation policies also helped in strengthening nationalism, with Papuan students mostly targeted due to a factual background, which stated that some political elites still questioned the legality of the Act of Free Choice decision since the integration with Indonesia in 1969 (Gault-Williams, 1987; Suter, 2001); Anriani et al., 2021). This was observed every early December when the Free Papua Movement (FPM) celebrated by raising the movement's flag while demanding a repeat referendum. In this condition, the jungle combatants continuously carry out attacks on public facilities, with many students being recruited and armed to terrorize schools, hospitals, government offices, and even kill civilians. This was a challenge to nationalism, especially for the younger generation. Therefore, this study also aimed to determine the attitudes of students towards Indonesia, with 3 criteria being observed and used to measure nationalism. These included the following, (1) Weak nationalism, where the participant stated that 'integration with Indonesia is an illegitimate decision', (2) moderate nationalism, which stated that 'integration is the best decision, although it should be reviewed', and (3) strong nationalism, which stated that 'integration with Indonesia is a final decision, with Papua being an inseparable part of the country'.

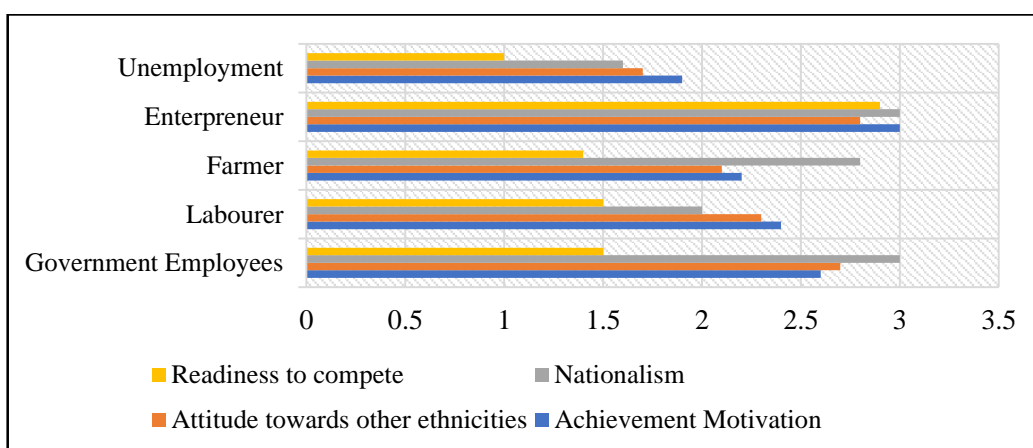


Figure 2. Achievement motivation, Attitude towards other ethnicities, Nationalism and Readiness to compete of participant by Father's main job

Based on these results, 82% of the participants had strong nationalism, with 9% stating that the integration carried out through the 1969 Act of Free Choice was an illegitimate decision. This was in line with the political views of FPM activists, where the 1969 referendum was observed not to be a one-man vote, although was represented by numerous tribal chiefs. These were subsequently carried out by considering the backwardness of the Papuan people. Due to not being the people's decision, the 1969 Act of Free Choice was questioned, as the United Nations General Assembly ratified the results of this process through resolution number 2504, which was appropriate to the 1962 New York Agreement. From the father's job, students from all family backgrounds had strong nationalism, with dissatisfaction only shown by unemployed families at 7.3%, with an average score of 1.6. This was reinforced by the 'relationship of the average monthly income with nationalism'. In this condition, the participants from the poor and rich families had strong nationalism (Figure 3), although some households with economic difficulties were still dissatisfied with the integration into Indonesia. Furthermore, the ADEM program did not succeed in building the confidence of the participants, whose competitive readiness at national and international levels was very low. This showed that the highest score was occupied by the children from entrepreneurial families at 2.9 points. Meanwhile, the children from unemployed families (1.0) were completely unprepared to compete. This was in line with those of the households of farmers, labourers, and civil servants (Figure 3). Based on these results, the participants' reasons to work in Papua were based on the protection of the natural wealth, as well as not being far from their

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parents and relatives. In contrast, the reason others decided to work in national and international institutions was due to the wages, job facilities, and more open opportunities for self-development.

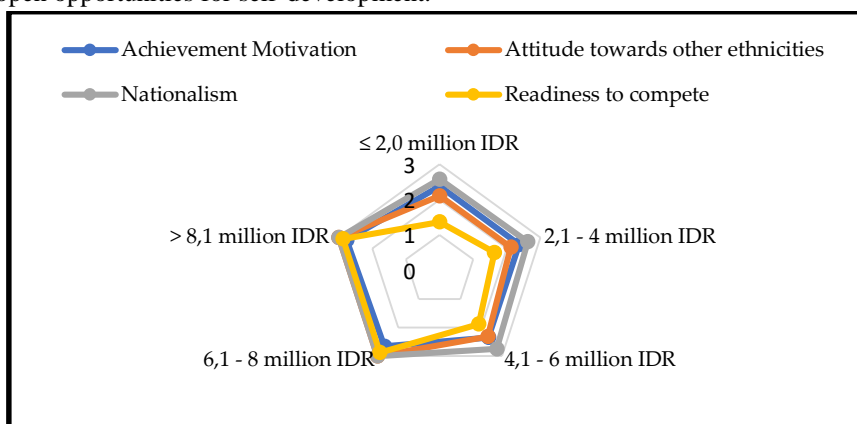


Figure 3. Achievement motivation, attitudes towards other ethnicities, nationalism and participants' readiness to compete according to the father's average monthly income

From the average monthly income, an increasing trend was observed, where greater financial stability led to a stronger readiness to work in national and international institutions. This revealed that 44.3% of participants from poor families wanted to continue working in Papua (local), with a similar choice also observed for those in the poverty line (IDR 2.1-4 million per month). Meanwhile, the children from more prosperous families dared to leave Papua to compete for jobs (Table 3). Since 1998, the positions in the Papuan government and formal sector were prioritized by the Papuans, ensuring the acquisition of jobs without any form of competition. According to Figs. 2 and 3, a positive correlation was then observed between the father's main job and average monthly income with achievement motivation and competitive readiness for work in the national and international institutions.

There is a disparity between Java and Papua in development. Of the 9 indicators, the worst disparities are inland transportation services, households with proper sanitation, and villages with financial institutions. The ADEM program has succeeded in building outstanding participants. Judging from the average father's income, the greater the father's income, the higher the achievement motivation. The father's main occupation influences the child's attitude in responding to ethnic differences. Students from families of civil servants, workers, and entrepreneurs have a positive attitude toward ethnic differences. There is a strong relationship between the average father's monthly income and ethnic differences. The greater the father's income, the less ethnocentrism. This research also found that the participants had strong nationalism. This happens to students from various sociological backgrounds. In contrast, the program was less successful in building participants' self-confidence. They are not ready to compete for jobs at the national and international levels.

E. CONCLUSION

This study aimed to evaluate the Indonesian government's affirmative action for Papuans in the educational field. These were conducted due to the historical discrimination affecting the backwardness of these ethnicities in various fields. Therefore, affirmative action was carried out as an investment in human resources, which developed equality in the acquisition of a job, as well as prepared a quality workforce and future leaders. From the 4 indicators, the achievement motivation and nationalism were high, with only inter-ethnic solidarity being moderate. However, the competitive readiness in the national and international job markets had a low score. This was motivated by the protection policies of Papuans in obtaining formal sector jobs, their attachment to the land, and recurring previous experiences.

Affirmative action succeeded in increasing the achievement motivation of Papuan students and even all participants wanted to continue on to higher education. In terms of inter-ethnic relations, this study reverses the assumption that Papuans are inferior when they meet ethnic groups from outside. The habit of gathering among fellow Papuans is driven more by tastes in food and drink. Most of Indonesia's population is Muslim, which prohibits eating pork and drinking alcohol. Meanwhile, for the Papuan people, pork and alcohol are their daily consumption. Beyond these considerations, Papuans openly accept and make friends with other ethnicities. The opposite conclusion also occurs in 'nationalism'. This research found that Papuan nationalism is high. But they rejected militaristic state-centered nationalism. Papuan nationalism is doubtful because it is measured by the state-centered concept. Having experienced decades of being the target of military violence, Papuans refuse to follow this concept. In contrast, with a citizen-centered approach where human rights are upheld, Papuans have strong nationalism.

The results of this study have a major contribution to education policymakers in multi-ethnic countries that experience disparities in the quality of education. Affirmative action expansion is needed for conflict-prone areas, underdeveloped areas, and post-disaster areas. For ethnic minorities, the policy also needs to foster achievement motivation, strengthen ethnic solidarity, and

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increase nationalism. These results helped to strengthen Ding et al. (2017), where the affirmative action was suitable for the following, (1) resolving inter-ethnic inequality, (2) increasing socioeconomic achievement through education and equality reasons (Cassan, 2019), (3) promoting diversity and acknowledging the occurrence of previous mistakes (Strauss, 2022). This confirmed that the development only perpetuated inequalities and conflicts when the government decide not to encourage disadvantaged minority groups.

The theoretical implication of this research is that educational affirmation policies based on ethnic considerations in the long term can strengthen equality in educational quality. Meanwhile, the practical implication is that this program needs to be continued by stakeholders and expanded to other ethnic groups who are left behind.

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