'When East Meets West': Perception of and Responses to Stigma Among Ethnic Minority Students from Eastern Indonesia in Java

Syurawasti Muhiddin[*1], Siti Nur Ainun Zakiyah[1], Mayrina Yanita Sitorus[1], Andrian Liem[2], Indra Yohanes Kiling[3], Elfydha Siti Safrina[1]

[1]*Psychology Study Program, Faculty of Medicine, Universitas Hasanuddin, Makassar, Indonesia*

[2]*Monash University, Malaysia*

[3]*Psychology Program, Faculty of Public Health, Universitas Nusa Cendana, Kupang, Indonesia*

Abstract. Ethnic minorities and indigenous people are two of the many groups at high risk of being stigmatized in society because of their identity. Such stigmatization might have diverse psychological and social impacts. This study aimed to explore the perceptions of stigma experienced by ethnic minority students and their responses to it. This study was descriptive qualitative research involving 12 participants aged 18–30 from East Nusa Tenggara and Sulawesi, who had studied and lived in Yogyakarta for at least one year. Thematic analysis with an inductive approach resulted in three grand themes according to research questions: forms of stigma, coping strategies, and efforts to minimize stigma. Findings indicate that the stigma experienced by students was classified as stereotypes and negative treatment in both academic and non-academic contexts. Participants' responses to cope with the stigma were mainly related to four types of coping: problem-focused, emotion-focused, cognitive coping, and avoidance. There are three key areas of improvement that can reduce the occurrence of stigma in ethnic minority groups, namely self-development, relationship development, and institutional development (e.g., education and community). This research provides insights for key stakeholders, such as families, educational and youth institutions, and the media, to formulate interventions aimed at reducing stigma that may have negative psychosocial impacts on individuals and groups at both the individual and community levels.

Keywords: east; ethnic minority; indigenous; stigma; student

Indonesia is a diverse country, characterized by differences in culture, race, ethnicity, beliefs, religion, and language. This is in line with Indonesia's motto written on the Garuda Bird's ribbon, Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, which means "different but still one." Ideally, Indonesian society can live in harmony by putting aside differences and focusing on the goal of togetherness (Astri, 2011).

Nevertheless, conflicts due to differences in community characteristics cannot be avoided (Sari & Samsuri, 2020). One conflict that has occurred is the religion-based conflict that took place in Ambon in 1999. This conflict involved Christian and Muslim communities, where the two groups attacked each

---

[*]Address for correspondence: syurawasti@unhas.ac.id

other and burned buildings that served as places of worship (Febriyanti & Kurniasari, 2023).

Other conflicts caused by differences also occurred among Papuan students in Yogyakarta. From 2010 to 2018, Papuan student groups experienced discriminatory acts, including beatings, intimidation, and even stabbings. These incidents triggered the action of Papuan students to unfurl banners containing the statement "Yogyakarta is Not Safe for Papuan Students" as a form of protest (Hardiyanto, 2018).

Regional, cultural, ethnic, and religious diversities can shape perceptions between one group and another (Riauan et al., 2020; Saputra, 2019). These perceptions can form stereotypes and prejudices. Murdianto (2018) even suggested that stereotypes and prejudice are a form of dehumanization.

However, stereotyping is a cognitive process that occurs automatically when someone assesses a group (Srisayekti & Setiady, 2015). Stereotypes are formed through information obtained by observing the activities conducted by groups of people (Eagly & Wood, 2012; Koenig & Eagly, 2019). On the other hand, prejudice arises when a person distinguishes or evaluates certain individuals or groups based on socially constructed characteristics, such as religion, ethnicity, gender, race, or social status (Srisayekti & Setiady, 2015).

Prejudice has similarities with stigma, especially in terms of the negative attitude component (Hidayat & Husna, 2021). Stigma is formed through stereotypes that specifically lead to negative assumptions. The basic definition of stigma is a sign or attribute that indicates that an individual is inferior or lacking certain attributes, so they are not comparable to individuals who are considered "normal" (Goffman, 2014). In other words, stigmatization occurs when a person is judged to have attributes that do not conform to social norms, which can lead to ostracization.

Stigma consists of two levels: public/institutional and perceived/self-stigma. Public or institutional stigma occurs when society supports and acts on stereotypes of a stigmatized group. Meanwhile, individuals who experience stigmatization can internalize perceived prejudice, develop negative feelings towards themselves, and eventually form self-stigma (Darmawan & Permatasari, 2022; Putri et al., 2021).

Furthermore, the stigma is outlined in four interrelated elements: 1) categorization and labeling of human differences; 2) dominant cultural beliefs associate the labeled individual with characteristics that are considered undesirable; 3) the target individual is placed into categories to separate "us" from "them"; and 4) the target individual experiences loss of status, discrimination, rejection, and ostracization, which have negative consequences to their life.

In summary, stigma occurs "when the elements of labeling, stereotyping, segregation, loss of status, and discrimination occur simultaneously in a situation of power that allows the components of stigma to occur" (Yang et al., 2017). The interconnectedness of these elements can lead to devaluation, neglect, and exclusion (Cerully et al., 2018; Frost, 2011).

The most dominant experience of stigmatization in Indonesia is felt by the people of eastern Indonesia, especially people coming from Sulawesi, Nusa Tenggara, Maluku, and Papua. The vulnerability to the stigmatization experience is related to the social conditions of groups that are ethnic minorities in Indonesia (Christiani, 2017; Makabori, 2023; Umam, 2021). Quantitatively, the

population of western Indonesians, particularly on Java, accounts for around 40% of Indonesia's total population. This indicates that the population of eastern Indonesia is relatively smaller.

In addition, eastern Indonesians tend to maintain their customs and habits than western Indonesians in general. Experiences of stigmatization occur among ethnic minorities and indigenous peoples because of their identity (Fangen & Lynnebakke, 2014; United Nations, 2018). Often, such stigmatization leads to discriminatory behavior or even racism (Sánchez, 2020). This research focused on the stigmatization experienced by students from eastern Indonesia who migrate to Java–a representation of western Indonesia–to pursue higher education (Parela et al., 2018). More specifically, many migrating students choose Yogyakarta as their destination, as the city is known as the "City of Education."

This group of migrant students should be studied further, because they are in the early adult phase, the transition period from adolescence to adulthood (Santrock, 2012). At this stage, students face personal development challenges, including the demand to become more independent in a new environment while living as an ethnic minority group. The urgency of this research is also related to identifying efforts that have been made and new strategies that can be implemented to minimize the stigmatization of ethnic minority students within the scope of individuals, groups, and communities. This is important, given that social stigma or prejudice often triggers discriminatory treatment that leads to inter-ethnic conflict. For example, Adelina et al. (2017) revealed at least four cases of brawls in Malang City from 2014 to 2016 involving students from East Nusa Tenggara. Furthermore, Kapisa (2023) revealed that the negative stigma that develops in society often stems from the behavior of only a handful of students. This causes people to put a general negative label on all Papuan students, despite the fact that only certain individuals behave in this way.

This research is expected to contribute to efforts to reduce stigma, especially for student groups or other individuals who are vulnerable to it. The findings can support the creation of a more harmonious inter-ethnic life amid the diversity of Indonesian society. Previous studies did not explore the stigma experienced by ethnic minority students from a social psychology perspective (Laway & Dewi, 2024; Suprapto et al., 2024; Wulandari & Jones, 2023). Existing studies are still limited to exploring forms of stigma, without further examining psychosocial responses and strategies to minimize them so that similar experiences do not occur to other ethnic minority student groups (Adelina et al., 2017; Kapisa, 2023).

In addition, although some studies have examined stigma and discrimination against ethnic minority students from eastern Indonesia in various regions in Java, such as Malang and Banten, responses to stigma can vary depending on the situation, including age and social environment (Ningrum et al., 2023). Previous studies also focused on specific ethnic minority groups, such as Papuans (Nababan, 2022; Sari & Samsuri, 2020; Wulandari & Jones, 2023). Based on the identified research gaps, this study aimed to examine the forms of stigmatization experienced by ethnic minority students from eastern Indonesia in a Javanese majority ethnic environment, their responses to these experiences, and strategies that can be implemented to reduce the impact of stigmatization. Therefore, the researchers formulated three main questions, namely: 1) What stigma is experienced by ethnic

minority student groups (Sulawesi, Nusa Tenggara, Papua)?; 2) How do these ethnic groups respond or overcome the stigma experienced?; 3) How can efforts be made so that other ethnic minority student groups do not have the same experience?

Methods

Research Design

This research used a descriptive qualitative design, which aims to provide a comprehensive summary of specific events or phenomena experienced by individuals or groups, without focusing on the study of life experiences, culture, or theory development (Lambert & Lambert, 2012; Villamin et al., 2024). The researchers intended to obtain a direct description of the stigmatization experienced by ethnic minority students studying in Java, especially Yogyakarta. Specifically, this study aimed to identify the forms of stigma that arise, how students respond to it, and the efforts made to overcome the stigma.

Participants

The researchers used purposive sampling as the participant selection technique, considering this study needed participants who could provide appropriate information based on their lived experience. In addition, this sampling technique allows effective use of limited research resources while ensuring appropriate identification of cases (Campbell et al., 2020)). The criteria for selecting participants for this study were as follows: 1) Aged 18–30 years old; this criterion was based on the age limit of young adulthood or early adulthood proposed by Santrock (2012) and some other literature. Although the age range differs in some countries, cultures, and situations, the authors then chose a general range, namely early 20s to late 30s, specifically 18 - 30 years old (Forbes & Williams, 2021; Monks et al., 2001; Santrock, 2012; Short et al., 2018). In Indonesian-based studies, researchers often set the age limit of the young adult group to 30 or even 40 years old. In addition, individuals in the age group have generally shown characteristics of young adults (Keliat et al., 2019); 2) Coming from ethnic minority groups in eastern Indonesia, e.g., Sulawesi, Nusa Tenggara, Maluku, and Papua. These regions represent the eastern part of Indonesia. Each region has a local ethnicity that is smaller in size than the Javanese, which dominates Indonesia (40.22%) based on Statistics Indonesia data in 2023. In addition, many people from this region migrate to Java for higher education due to the discrepancy in the quality of education (Fitri & Kustanti, 2020); 3) Active undergraduate and/or postgraduate students at public or private institutions in Yogyakarta; this is in line with the age criterion used, as many young adults (aged 18 – 30) are studying at that level of education; 4) Have studied and lived in Yogyakarta for at least one year. This criterion was intended to select students with more experience living in an area with an ethnic majority; 5) Students who reported having been stigmatized on campus and off campus.

Twelve participants took part in this study (seven men and five women). Most of the participants involved came from the South Sulawesi and East Nusa Tenggara regions. Table 1 shows a brief profile of the participants.

Table 1

Participant Profiles

Pseudonym	Region of Origin	Gender	Age	Ethnicity	Semester
Aryo	East Nusa Tenggara	Male	19	Kefamenanu, East Nusa Tenggara	Semester 4
Ina	East Nusa Tenggara	Female	22	East Flores, East Nusa Tenggara	Semester 4
Fahrul	Maluku	Male	20	Maluku /Alifuru	Semester 6
Gana	East Nusa Tenggara	Female	19	Lamaholot, East Nusa Tenggara	Semester 4
Amra	East Nusa Tenggara	Male	21	Flores, East Nusa Tenggara	Semester 8
Fikri	East Nusa Tenggara	Male	23	Flores, East Nusa Tenggara	Semester 8
Tari	Sulawesi	Female	23	Makassar, South Sulawesi	Semester 1
Doni	Sulawesi	Male	21	Makassar, South Sulawesi	Semester 8
Yani	Sulawesi	Female	24	Kendari, Southeast Sulawesi	Semester 1
Fadli	Sulawesi	Male	25	Bugis-Makassar, South Sulawesi	Semester 14
Enal	Sulawesi	Male	23	Bugis-Makassar, South Sulawesi	Semester 12
Dira	Sulawesi	Female	26	Bugis, South Sulawesi	Semester 4

Procedure

The researcher recruited participants by distributing research posters through social media (e.g., Instagram, WhatsApp, and Facebook). The poster contained a link to a form that potential participants could fill out, as well as contact information for the researcher if they were interested in participating. Next, the researcher reviewed the alignment between individuals who had filled out the form with the predetermined criteria. After ensuring that all participants met the criteria, the researcher contacted them for further inquiries and explained the interview process.

Interviews were conducted online via Zoom or Google Meet, with the duration for each session ranging from 60-90 minutes. Interviews were conducted in Indonesian and/or local languages according to participants' preferences. The use of local languages was considered so that participants could describe their experiences and comprehension more freely and fluently.

The researcher used an interview guide in the semi-structured interviews conducted. Informed consent was provided before the interview in the form of a digital file, which was then electronically signed by the participants to indicate their consent to participate in the study. The informed consent explained various important aspects of the study, such as its purposes, how to participate in it, potential risks and benefits, the voluntary nature of the study participation, compensation, data confidentiality policy, and researchers' contact information. Ethical clearance was obtained from the Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee (MUHREC) with clearance number 31745, published on March 17, 2022. For documentation purposes and to maintain data credibility, interviews were recorded and transcribed. Each participant was compensated with an e-wallet voucher as appreciation for their participation in the study.

The main questions during the interview were developed based on the research questions, namely: 1) How do you see yourself as a member of a marginalized/ethnic-minority/indigenous group?; 2) How do you think others perceive you as a member of a marginalized indigenous group/ethnic minority?; 3) How do you understand the word 'stigma'?; 4) What experiences of stigma

can you share as a student from an indigenous and ethnic minority group?; 5) How did you respond when faced with this experience? What did you do?; 6) What do you think can be done to minimize or eliminate such stigma so that other students from the same marginalized/ethnic-minority/indigenous groups as you do not experience the same thing.

Data Validation

The researchers conducted a peer debriefing to ensure confirmability (Enworo, 2023). Another researcher, who understood the concepts studied and was not involved in this study from the beginning, was recruited to review and provide feedback on the categorization and theme definition (Ahmed, 2024; Stahl & King, 2020). After the principal investigators (three people) analyzed the data, the results were discussed with the additional researcher. Furthermore, the researchers also tried to ensure the credibility by conducting data triangulation. Each researcher separately analyzed the interview results and then gathered for a discussion to reach agreement on the final results, including the definition of the main themes (Stahl & King, 2020). This process was carried out before peer debriefing.

Another step taken by the researchers to enhance dependability was documentation of the research method, detailing the research procedures and decisions made throughout the process. This helps ensure transparency and allows other researchers to replicate the study in different contexts or assess the reliability of the findings by following the same procedures and understanding the rationale behind the decisions made (Ahmed, 2024). Meanwhile, transferability was considered by explaining the procedures, research context, and sampling criteria so that other researchers can justify the potential transferability of the findings (Ahmed, 2024).

Table 2

Thematic Analysis Results: Categories, Themes, and Grand Themes

Category	Theme	Grand Theme
Low education level	Negative stereotypes	Forms of Stigmatization
Belittled/devalued		Forms of Stigmatization
"Troublemaker" (likes to cause trouble)		Forms of Stigmatization
Rude remarks		Forms of Stigmatization
Skin and hair color		Forms of Stigmatization
Isolated (region)		Forms of Stigmatization
Likes to show off and seek attention		Forms of Stigmatization
Not included in friendships (excluded)	Negative treatment	Forms of Stigmatization
Racism	Discriminatory treatment	Forms of Stigmatization
Building friendships	Problem-focused coping	Coping Strategies (Responses to Stigma)
Adapting to local culture	Demonstrating/proving abilities	Coping Strategies (Responses to Stigma)

Table 2 (Continued)

Thematic Analysis Results: Categories, Themes, and Grand Themes

Category	Theme	Grand Theme
Speaking up (assertively expressing feelings and thoughts)		Coping Strategies (Responses to Stigma)
Acceptance and compromise	Cognitive coping	Coping Strategies (Responses to Stigma)
Positive thinking		Coping Strategies (Responses to Stigma)
Avoiding and refusing to build relationships	Avoidance coping	Coping Strategies (Responses to Stigma)
Hiding one's identity	Staying silent	Coping Strategies (Responses to Stigma)
Low self-esteem		Coping Strategies (Responses to Stigma)
Emotional reactions (crying and anger)	Emotion-focused coping	Coping Strategies (Responses to Stigma)
Counterattacking		Coping Strategies (Responses to Stigma)
Learning the local language	Self-development	Efforts to Minimize Stigmatization
Learning local culture/customs		Efforts to Minimize Stigmatization
Proving one's abilities		Efforts to Minimize Stigmatization
Being open-minded	Developing good attitudes and behaviors	Efforts to Minimize Stigmatization
Building friendships	Development of good relationships	Efforts to Minimize Stigmatization
Good communication	Building an "in-group support system"	Efforts to Minimize Stigmatization
Valuing differences	Prioritizing clarification	Efforts to Minimize Stigmatization
Education	Institutional development	Efforts to Minimize Stigmatization
Normalization in society (considering it normal)		Efforts to Minimize Stigmatization

The researchers analyzed participants' responses to several interview questions using descriptive thematic analysis and categorized them into three main topics aligned with the research questions (Table 2).

Stigma Experiences

Two themes emerged in describing stigma experiences: negative stereotypes and negative treatment. Participants experienced negative stereotypes because of how others perceived their identity as individuals from eastern Indonesia. These negative stereotypes were often accompanied by unfavorable treatment, which further reinforced the impact of their identity. Participants stated that the negative stereotypes they encountered while studying in Yogyakarta came from classmates, teachers or lecturers, and the local community. These stereotypes included perceptions related to the geographical location of their hometown, differences in educational levels, behavioral and habitual differences, as well as physical features.

Negative stereotypes related to geographic location were particularly experienced by

participants from East Nusa Tenggara. Participants said the eastern region of Indonesia is often perceived as a remote area that frequently faces challenges, especially in accessing water. This perception was considered a form of stigma, as expressed by Fahrul, who explained that the reality in his hometown is not as challenging as commonly imagined.

"[They] think that probably [people in the] East are always living in difficulties, difficulties in [accessing] water there, when it's not the cause." (Fahrul, 20 years old, man)

Another negative stereotype encountered was the perceived differences in educational levels. Students from Sulawesi and East Nusa Tenggara are often considered to have lower educational standards than students from Java. This perception led to participants being underestimated, dismissed, and having their abilities doubted in academic and organizational settings. According to Tari, her teacher assumed that the grades she achieved were not genuine or had been manipulated simply because the teacher did not believe in her abilities.

"It turns out that the teachers here think that the grades are... well... manipulated, because they don't believe in my ability." (Tari, 23 years old, woman)

Another response regarding stigma in higher education was provided by Enal, who said that people from Makassar are perceived as unintelligent and incapable of adapting to the learning processes commonly implemented in Java.

"Makassar people can't adapt to the learning method or process of the people here [Java]. To be frank, [Makassar people] are stupid." (Enal, 23 years old, man)

Participants commonly encountered stereotypes in the form of verbal remarks related to differences in behavior and habits. They were perceived as troublemakers, thinking that people from this ethnic group frequently caused issues, engaged in physical altercations, and gathered to drink alcoholic beverages. These stereotypes were expressed by fellow students and members of the local community who were less accepting of students from eastern Indonesia.

Additionally, participants were often considered to have a harsh way of speaking, characterized by loud voices and a high-pitched tone, especially in comparison to Javanese people. However, participant Aryo explained that such a speaking style is customary in his home region, even though Javanese people, who tend to speak more softly, perceive it as rude.

"And the way of speaking which is probably normal for East Nusa Tenggara people, but for Javanese people who typically speak softly, so [the speech] was considered rude." (Aryo, 19 years old, man).

In addition to speech tone, the use of accents from Sulawesi and East Nusa Tenggara also led participants to experience mockery or be the subject of jokes by their peers. There was also a specific negative stereotype experienced by a participant from Sulawesi, Dira, who was perceived as arrogant and constantly seeking attention or showing off to others.

"They said, 'well, because I have a friend, [from] Sulawesi, and she is dominant, [she] likes... likes to show off, probably something akin to apple polishing." (Dira, 26 years old, woman)

Another stereotype experienced by participants was related to physical appearance. This was specifically encountered by participants from East Nusa Tenggara and Southeast Sulawesi. Darker skin

tones and wavy hair are often considered defining characteristics of people from eastern Indonesia. Gana also said that there seemed to be a specific physical "template" associated with people from East Nusa Tenggara.

"Perhaps according to their view, East Nusa Tenggara people have certain physiques, like maybe in their mind, there is a format or a template for East Nusa Tenggara people." (Gana, 19 years old, woman).

In addition to negative stereotypes, participants also experienced unfavorable treatment, which formed the second theme within the topic of stigma experiences. Racist treatment was encountered by Fahrul, who revealed that mocking remarks were directed at students from eastern Indonesia.

"Perhaps stigmas related to–perhaps they, um, [are being racist], I mean if [they are being] racist–having racist thoughts of us is more by using a slightly mocking tone (Fahrul, 20 years old, man)".

Additionally, participants from Sulawesi experienced discrimination in the form of unfair treatment from their teachers in the classroom. A similar situation was encountered by participants Aryo and Enal, who felt discriminated against by their peers. They were excluded from group activities, as friendships were formed based on specific regional backgrounds.

"They're like, when making friends, having specific circles. Those who come from the same regions." (Aryo, 19 years old, man)

"Well, I have experienced that. No one wanted to pick me as their group member. [No one wanted to] include me in their group." (Enal, 23 years old, man)

Some participants also experienced discrimination through specific rules imposed on students from eastern Indonesia, particularly regarding accommodations. These restrictions made it difficult for some students to find housing, especially those seeking places close to campus.

Responses to Stigma Experience

These responses are mechanisms to cope with the psychological pressure caused by stigmatization. Four themes were identified regarding how participants responded to stigma: emotional coping, cognitive coping, problem-focused coping, and avoidance or passive coping.

Emotional coping was found among participants. Based on information from Fahrul, racist behavior caused by the stigma he received negatively affected his mental well-being. Fahrul said he was unable to resist or respond when experiencing stigma, and instead coped by crying, isolating himself, and avoiding social interactions.

"I cry or um, sometimes, at the end, um, I want to isolate myself from others." (Fahrul, 20 years old, male)

Additionally, experiences of stigma led to negative emotional responses such as feeling offended, discomfort, annoyance, and anger, as expressed by participants Yani and Doni.

"Well, I am offended, I personally feel offended when [they bring up] physique." (Yani, 24 years old, female)

"There is, I'm more like, annoyed at people." (Doni, 21 years old, male)

Another emotional coping approach was demonstrated by participant Enal, who chose to respond physically–by hitting–as a form of resistance or retaliation when confronted with stigma.

"Beating [people] since I've been in Jogja. Well, about two or three times." (Enal, 23 years old, male)

The second theme is responding to stigma through cognitive coping. Participants stated that they handled the stigma received from peers and the community by compromising. Rather than blaming those who perpetuated the stigma, they chose to accept it. Participants also attempted to think more positively, reframing the stigma as mere jokes rather than internalizing its negative impact.

"I become calmer and think that it's only a joke for those friends." (Amra, 21 years old, male)

Additionally, some participants responded to stigma through passive coping strategies (avoidance coping). Several participants chose to remain silent, act indifferent, or ignore the stigma directed at their identity as individuals from eastern Indonesia. Avoidance responses were also demonstrated through minimal interaction and distancing oneself, as seen in the experiences of Tari and Fadli.

"I just interact with them if necessary." (Fadli, 25 years old, male)

"I tend to be quiet or distance myself." (Tari, 23 years old, female)

In other circumstances, experiences of stigma also led to a sense of inferiority for participant Ina, who felt unacknowledged and excluded from social interactions.

"Well, [I feel] inferior. Like I… like I am not appreciated." (Ina, 22 years old, female)

Additionally, Tari demonstrated an advanced form of avoidance coping by choosing to conceal her true identity to prevent further stigmatization.

"Yes, because of that event I eventually thought, um, think, um, it seems like I don't need to show my other identity [as an eastern Indonesian]." (Tari, 23 years old, female)

Another finding in this study was participants' responses to stigma through problem-focused coping. The stigma they experienced motivated them to make adjustments and adapt to their surroundings and the local culture to enhance acceptance within the community. Participants engaged in adaptation efforts by learning the language style and common habits practiced by people in Java.

"Trying to adapt, the first thing is the [Javanese] language, and the second one is the behavior [of the Javanese]." (Fikri, 23 years old, male)

Additionally, some participants responded to stigma by actively building friendships, engaging in interactions, and socializing with peers, even when they were from different ethnic backgrounds.

"I try to join friends, um, of other ethnicities, Javanese friends." (Fikri, 23 years old, male)

Some participants confronted stigma by speaking up or offering clarifications on misconceptions about the identity of individuals from eastern Indonesia. This response was an effort to demonstrate their capabilities and present themselves positively, aiming to challenge negative perceptions and reduce biased views related to their cultural identity.

"So we explain our cultures more often to these people to reduce existing stigmas." (Tari, 23 years old, female)

"So they can see that East Nusa Tenggara people are nice, and therefore their initial perception

was wrong, they can change their mind." (Aryo, 19 years old, male)

Efforts to Minimize Stigma Experiences

The participants suggested several efforts to minimize stigma, which is useful for ethnic majorities, minorities, and the general public. Three themes were identified: self-development, relationship development, and institutional development. The first theme is minimizing stigma through self-development. Aryo, a participant, said that self-development can be achieved by studying the local culture, including the language, to facilitate integration in daily interactions.

"Learning the Javanese language. Because we're coming mostly to other people's land, so whether we want it or not, we must learn their culture. So, we can adapt more quickly. (Aryo, 19 years old, male)

Another self-development effort was expressed by participant Fahrul, who focused on enhancing his skills and personal capacity to counteract stigma that undermine the abilities of individuals from minority ethnic groups.

"I am more about, we, who are thought to be minority, must showcase our best, over most people or others in our surroundings." (Fahrul, 20 years old, male)

Participants from Sulawesi and East Nusa Tenggara also employed similar strategies to minimize stigma by increasing their access to various reading materials. This approach aimed to help individuals develop a broader understanding and raise awareness about diversity.

"Read a lot so that we have a broad knowledge, and in the end our awareness will be improved. It means that being more aware that those types of things [stigmas] are not good." (Fahrul, 20 years old, male)

Additionally, participants from Sulawesi emphasized the importance of reshaping their views toward individuals from other minority ethnic groups. They highlighted the need to cultivate an open mindset to better adapt to their circumstances as migrants.

"So we must, um, improve our perception toward people of different ethnicities." (Yani, 24 years old, female)

The second theme involves relationship development as a strategy to reduce stigma. Several participants from East Nusa Tenggara and Sulawesi fostered relationships by demonstrating polite behavior, maintaining respectful attitudes, and speaking courteously while consistently adhering to ethical and social norms.

"Behaving well in front of people, maintaining courtesy, maintaining [good] ethics, maintaining speech." (Gana, 19 years old, female)

Participants also sought to avoid conflicts, enhance their communication skills, and adjust their attire to align with the cultural norms of their local environment.

"I just think that I should just avoid conflict. Well, then from the way we style ourselves, wearing clothes according to the [standard of the] people here." (Amra, 21 years old, male)

Other participants from East Nusa Tenggara demonstrated relationship-building efforts by maintaining continuous communication and fostering closeness. They actively worked on developing

friendships based on mutual respect for individual backgrounds and embracing differences with tolerance.

"Befriending people without considering their backgrounds. Always improving communication, attitude. That's all."(Ina, 22 years old, female)

"Tolerating individual differences, our differences. For example, we are minorities, living in the environment of majorities." (Gana, 19 years old, female)

Additionally, participants from Sulawesi and East Nusa Tenggara emphasized the importance of establishing an in-group support system by connecting and engaging with peers from the same region. Participants also highlighted the need to openly share perspectives and not isolate themselves from those around them, recognizing external support as a valuable resource.

"There are external helps, like friends, like… we shouldn't close ourselves from others."(Fahrul, 20 years old, male)

"Yes, more about support system and sharing perspectives." (Tari, 23 years old, female)

Another finding from participants in Sulawesi highlights efforts to reduce stigma through institutional development. Participant Yani expressed the need for an educational curriculum that incorporates lessons on cultural diversity, which could serve as a positive support system to prevent stigmatization.

"Maybe the education sector, in the education curriculum in Java, perhaps the teachers can explain that ethnic diversity, racial diversity, can be a positive value for the nation." (Yani, 24 years old, female)

Another perspective was shared by participant Fadli, who suggested that cultural performances could serve as an effective way to promote awareness and provide deeper knowledge about the diverse cultures that exist.

"There are frequent shows about the culture, there's always shows every year." (Fadli, 25 years old, male)

In addition to the previously mentioned efforts, some participants shared a different perspective, suggesting that stigma could be minimized through normalization–viewing it as a common occurrence for minority ethnic groups. Participants also recommended not taking stigma too seriously if it remains within a reasonable level and, if necessary, distancing themselves from groups that excessively perpetuate stigmatization.

"There's no need to respond seriously if it's still reasonable. If it's pushing boundaries, well, just leave it to minimize [undesirable] outcomes." (Fadli, 25 years old, male)

These efforts and recommendations highlight the importance of educating society about the boundaries of stigma and its long-term consequences when normalized. Stigma should continue to be minimized, not only at the organizational level but also within the broader community.

Discussion

This qualitative study explored the perceived stigma experienced by minority students and their responses in managing it. Minority students from Sulawesi, Maluku, and East Nusa Tenggara pursuing education in Java, specifically in Yogyakarta, face negative stereotypes and treatment in both academic and non-academic settings. Negative stereotypes include perceptions of poor academic achievement, lack of capability, being troublesome, rudeness, coming from remote areas, having dark skin and curly hair, and an attention-seeking tendency.

In response to this stigma, various coping strategies were identified, including problem-focused coping, emotion-focused coping, cognitive coping, and avoidance coping. Additionally, the study highlights three key areas that minority ethnic group members use to reduce stigma: self-development, relationship development, and institutional development, particularly in education and community settings. These findings emphasize the importance of interventions aimed at reducing stigma from the individual level to the broader societal level.

Persistent Stigma: Negative Stereotypes, Prejudice, and Discrimination Against Eastern Indonesian Ethnic Minorities

The findings of this study indicate that the stigma experienced by local ethnic minorities from Sulawesi and East Nusa Tenggara in Yogyakarta can be categorized as negative stereotyping and discriminatory treatment. In prior literature, stigma is commonly defined following Goffman (1963) guide, encompassing labeling, stereotyping, social isolation, prejudice, rejection, ignorance, loss of status, low self-esteem, reduced self-efficacy, marginalization, and discrimination (Corrigan & Kleinlein, 2005; Corrigan et al., 2006).

Stereotyping, as identified in this study, is defined as a set of cognitive generalizations (e.g., beliefs and expectations) regarding the qualities and characteristics of members of a social group or category. These stereotypes stem from the basic cognitive need to categorize, simplify, and process a complex world (S. T. Fiske & Dupree, 2015; Zhang et al., 2023). While stereotypes, like schemas, can streamline perception and judgment, they are often exaggerated, more in a negative way than positive, and resistant to change–even when the target individuals exhibit qualities that contradict them (Roth et al., 2018; Zhang et al., 2023). Stereotypes can be entirely accurate or completely false (Matsumoto, 2003).

This study provides insights into the stereotypes imposed by the Javanese ethnic majority on ethnic minorities from Sulawesi and East Nusa Tenggara. Media and public discourse commonly portray Bugis-Makassar and East Nusa Tenggara individuals as aggressive and prone to conflicts–an assertion confirmed in this study, where participants were often stigmatized as rough and troublemakers. This falls under the category of stigma that "taints" individual character and may also be classified as ethnic stigma (Goffman, 1963).

Another prevalent stereotype involves physical characteristics, particularly targeting individuals from East Nusa Tenggara as having dark skin and curly hair–categorized as stigma

that devalues physical attributes (Goffman, 1963). These findings align with a study by Ningrum et al. (2023), which found that eastern Indonesian students face negative perceptions and treatment from locals in Java and Banten due to physical and cultural differences.

Further stereotypes include assumptions that these individuals are less educated and lack capabilities. This is in line with findings on a study about Makassar and Chinese ethnic relations, where the Chinese community in Makassar perceives local Makassar residents as lacking intelligence and unable to capitalize on opportunities (Juditha, 2015). Regarding East Nusa Tenggara, research indicates that Javanese students hold a moderate level of social prejudice toward students coming from that region (Adelina et al., 2017).

The formation of stereotypes in interactions between majority and minority groups can be explained through the concepts of social identity and social categorization. Social categorization is a core cognitive process in shaping social identity (Turner, 1987). Generally, individuals tend to categorize their social world into two: "us" and "them" (Hanurawan, 2010). These categories may be based on factors like residence, occupation, education, skin color, lineage, ethnicity, and more.

From a cognitive perspective, people are perceived based on prototypes associated with both their own group and other groups (Hogg et al., 2004). A prototype is a set of interconnected attributes representing differences and similarities within and between groups, influencing behaviors linked to group membership. Prototypes operate based on the meta-contrast principle, which amplifies perceived differences between out-groups while minimizing differences within in-groups. This tendency leads individuals to positively represent their own group while contrasting it against others. Importantly, prototypes do not develop solely through intra-group comparisons but rely on inter-group comparisons.

With this explanation, stigma rooted in stereotypes can be understood as a common phenomenon, as expressed by study participants who consider stereotypes against minority ethnic groups to be a natural occurrence. However, it remains crucial to establish clear societal boundaries regarding what is considered "reasonable," ensuring that such stigmas do not escalate into prejudice and discrimination.

In the context of this research, Javanese students, as the ethnic majority, hold different cultural backgrounds from eastern Indonesian students, leading to their categorization as an out-group. Prototypes form through cognitive mechanisms driven by inter-group comparisons. According to the meta-contrast principle, there is an emergence of exaggerated inter-group differences, such as distinctions between Javanese students' culture and the cultural identity of students from Sulawesi and East Nusa Tenggara. This process also fosters a preference to have fellow Javanese students as part of the in-group.

Furthermore, Javanese students may develop negative evaluations of students from Sulawesi and East Nusa Tenggara, regarding them as an outgroup. As Taylor et al. (2012) suggest, individuals tend to assess out-group attributes more negatively than their in-group counterparts, reinforcing biased perceptions. Stereotypes can shape prejudice, which in turn may lead to discriminatory behaviors. As Myers (2012) explained, discrimination often stems from prejudiced attitudes.

Matsumoto (2003) further clarified that prejudice consists of both cognitive (thinking) and affective (feeling) components. Stereotypes form the cognitive foundation of prejudice, shaping beliefs and assumptions about others, while the affective component consists of emotions toward individuals from different groups–ranging from anger, disgust, resentment, and contempt to sympathy, closeness, and pity. In this study, minority students experienced various forms of negative treatment, including rejection, marginalization, and discrimination–elements that constitute stigma itself.

It is crucial to differentiate between stereotypes and the daily cognitive processes people use to navigate the world. Mental schemas help individuals interpret interactions and experiences and can be adjusted according to changes in life circumstances. In contrast, stereotypes are rigid cultural representations that limit flexibility in understanding social realities. Their rigidity reinforces social divisions, restricting more open and dynamic interactions (Pickering, 2015).

Because of this, stereotypes contribute to maintaining existing power structures and privileges. In many cases, they also perpetuate systemic discrimination and inequality within society (Pickering, 2015). When stereotypes and prejudice are considered "normal," as suggested by one study participant, patterns of discrimination and social inequality may persist unchecked.

Stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination can persist due to structural factors in Indonesia, as they become embedded in broader social, cultural, and institutional systems. These conditions are reinforced by normalization within society. In Indonesia, stigma can be perpetuated by historical factors (including colonial influences), state policies, social structures, economic inequalities, and media framing, making it deeply ingrained in the system and difficult to change. Further research is needed to explore the structural elements contributing to the normalization of stigma against minority ethnic groups in Indonesia.

Additionally, the stereotypes directed at students from Sulawesi and East Nusa Tenggara can be examined through the Stereotype Content Model (SCM). This theory posits that when individuals encounter new people or groups, they instinctively form judgments based on perceived warmth and competence (Cuddy et al., 2005; S. T. Fiske et al., 2007). Warmth and competence are central dimensions in the social perception process, shaping the content of stereotypes (S. Fiske et al., 2002). Some groups are perceived as both warm and competent, while others may be viewed as cold and incompetent (Cuddy et al., 2005; S. Fiske et al., 2002).

Based on stereotypes observed among minority students, they are often categorized as incompetent and cold, given perceptions of low educational attainment and aggressive behavior. Furthermore, warmth and competence perceptions influence behavioral tendencies via specific emotional responses. Low perceived warmth predicts active harmful behaviors, such as aggression or conflict instigation, while low perceived competence predicts passive harmful behaviors, such as exclusion and negative stereotyping (Cuddy et al., 2005; S. T. Fiske et al., 2007).

This framework helps explain the negative treatment experienced by minority ethnic groups from eastern Indonesia. Addressing these deep-rooted perceptions requires societal shifts in awareness, inclusive policymaking, and broader educational efforts.

The SCM was originally developed in a Western context, specifically in the United States, to

explain how social groups are evaluated (S. Fiske et al., 2002). However, when applying this theory to understand stigma against minority ethnic groups in Indonesia, a deeper examination is necessary, considering Indonesia's diverse social, cultural, and historical contexts. In Indonesia, ethnic and regional-based social stratification, along with religious dominance, may introduce additional factors to stereotype formation. For instance, religious devotion or adherence to traditional customs could play a significant role in shaping perceptions of different ethnic groups.

An example of this complexity can be seen in how some ethnic groups from eastern Indonesia are often stigmatized as economically disadvantaged (low competence) and culturally inappropriate (low warmth) by the societal majority. However, in other contexts, these same groups may be recognized for their bravery and strong communal solidarity.

Given these variations, further research is essential to assess whether SCM can fully explain stigma within Indonesia, or whether additional dimensions–such as religious identity and cultural conformity–should be integrated into the framework to better reflect the social realities of Indonesian society.

From Passive to Active: Coping as a Response to the Stigma Experienced

The stigma imposed on minority ethnic groups can lead to stress and anxiety, which may further hinder academic development and adjustment to their environment (Harefa & Lase, 2024; Haryana & Widiati, 2021; Laway & Dewi, 2024). In this context, students provide psychosocial responses referred to as coping. Coping refers to the cognitive and behavioral efforts made consciously and voluntarily to modulate perceived internal and external demands that exceed personal resources (Endler & Parker, 1990; Lazarus & Foklman, 1984). Research has shown that certain coping strategies can reduce stress and improve positive psychological outcomes. On the other hand, certain strategies can also exacerbate stress and increase negative psychological consequences (Endler & Parker, 1994; Parker & Endler, 1992; Smith et al., 2016). The effectiveness of coping strategies may also depend on several other factors, such as perceived control over stress, the availability of sufficient resources to manage stressors, and the nature of the stress outcomes or impacts themselves (Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004; Zeidner & Saklofske, 1996).

(Lazarus & Foklman, 1984) distinguished two general coping strategies: problem-focused coping and emotion-focused coping. Problem-focused coping involves active efforts to alleviate stressful conditions. Conversely, emotion-focused coping entails managing the emotional consequences of stressful or potentially stressful events. In other words, coping has two primary functions, namely addressing the problem that causes discomfort (problem-focused coping) and regulating emotions (emotion-focused coping) (Baqutayan, 2015).

Furthermore, Folkman et al. (1986) categorized several coping strategies into two main types. Problem-focused coping includes confrontational coping, thorough problem-solving planning, and seeking social support. Meanwhile, emotion-focused coping may come in the form of self-control, seeking social support, distancing oneself, positive judgment, accepting responsibility, and escape/avoidance.

Later, Folkman and Moskowitz (2004) further classified coping strategies into four main categories: problem-focused coping, emotion-focused coping, meaning-focused coping, and support-seeking coping.

Based on the findings of this study, the coping strategies employed by minority ethnic students can be categorized as both active and passive. Actively, students from Sulawesi and East Nusa Tenggara build friendships, adapt to local culture, demonstrate their abilities, clarify or directly express their intentions, and confront issues head-on. This active coping strategy is also considered problem-focused coping, as previously explained. Specifically, building friendships can also be seen as a form of support-seeking coping, where individuals seek social support from their surroundings (Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004).

Minority ethnic students also exhibit passive coping strategies that align with emotion-focused coping. These include emotional reactions, such as crying, expressing frustration, and adopting positive thinking. Other passive coping behaviors within this category include avoidance, a sense of inferiority, staying silent or refusing to escalate issues, and concealing one's identity. Furthermore, passive coping, which is considered more positive, falls under meaning-focused coping–also referred to as cognitive coping–where individuals use cognitive strategies to derive meaning from a situation (Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004). Examples of this strategy, as found in the study, include maintaining a positive mindset and striving to understand or tolerate circumstances.

Coping can also be a dynamic process. Based on the findings of this study, some minority ethnic students initially chose emotion-focused coping strategies. After experiencing similar situations multiple times and understanding their responses, they gradually transitioned to meaning-focused or cognitive coping strategies, eventually adopting problem-focused coping strategies. In successful adaptation, there is a shift from excessive negative emotions to an increase in positive emotions and better regulation of negative emotions (O'Connor & Shimizu, 2002). Improved emotion regulation can, in turn, facilitate active coping that focuses on problem-solving. Further research is needed to understand participants' short-term and long-term coping strategies in dealing with the stress caused by stigmatization.

All forms of coping are assumed to be adaptive. However, by definition, adaptive coping is often associated with active problem-focused coping. Adaptive coping involves a flexible approach to problem-solving and/or managing related emotions (e.g., strategy formulation, reappraisal, and emotion regulation and expression). In contrast, maladaptive coping is also referred to as passive coping, which includes behaviors that are less constructive and beneficial (e.g., rumination, venting, confrontation) and avoidance (e.g., neglect, social isolation, and suppressing or inhibiting one's emotions) (Neufeld & Malin, 2021). Nevertheless, some passive coping strategies chosen by participants are perceived as beneficial, indicating the need for further exploration to understand the extent to which active and passive coping strategies can be adaptive or maladaptive.

Efforts to Reduce Stigma from Micro-, Meso-, to Macro-levels

Based on the experiences of 12 participants, there are efforts to ensure that other minority ethnic students do not go through the same stigma they experienced. At the individual level, personal development can be pursued by learning the local language, studying Javanese culture, boldly expressing opinions, demonstrating competencies to avoid being underestimated, and maintaining an open mindset. Moving beyond the individual level, efforts related to interpersonal relationship development are also necessary, e.g., demonstrating good attitudes and practicing positive behaviors, forming friendships, engaging in effective communication–including learning to clarify assertively–respecting diversity, and seeking support from fellow in-group members, namely other minority ethnic students. These efforts can lead to interventions at the meso-level.

At the institutional and societal levels, education plays a crucial role in fostering open-mindedness and mutual respect for differences. Specifically, although participants indicated that experiencing stigma is common and should be normalized, this perspective can be directed toward normalizing diversity, which often leads to stereotypes. Therefore, society can prevent long-term negative impacts by anticipating and addressing such issues. Cross-cultural experiences should be commonly introduced to children, adolescents, and adults. While stereotyping is an unavoidable process in intercultural interactions, prejudice and discrimination can be actively minimized. In general, stigma itself can be reduced (Dewi, 2018).

Stigma can be classified into two levels: public/ institutional and perceived stigma. Public stigma occurs when society supports and acts upon stereotypes against stigmatized groups. Stigmatized individuals may internalize perceived prejudice, develop negative feelings about themselves, and ultimately form self-stigma (Corrigan & Rao, 2012; Pfeiffer & In-Albon, 2023). The efforts outlined in this study represent actions to reduce stigma at micro-, meso-, and macro-levels. Addressing stigma across these levels can also contribute to mitigating both forms of stigma.

Some efforts described by the participants can be linked to the principles of contact theory, such as building friendships and effective communication. This theory posits that contact between individuals from different groups can improve their relationships (Dovidio et al., 2003; Hodson et al., 2018). The effectiveness of contact depends on certain conditions, such as equal status between groups, shared goals, intergroup cooperation, supportive norms, opportunities for friendship, and personal interaction (Dovidio et al., 2003; Hodson et al., 2018). Additionally, cognitive factors–e.g., individual knowledge and social representations related to social identity–as well as emotions and feelings, can enhance the effectiveness of contact (Dovidio et al., 2003).

Therefore, simple intergroup contact is not automatically sufficient to improve relationships between groups. To ensure that intergroup contact successfully reduces bias, several prerequisites or specific conditions must be met. These prerequisites can be adapted within educational systems through various initiatives, such as inclusive organizational forums on campus.

Conclusion

This qualitative study revealed that minority ethnic students from Sulawesi (Bugis, Makassar, and Kendari), Maluku (Alifuru), and East Nusa Tenggara (Flores, Lamaholot, and Kefamenanu) who pursued higher education in Yogyakarta experienced various forms of stigma, particularly stereotypes and negative treatment, both in academic and non-academic settings. Minority ethnic students are often perceived as uneducated, rude, troublemakers, inland people (coming from underdeveloped regions), and are labeled based on physical characteristics like skin color and hair type. These students employ various coping strategies to deal with stigma, including problem-focused coping, emotion management, cognitive restructuring, and avoidance. The findings emphasize that stigma experiences impact students psychologically but also drive the emergence of diverse adaptive mechanisms.

Additionally, this study identified three key areas of development that can reduce stigma: strengthening personal development (micro-level), improving the quality of intergroup social relationships (meso-level), and transforming educational institutions and communities into more inclusive spaces (macro-level). This conclusion underscores that reducing stigma against minority ethnic groups cannot be achieved solely at the individual level–it must also involve changes in broader social and institutional structures.

This study offers implications for expanding the scientific literature on stigma between the local majority and minority ethnic groups in Indonesia. It can enhance knowledge in the field of interethnic relations in Indonesia. Furthermore, the study's findings, which outline different types of stigmas, coping strategies, and efforts needed to mitigate stigma, can serve as valuable input for various stakeholders, e.g., schools, universities, families, and media, to minimize the impact of stigma. This study may also raise awareness among younger generations about the consequences of stigma on individual life, inspiring them to take action to reduce it. Although components of stigma, such as stereotypes, naturally occur in intergroup interactions, society must understand the boundaries of what is considered "normal" and "acceptable." When stigma escalates into unfair treatment and racism, individuals should recognize that such actions should not be normalized.

Recommendation

There are opportunities to explore this topic in greater depth. Future studies can employ different qualitative research methods, such as case studies and/or ethnography, to provide a more contextual understanding. Phenomenology can also be useful in examining experiences more deeply, including the coping strategies developed. Additionally, quantitative research can be conducted to analyze the relationship between stigma and other variables.

The study can also involve other minority ethnic groups beyond the regions covered in this study. This would allow for a broader representation of minority ethnic experiences in research findings.

Declaration

Authors' Contributions

SM, AL, and IYK contributed to the research design and the development of the manuscript outline. SM, SNAZ, and MYS contributed to data collection, data analysis, and manuscript writing. ESS contributed to the writing of the manuscript.

Conflict of Interest

Authors declare no conflict of interest in the study.

Orcid ID

Syurawasti Muhiddin ● https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7429-8140
Siti Nur Ainun Zakiyah ● https://orcid.org/0009-0005-3694-7583
Mayrina Yanita Sitorus ● https://orcid.org/0009-0007-2968-7554
Andrian Liem ● https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1746-7235
Indra Yohanes Kiling ● https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6146-1597
Elfydha Siti Safrin ● https://orcid.org/0009-0002-4547-8158

References

Adelina, F., Hanurawan, F., & Suhanti, I. Y. (2017). Hubungan antara prasangka sosial dan intensi melakukan diskriminasi mahasiswa etnis Jawa terhadap mahasiswa yang berasal dari Nusa Tenggara Timur. *Jurnal Sains Psikologi*, *6*(1), 1. https://doi.org/10.17977/um023v6i12017p1-8

Ahmed, S. K. (2024). The pillars of trustworthiness in qualitative research. *Journal of Medicine, Surgery, and Public Health*, *2*, 100051. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.glmedi.2024.100051

Astri, H. (2011). Penyelesaian konflik sosial melalui penguatan kearifan lokal [Resolving social conflicts through strengthening local wisdom]. *Aspirasi: Jurnal Masalah-Masalah Sosial*, *2*(2), 151–162. https://jurnal.dpr.go.id/index.php/aspirasi/article/view/439

Baqutayan, S. M. S. (2015). Stress and coping mechanisms: A historical overview. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*. https://doi.org/10.5901/mjss.2015.v6n2s1p479

Campbell, S., Greenwood, M., Prior, S., Shearer, T., Walkem, K., Young, S., Bywaters, D., & Walker, K. (2020). Purposive sampling: complex or simple? Research case examples. *Journal of Research in Nursing*, *25*(8), 652–661. https://doi.org/10.1177/1744987120927206

Cerully, J. L., Acosta, J. D., & Sloan, J. (2018). Mental health stigma and its effects on treatment-related outcomes: A narrative review. *Military Medicine*, *183*(11–12), e427–e437. https://doi.org/10.1093/milmed/usx219

Christiani, L. C. (2017). Representasi identitas etnis Papua dalam serial drama Remaja Diam-Diam Suka. *Jurnal Komunikasi dan Kajian Media*, *1*(1), 15–30. https://jurnal.untidar.ac.id/index.php/komunikasi/article/view/387

Corrigan, P. W., & Kleinlein, P. (2005). The impact of mental illness stigma. In *On the stigma of mental illness: Practical strategies for research and social change.* (pp. 11–44). American Psychological Association. https://doi.org/10.1037/10887-001

Corrigan, P. W., & Rao, D. (2012). On the self-stigma of mental illness: Stages, disclosure, and strategies for change. *The Canadian Journal of Psychiatry*, *57*(8), 464–469. https://doi.org/10.1177/070674371205700804

Corrigan, P. W., Watson, A. C., & Barr, L. (2006). The self–stigma of mental illness: Implications for self–esteem and self–efficacy. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, *25*(8), 875–884. https://doi.org/10.1521/jscp.2006.25.8.875

Cuddy, A. J. C., Norton, M. I., & Fiske, S. T. (2005). This old stereotype: The pervasiveness and persistence of the elderly stereotype. *Journal of Social Issues*, *61*(2), 267–285. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.2005.00405.x

Darmawan, B. A., & Permatasari, I. (2022). Upaya penurunan stigma dan diskriminasi terhadap ODHA menuju Indonesia bebas HIV/AIDS 2030 [Efforts to reduce stigma and discrimination against PLWHA towards an HIV/AIDS-free Indonesia by 2030].

Dewi. (2018). Fenomena Culture Shock dan Stereotype dalam Komunikasi Antarbudaya [Culture shock phenomenon and stereotypes in intercultural communication]. *Jurnal UltimaComm*, *10*(2), 92–113.

Dovidio, J. F., Gaertner, S. L., & Kawakami, K. (2003). Intergroup contact: The past, present, and the future. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, *6*(1), 5–21. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430203006001009

Eagly, A. H., & Wood, W. (2012). Social role theory. In *Handbook of Theories of Social Psychology* (pp. 458–476, Vol. 2). Sage.

Endler, N. S., & Parker, J. D. A. (1990). Multidimensional assessment of coping: A critical evaluation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *58*(5), 844–854. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.58.5.844

Endler, N. S., & Parker, J. D. A. (1994). Assessment of multidimensional coping: Task, emotion, and avoidance strategies. *Psychological Assessment*, *6*(1), 50–60. https://doi.org/10.1037/1040-3590.6.1.50

Enworo, O. C. (2023). Application of Guba and Lincoln's parallel criteria to assess trustworthiness of qualitative research on indigenous social protection systems. *Qualitative Research Journal*, *23*(3), 372–384. https://doi.org/10.1108/QRJ-10-2022-0171

Fangen, K., & Lynnebakke, B. (2014). Navigating ethnic stigmatisation in the educational setting: Coping strategies of young immigrants and descendants of immigrants in Norway. *Social Inclusion*, *2*(1), 47–59. https://doi.org/10.17645/si.v2i1.26

Febriyanti, P. N., & Kurniasari, D. (2023). Relevansi antara pertempuran dalam Babad Surapati dan konflik yang terjadi akibat SARA di Indonesia [The relevance of the battle in Babad Surapati and conflict caused by ethnicity, religion, race, and intergroup differences in Indonesia]. *JOB (Jurnal Online Baradha)*, *20*(4), 247–261. https://doi.org/10.26740/job.v19n4.p247-261

Fiske, S., Cuddy, A., Glick, P., & Xu, J. (2002). A model of (often mixed) stereotype content: Competence and warmth respectively follow from perceived status and competition. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *82*(6), 878–902. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.82.6.878

Fiske, S. T., Cuddy, A. J., & Glick, P. (2007). Universal dimensions of social cognition: Warmth and competence. *Trends in Cognitive Sciences*, *11*(2), 77–83. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tics.2006.11.005

Fiske, S. T., & Dupree, C. H. (2015). Cognitive processes involved in stereotyping. In *Emerging Trends in the Social and Behavioral Sciences* (pp. 1–12).

Fitri, R., & Kustanti, E. R. (2020). Hubungan antara efikasi diri akademik dengan penyesuaian diri akademik pada mahasiswa rantau dari Indonesia Bagian Timur di Semarang [The relationship between academic self-efficacy and academic adjustment in migrant students from Eastern Indonesia in Semarang]. *Jurnal Empati*, *7*(2), 491–501. https://doi.org/10.14710/empati.2018.21669

Folkman, S., Lazarus, R. S., Dunkel-Schetter, C., Delongis, A., & Gruen, R. J. (1986). Dynamics of a stressful encounter: Cognitive appraisal, coping, and encounter outcomes. *Journal of Personality*, *50*(5), 992–1003. https://doi.org/10.2135/cropsci1977.0011183x001700060012x

Folkman, S., & Moskowitz, J. T. (2004). Coping: Pitfalls and promises. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *55*, 745–774. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.55.090902.141456

Forbes, R., & Williams, J. (2021). The role of acknowledgment in the psychosocial recovery of young adults in disaster events. *Australian Journal of Emergency Management*, *36*(2), 42–47. https://doi.org/10.47389/36.2.42

Frost, D. M. (2011). Social stigma and its consequences for the socially stigmatized. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, *5*(11), 824–839. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1751-9004.2011.00394.x

Goffman, E. (2014). Stigma and social identity. In *Understanding deviance* (pp. 256–265). Routledge.

Goffman, E. (1963). *Stigma: Notes on the management of spoiled identity*. Prentice Hall.

Hanurawan, F. (2010). *Psikologi sosial: Suatu pengantar [Social psychology: An introduction]*. PT Remaja Rosdakarya Offset.

Hardiyanto, S. (2018). *Datangi Kantor Gubernur, Mahasiswa Papua Minta Premanisme Dihilangkan [Visiting the Governor's Office, Papuan Students Ask to End Thuggery]* [Accessed: 28 July 2024].

Harefa, A. T., & Lase, B. P. (2024). Peran pendidikan dalam mengurangi stigma dan diskriminasi terhadap siswa dari kelompok minoritas sosial [The role of education in reducing stigma and discrimination against students from social minority groups]. *Journal of Education Research*, *5*(4), 4288–4294. https://doi.org/10.37985/jer.v5i4.1479

Haryana, L., & Widiati, U. (2021). Experiences of ethnic minority students in a culturally diverse school. *Bahasa dan Seni: Jurnal Bahasa, Sastra, Seni, dan Pengajarannya*, *49*(1), 1–12. https://doi.org/10.17977/um015v49i12021p001

Hidayat, M., & Husna, S. (2021). Resiliensi keluarga teroris A: Kekuatan menghadapi stigma negatif, rasa malu dan psychological distress sebagai keluarga teroris [Resilience of terrorist families: Strength in facing stigma, shame, and psychological distress]. *Sosio Konsepsia: Jurnal Penelitian dan Pengembangan Kesejahteraan Sosial*, *10*(2). https://doi.org/10.33007/ska.v10i2.2389

Hodson, G., Crisp, R. J., Meleady, R., & Earle, M. (2018). Intergroup contact as an agent of cognitive liberalization. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, *13*(5), 523–548. https://doi.org/10.1177/1745691617752324

Hogg, M. A., Abrams, D., Otten, S., & Hinkle, S. (2004). The social identity perspective: Intergroup relations, self-conception, and small groups. *Small Group Research*, *35*(3), 246–276. https://doi.org/10.1177/1046496404263424

Juditha, C. (2015). Stereotip dan prasangka dalam konflik etnis Tionghoa dan Bugis Makassar [Stereotypes and prejudice in Chinese-Bugis ethnic conflict in Makassar]. *Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi*, *12*(1). https://doi.org/10.24002/jik.v12i1.445

Kapisa, I. (2023). Perlakuan diskriminasi terhadap mahasiswa Papua di kota studi Yogyakarta [Discriminatory treatment toward Papuan students in Yogyakarta]. *Commsphere: Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi*, *1*(2), 48–56. https://doi.org/10.37631/commsphere.v1iII.1014

Keliat, B. A., Hamid, A. Y. S., Putri, Y. S. E., Daulima, N. H. C., Wardani, I. Y., Susanti, H., Hargiana, G., & Panjaitan, R. U. (2019). *Asuhan keperawatan jiwa [Psychiatric nursing care]*. EGC.

Koenig, A. M., & Eagly, A. H. (2019). Typical roles and intergroup relations shape stereotypes: How understanding social structure clarifies the origins of stereotype content. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, *82*(2), 205–230. https://doi.org/10.1177/0190272519850766

Lambert, V. A., & Lambert, C. E. (2012). Qualitative descriptive research: An acceptable design. *Pacific Rim International Journal of Nursing Research*, *16*(4), 255–256. https://he02.tci-thaijo.org/index.php/PRIJNR/article/view/5805

Laway, W., & Dewi, P. A. R. (2024). Kecemasan dan ketidakpastian mahasiswa Papua dalam menghadapi streotipe negatif dalam lingkungan sosial masyarakat di Malang Jawa Timur [Anxiety and uncertainty of Papuan students facing negative stereotypes in Malang's social environment]. *The Commercium*, *8*(3), 187–197.

Lazarus, R. S., & Foklman, S. (1984). *Stress, appraisal and coping*. Springer Publishing Company.

Makabori, H. Y. (2023). *Gerakan menghapus stigma buruk mahasiswa Indonesia timur melalui pola komunikasi cafe di Yogyakarta [Movement to eliminate negative stigma of eastern Indonesian students through café communication patterns in Yogyakarta]* [Doctoral dissertation]. Sekolah Tinggi Pembangunan Masyarakat Desa "APMD".

Matsumoto, D. (2003). *Handbook of culture and psychology* (7th ed.). Oxford University Press.

Monks, F. J., Knoers, A. M. P., & Haditono, S. R. (2001). *Psikologi perkembangan: Pengantar dalam berbagai bagiannya [Developmental psychology: An introduction to its various parts]*. Gadjah Mada University Press.

Murdianto, M. (2018). Stereotip, prasangka dan resistensinya: Studi kasus pada etnis Madura dan Tionghoa di Indonesia [Stereotypes, prejudice, and resistance: A case study on Madurese and Chinese ethnics in Indonesia]. *QALAMUNA: Jurnal Pendidikan, Sosial, dan Agama*, *10*(2). https://doi.org/10.5281/ZENODO.3559267

Myers, D. G. (2012). *Psikologi sosial edisi 10 [Social psychology, 10th edition]*. Salemba Humanika.

Nababan, K. R. (2022). Stereotip dan penolakan indekos mahasiswa asal Papua di Salatiga, Jawa Tengah [Stereotype and rejection of Papuan students in boarding houses in Salatiga, Central Java]. *Jurnal Antropologi: Isu-Isu Sosial Budaya*, *24*(1), 42–50. https://doi.org/10.25077/jantro.v24.n1.p42-50.2022

Neufeld, A., & Malin, G. (2021). How medical students cope with stress: A cross-sectional look at strategies and their sociodemographic antecedents. *BMC Medical Education*, *21*(1). https://doi.org/10.1186/s12909-021-02734-4

Ningrum, P. S., Kusumawati, L., Mulyawati, T., & Mukarromah, A. (2023). Diskriminasi masyarakat Timur Indonesia di daerah perantauan: Studi kasus Pulau Jawa dan Provinsi Banten [Discrimination against Eastern Indonesians in migration areas: A case study in Java and Banten]. *Journal of Citizenship*, 2(2). http://hk-publishing.id/joc

O'Connor, D. B., & Shimizu, M. (2002). Sense of personal control, stress and coping style: A cross-cultural study. *Stress and Health: Journal of the International Society for the Investigation of Stress*, *18*(4), 173–183. https://doi.org/10.1002/smi.939

Parela, K. A., Saffanah, W. M., & Anwar, K. (2018). Konflik mahasiswa timur di Kota Malang: Studi kasus pada mahasiswa timur di Kota Malang [Conflict among Eastern Indonesian students in Malang: A case study]. *Sosioglobal: Jurnal Pemikiran dan Penelitian Sosiologi*, *3*(1), 27–39. https://doi.org/10.24198/jsg.v3i1.19278

Parker, J. D. A., & Endler, N. S. (1992). Coping with coping assessment: A critical review. *European Journal of Personality*, *6*(5), 321–344. https://doi.org/10.1002/per.2410060502

Pfeiffer, S., & In-Albon, T. (2023). Gender specificity of self-stigma, public stigma, and help-seeking sources of mental disorders in youths. *Stigma and Health*, *8*(1), 124–132. https://doi.org/10.1037/sah0000366

Pickering, M. (2015). Stereotyping and stereotypes. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118663202.wberen046

Putri, A. D., Puspitasari, P., & Utami, D. S. (2021). Pengaruh stigmatisasi pada penyalah guna narkotika berdasarkan gender terhadap kecenderungan penggunaan berulang di Balai Rehabilitasi BNN [The effect of gender-based stigmatization on repeated drug use tendency at BNN Rehabilitation Center]. *Jurnal Kajian Stratejik Ketahanan Nasional*, *4*(1), 2. https : / / doi . org / 10.7454/jkskn.v4i1.10043

Riauan, M. A. I., Aziz, A., Fitri, A., Mulyani, O., & Zainal. (2020). Stereotip budaya pada himpunan mahasiswa daerah di Pekanbaru. *Inter Komunika: Jurnal Komunikasi*, *5*(1), 43–56. https : / / journal.interstudi.edu/index.php/InterKomunika/article/view/698

Roth, J., Deutsch, R., & Sherman, J. W. (2018). Automatic antecedents of discrimination. *European Psychologist*, *24*(3), 219–230. https://doi.org/10.1027/1016-9040/a000321

Santrock, J. W. (2012). *Lifespan developmental psychology*. McGraw-Hill.

Saputra, F. T. (2019). Komunikasi antar budaya etnis Tionghoa dan penduduk muslim di Banten [Intercultural communication between Chinese ethnic and Muslim residents in Banten]. *Dialektika Komunika: Jurnal Kajian Komunikasi dan Pembangunan Daerah*, *7*(2), 147–156. https : //doi.org/10.33592/dk.v7i2.366

Sari, E. N., & Samsuri, S. (2020). Etnosentrisme dan sikap intoleran pendatang terhadap orang Papua [Ethnocentrism and intolerance among migrants toward Papuans]. *Jurnal Antropologi: Isu-Isu Sosial Budaya*, *22*(1), 142–150. https://doi.org/10.25077/jantro.v22.n1.p142-150.2020

Short, L., Mondloch, C., deJong, J., & Chan, H. (2018). Evidence for a young adult face bias in accuracy and consensus of age estimates. *British Journal of Psychology*, *110*(4), 652–669. https://doi.org/ 10.1111/bjop.12370

Smith, M. M., Saklofske, D. H., Keefer, K. V., & Tremblay, P. F. (2016). Coping strategies and psychological outcomes: The moderating effects of personal resiliency. *Journal of Psychology: Interdisciplinary and Applied*, *150*(3), 318–332. https://doi.org/10.1080/00223980.2015.1036828

Srisayekti, W., & Setiady, D. A. (2015). Harga-diri (self-esteem) terancam dan perilaku menghindar [Threatened self-esteem and avoidance behavior]. *Jurnal Psikologi*, *42*(2), 141–156. https://doi. org/10.22146/jpsi.7169

Stahl, N. A., & King, J. R. (2020). Expanding approaches for research: Understanding and using trustworthiness in qualitative research. *Journal of Developmental Education*, *44*(1).

Suprapto, B., Aminulloh, A., & Cholil, A. (2024). Stereotip pemukim terhadap mahasiswa pendatang dalam perspektif antar budaya studi di Malang [Settlers' stereotypes toward migrant students in an intercultural perspective: A study in Malang]. *Sospol*, *10*(1), 70–86. https://doi.org/10. 22219/jurnalsospol.v10i1.29807

Taylor, S. E., Peplau, L. A., & Sears, D. O. (2012). *Psikologi sosial edisi kedua belas [Social psychology, 12th edition]*. Kencana Prenada.

Turner, J. C. (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory*. Blackwell.

Umam, R. N. (2021). Pendekatan konseling lintas budaya dalam mengatasi stigma negatif terhadap kelompok minoritas gender Calabai [Cross-cultural counseling approach to overcoming

negative stigma toward Calabai gender minorities]. *Egalita Jurnal Kesetaraan dan Keadilan Gender*, *16*(2). https://doi.org/10.18860/egalita.v16i2.12911

United Nations. (2018). Indigenous peoples and ethnic minorities: Marginalization is the norm. In *The report on the world social situation 2018* (pp. 97–108). https://doi.org/10.18356/14642ccc-en

Villamin, P., Lopez, V., Thapa, D. K., & Cleary, M. (2024). A worked example of qualitative descriptive design: A step-by-step guide for novice and early career researchers. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*. https://doi.org/10.1111/jan.16481

Wulandari, C., & Jones, S. M. (2023). Academic and social integration experiences of Papuan studying in university students in Java. *Jurnal Psikologi*, *49*(3), 229–254. https://doi.org/10.22146/jpsi.76621

Yang, L. H., Wong, L. Y., Grivel, M. M., & Hasin, D. S. (2017). Stigma and substance use disorders: An international phenomenon. *Current Opinion in Psychiatry*, *30*(5), 378–388. https://doi.org/10.1097/yco.0000000000000351

Zeidner, M., & Saklofske, D. (1996). Adaptive and maladaptive coping. In M. Zeidner & N. Endler (Eds.), *Handbook of coping: Theory, research, and applications* (pp. 505–531). Wiley & Sons.

Zhang, B., Hu, Y., Zhao, F., Wen, F., Dang, J., & Zawisza, M. (2023). The psychological process of stereotyping: Content, forming, internalizing, mechanisms, effects, and interventions. *Frontiers in Psychology*, *13*, 1117901. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2022.1117901