

STRATEGY AND IMPACT OF FREE PAPUA MOVEMENT TRANSNATIONAL ACTIVISM IN AUSTRALIA (2014 – 2021)

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ABSTRACT

This study discusses transnational activism mobilized by the activists of global Free West Papua campaign in Australia. The global campaign organized in the efforts of the Papuans to demand national sovereignty and establish an independent State based on the debate over the decolonization process regarding the “United Nations Temporary Executive Authority” and claims for human rights violations by the Government of Indonesia. Much is not yet known that the use of social media as a tool for campaigning by transnational activists can have a significant impact on real politics. Using qualitative methods and utilizing findings from secondary data, this study discusses the strategies and impacts of transnational activism for the by using the concept of the Transnational Advocacy Network which is applied to the actions of transnational activists in Australia. The authors found new findings that the use of the Free Papua Movement in Australia using conventional and non-conventional strategies such as demonstrations, the use of media as the main mobilization tool, digital art, music and film as campaign tools can have an impact on the Australian government's insistence on the Indonesian government and provide opportunities new for transnational activists in advocating for issues by using social media platforms.

Keywords: West Papua, Transnational Activism, Social Media, Transnational Advocacy Networks, Free Papua Movement, Australia.

INTRODUCTION

Transnational activism has become an increasingly prominent world political dynamic in recent decades and has become one of the global social movements that challenge the fundamental characteristics of the modern nation-state system, namely sovereignty (Erdem, 2015). The act of transnational activism is basically based on a sense of nationalism in creating a group identity based on a strong sense of belonging to a nation, so that there is an increasing phenomenon of nationalist movements where transnational activism is currently related to the wave of globalization, where this is related to changes in the political structure to become one of the factors for the actions of activists to gain a focal point in their collective action by providing resources and expanded opportunities by uniting them in campaigns using social media (Titifanue, Tarai, Kant, & Finau, 2016).

In the Free Papua Movement, this action, which was basically a domestic phenomenon, was then promoted by transnational activists to become part of a global issue (Bolling & Johansson, 2006). This is seen as an effort to involve the migrant community and transnational solidarity network by forming a social movement based on a focus on their common goals, activities and achievements which can be seen from the transnational activism of the Free Papua movement in Australia with the strong role of social media. Social media is currently a tool that grows exponentially in terms of popularity and search, becoming a platform that is used as a tactical strategy for advocating international issues as transnational activism does in conducting its campaigns (Erdem, 2015).

In exercising political control over West Papua, the Indonesian government faces various debates with several issues emerging: human rights, development, limited access to the media, and poverty in West Papua. This problem has certainly had a major impact on the decolonization debate and illustrates the efforts of the Papuan people to demand national

sovereignty and establish an independent state through various diplomatic negotiations. The aspiration to place the political status of West Papua on the political agenda is already widespread among the Papuan people, bringing opinions expressed in the nationalist movement led by the Free Papua Organization (OPM). This movement has developed into one of the organizations that aspire to discourse on human rights and the rights of indigenous peoples (Indigenous People). OPM is not just a nationalist movement but this movement has exerted a great influence around the world through the transnational solidarity network that was built to shape the Free Papua Campaign in Australia caused by the influence of social media (Bolling & Johansson, 2006).

This study uses a case study of the influence of strategy and the impact of transnational activism in the Papuan independence movement in Australia which was triggered by the debate about the decolonization process about the "Act of Free Choice" and claims for human rights violations by the Government of Indonesia. It also illustrates the efforts of Papuans to demand national sovereignty and establish an independent state by being expressed in the real politics of transnational activism in Australia, this study will see how the concept of the Transnational Advocacy Network is applied in the actions of transnational activists in Australia in the use of social media. This research data was compiled by collecting actors who use social media for campaigning by including credible literature because at this time transnational activism is growing rapidly and is seen as having an influence on Indonesian and Australian policies. This research will be structured according to a defined structure with the research question *"What are the strategies used in transnational activism by the Free Papua Movement community in Australia? and What is the impact of this transnational activism on the political debate regarding the issue of West Papua in Australia?"*

LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The phenomenon of the West Papuan transnational activism movement was formed into a profile of action that emerged in the international Papua conflict, namely with the violation of Human Rights (HAM) in West Papua (Blades, 2020). The declaration of the UN charter is considered to have established basic human rights norms that we must respect and protect, individually and collectively. So based on the United Nations Temporary Executive Authority (UNTEA) in debating the decolonization process of West Papua based on the "Act of Free Choice", describing the first attempt by the West Papuan people to demand national sovereignty and establish an independent state expressed in campaigns carried out using social media platforms. .

This study uses the concept of "Transnational Advocacy Network" to analyze and answer the cases that are the problems in this research. The conflicts that have occurred in Papua in recent years have been in the international public spotlight which eventually formed into a transnational activity as indicated by the emergence of social justice movements. in Australia and surrounding countries. These social justice movements do not only campaign by means of public advocacy but also use social media and various other platforms for campaigning. This concept really illustrates the situation of this research where in transnational activism as happened in Australia is a form of "advocacy networks". Keck and Sikkink (2005:91) stated:

"networks" are forms of organization characterized by voluntary, reciprocal and horizontal patterns of communication and exchange.

That is, the Transnational Advocacy Network is made up of various non-governmental organizations, international organizations, governments, and the myriad of individuals who reside within these bureaucracies and other levels of symbolic power in world affairs, including academia and the media. Despite the differences between the domestic and

international spheres, transnational activism emphasizes an open relationship between actors who are committed and knowledgeable about the issue to be supported. These are "advocacy networks" because these actions are based on advocates defending the position of individuals, groups or ideas from this activity. However, as with some problems that develop at the transnational network level, it still requires support from network formation at the domestic level. In transnational advocacy networks specifically supports values on human rights, the environment, women, infant health, and indigenous peoples, which are based on personal, professional and organizational contexts that have a large number of individuals who have different situations but have one goal in proposing strategies for action. The main actors in advocacy networks according to Keck & Sikkink (2005) are international and domestic NGOs, researchers and advocacy organizations; local social movements; foundations; media; church unions, trade unions, organizations intellectual consumers; part of regional and international intergovernmental organizations; part of the executive and/or parliamentary branches of government.

Keck and Sikkink (2005:95) argue that transnational advocacy action can work when, the issue being advocated has several types of tactics used in the network, such as:

- a. Information politics, *or ability to move politically useable information quickly and credibly to where it will have the most impact.*
- b. Symbolic politics, *or the ability to call upon symbol, action or stories that make sense of a situation or claim for an audience that frequently far away.*
- c. Leverage politics, *or the ability to call upon powerful actors to affect a situation where weaker members of network are unlikely to have influence.*
- d. Accountability politics, *or the effort to oblige more powerful actors to act on vague policies or principles they formally endorsed.*

In assessing the effect of transnational action on the achievement of advocacy movement action, there are several levels to identify. The author identifies these levels based on the analysis of concepts related to the Setting Advocacy Agenda (Figure 2.1) which was adopted based on the analysis of Carpenter (2007); Keck & Sikkink (2005) :

1. *Issue creation and attention/agenda setting.*
2. *Influence on discursive position of states and regional and international organization.*
3. *Influence on institutional procedures.*
4. *Influence on policy change in 'target actors' which may be state, international regional organizations, or private actors.*
5. *Influence on state behavior.*

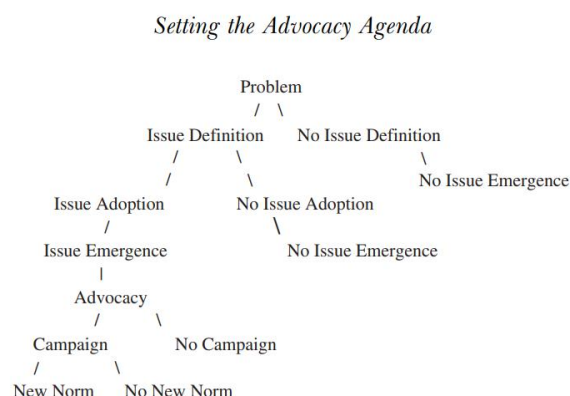


Figure 1 Setting Advocacy Agenda

Source: Keck and Sikkink (2005) (Lihat juga Carpenter, 2007)

In transnational actions, there are several dynamics that facilitate these actions, based on Erdem (2015) the support from Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and the

development of electronic communications such as social media. This dynamic is seen as providing more favorable conditions for the existence of transnational activists in the current realm of globalization and international politics, such as the formation of social movements to refer to the construction of interpretive meanings of symbols to mobilize social conflicts. These measures also work in domestic and international open spaces that are independent of structures and are considered to be more successful than those that work within structures. Then this action relatively leads to the campaign of Human Rights with framing, norms and information that become the main source of strength for transnational activism. Transnational activism has several significant limitations because not all issues raised can end well because transnational actors are not always independent from state power. This makes them precisely as instruments of certain countries to influence domestic policies and foreign policies of other countries, besides that transnational actors also embrace important issues in their organizations because issues such as political representation and accountability provide important challenges for organizations and activists.

Milic-Frayling (2012) sees that digital political activism and real activism certainly make a big difference in issue advocacy actions where it is common knowledge that political activism that uses digital, such as the use of social media, registers online petitions and does not participate directly in rebellions. politics, but this is certainly more interesting because activists don't need to give their support by directly participating in demonstrations, with the use of the internet today it certainly has a big influence on various kinds of people because of the role that social media plays in spreading information related to atrocities. The actions taken against Papuans have proven effective in raising international community awareness about the reality that is happening in West Papua. The risks involved in carrying out this political uprising of course also provide great risks, therefore activists of the Free Papua Movement in Australia use the media as a platform to spread news and messages about what is happening in West Papua by establishing social media accounts which are now only focused on in the conflict in Papua, this certainly creates a global wave that clearly increases the role and efficacy of social media because this platform provides minimal censorship and makes it easy to access and disseminate information in increasing international community awareness. This also reflects the formation of an online public space envisioned by academics where citizens can access information and conduct political discourse related to the issue of West Papua openly. Furthermore, the power of social media has proven to be able to overcome the restrictions on mainstream media in West Papua and attract the attention of people from all walks of life. Through social media, not only West Papuan activists from all over the region are able to coordinate and organize them on various issues of dissent faced in West Papua but the international community can also participate in giving opinions about what is happening in Papua by providing personal opinions through the media (Murthy, 2018; Titifanue et al., 2016).

In the case of West Papua, as previously explained, there is support from NGOs and the development of electronic communications such as social media to social movements in transnational activism. Based on Blades (2020) reports of human rights violations against indigenous Papuans are suspected to have started from the early stages of the transition from Dutch government to Indonesian government, which can be seen from the rampant crackdown on freedom in the Suharto decade by security forces against those who are considered opponents of the state. associated with the presence of the Free Papua Organization (OPM). This military crackdown that violated human rights triggered an exodus of more than 10,000 refugees to Papua New Guinea, as well as triggered support from countries around the island of Papua, especially among Melanesian countries in the issue of indigenous Papuans who are considered ethnic Melanesians with ties to having the

same race that stretches across national borders creates social solidarity internationally. As the Pacific Islands Government has discussed the issue of West Papua internationally for years at the Pacific Islands Forum (PIF) in the region's leading political group, the Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG), which is part of a network of NGOs, despite access restrictions to the West by the Indonesian government. The Papuan conflict has also created connections between Pacific Islander communities, strengthened by the proliferation of social media, which allows information about the complaints of the West Papuan people to cross regional boundaries, these connections are reflected in civil society networks. This network is a kind of solidarity group that is discussed as a lobbying organization dedicated to working only for West Papua.

West Papuan activists have campaigned several times and voiced concern over the looting of resources on human rights issues, this action is seen by the Indonesian government as a separatist movement so that their actions in the media have been covered up by the government in West Papua. As a result of the lack of expression and getting information from outside the island of Papua, this led to the formation of a diaspora which later became an important group in the West Papua solidarity network. The work of several solidarity groups around the world such as in Australia, Britain and America by the United Liberation Movement for West Papua (ULMWP) is quite significant in increasing public awareness of human rights violations and environmental destruction committed by the Government of Indonesia. In addition to international solidarity groups, there are also advocacy groups and environmental organizations that have shown increasing concern for the people in West Papua through a number of websites and newsgroups on the internet that share information related to the situation in West Papua, some of which is in English. Parties who are interested in the Papua issue, one of which is Australia, which incidentally is a neighboring country to Indonesia, also provides great support for this Papuan movement. The support given by several segments of Australian society to the issues that are happening in Papua is the formation of an organization carried out by a combination of Papuan activists and Australians.

METHODS

This study uses a descriptive qualitative method, where the authors use two analytical data, namely primary data obtained from reviews of social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Youtube and Websites in social activism strategies in Australia which have an impact on transnational activism through social media in Papuan conflict.

This research case study focuses on the role of social media and the effect of transnational action on policies issued by the Australian and Indonesian governments in accordance with the provisions of the impacts that occur. The author uses qualitative data analysis data to research based on the chosen topic. Qualitative data, namely secondary data obtained from browsing social media platforms used by Free West Papua Movement actors related to topics to be written, such as forms of political action that can be taken by the community using internet and social media facilities such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Youtube, and mass media as well as literature review such as journals, e-books and official articles taken from Google Scholar, the JSTOR website, the Free Papua Movement Organization website, and the website of International Organizations related to the research topics discussed.

RESULT AND DISSCUSION

1. Transnational Background of Free Papua Movement Activism in Australia

The development of the Papuan nationalism movement is currently being debated by the international community where the emergence of transnational actions by nationalist groups scattered in various countries. This diaspora group played a significant role in raising the discourse of Indonesia's internal conflict to the international realm. Robie (2017) saw that the transnational collective movement for West Papuan independence in Australia formed a "power relationship" in which these liberation movements gathered peacefully in a massive solidarity to show their true goals in campaigning. accumulate its power within the framework of the social movement for independence of West Papua.



Figure 2 Power Relationship ULMWP

Source: (Robie, 2017)

In this study, actors who support the struggle for nationalism in West Papua through a solidarity network with the aim of achieving discussion activities show that nationalist groups interact across countries, especially in Australia with different solidarity groups. This can be seen from Figure 4.1, the United Liberation Movement for West Papua is one of the umbrella organizations that pioneered OPM action in the international sphere, especially in Australia. Since the presence of the Free Papua Organization (OPM) in 1963, many independence movements have become increasingly well-organized and have goals that are in line with OPM activities which are dominated by civilian groups that have emerged since 1998.

This movement developed into the Presidium of the Papuan Council (PDP) and developed into the Irian Jaya Reconciliation Forum which aims to fight for the collective rights guaranteed for indigenous groups recognized by the United Nations (Bolling and Johansson, 2006). and a Papuan community group campaigning for the independence of West Papua, this organization was founded in 1969 and staged a demonstration to pass the "Panase" resolution affirming that there should be a fair referendum for "one person one vote" (West Papua National Parliament, 2021). In 2005, the West Papua National Coalition for Liberation (WPNCL) was formed to become a national coordination forum for various West Papuan opposition and resistance groups which was established on December 1, 2005

with the aim of accommodating different views and finding the best solution for a peaceful settlement. Papuan conflict, in order to realize the ideals a (West Papua National Coalition for Liberation, 2021). On December 7, 2004, the three main political independence movements for West Papua united under one umbrella organization namely the United Liberation Movement for West Papua (ULMWP) with a global campaign: Free West Papua Campaign which aims to expose the illegal occupation and acts of genocide by the Indonesian government in West Papua and support freedom through self-determination for West Papuans (Free West Papua, 2021).

In January 2006 when a shipload of 43 Papuan asylum seekers arrived in Australia and were accepted by the Australian government on temporary protection visas. This led to diplomatic tensions that culminated in the summons of the ambassador in Australia (Webb-Gannon, 2015). Tony Abbott stated that in this incident, Australia had tried to prevent West Papuan activists from arriving by boat. But this crisis catapulted the issue of Papua to the forefront of Australian political debate and increased West Papuan self-determination which attracted the attention of the Australian media because Australia had signed the Lombok Agreement containing the "Papua Clause" (Webb-Gannon, 2015). Where this agreement signifies the Australian government's willingness to limit the democratic freedom of its own citizens to support people involved in the West Papua conflict in fighting for independence. The Australian government's actions expressed concern for the Indonesian side and claimed the existence of persecution and genocide by the Indonesian Government against Papuan love seekers. This has become a benchmark for constituents in Australia to advocate for West Papua's claim to self-determination which raises threats from the Indonesian government to terminate bilateral relations because Australia is considered to tolerate criminal activities of "people smuggling" (McGibbon, 2006).

Australia's act of defending West Papua in front of the Indonesian government has made the Australian government's foreign policy stance seen as unprincipled. It also shows that at the state level, both Australia and Indonesia are willing to exaggerate Indonesia's democratic values in West Papua and collude to cover up direct violations of democracy and human rights in the region. However, this significant change in Australia's approach to West Papua could provide new avenues for Australian supporters to fight for human rights that have not yet been given to West Papuans (Webb-Gannon, 2015). After the Australian government expressed support for West Papua, this prompted the proliferation of a joint social movement between the indigenous Papuans (Indigenos Papua) and the indigenous Australians (Aboriginal Australia). This was also marked by the establishment of the Federal Republic of West Papua in Perth in April 2014 by the Oxford-based ULMWP and led by independence leader Benny Wenda.

The United Liberation Movement for Free West Papua since 2015 has provided great momentum in the international world where there is a relationship of support between West Papua and the South Pacific State with the approval of the ULMWP as a member of the Malnesia Spearhead Group (MSG) and as an observer, under the support of the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, and the Front Liberation Nationale Kanake at Socialiste (FLNKS) by raising the issue of human rights and urging the UN to be investigated by the UN. With the support of the MSG and the Papuan independence activist movement in Australia, there is a level in the internationalization of the issue of West Papua with the use of social media (Lantang & Tambunan, 2020).

2. Actors in the Papuan Independence Movement in Australia

The actors of the Free Papua Movement and the strategies used in voicing their aspirations can be seen in Table 4.2.1. These actors consist of central individuals in the campaign and community organizations formed by both the Papuan diaspora and

Australians who sympathize with the West Papua issue. Erdem (2015) argues that there are several dynamics that have facilitated transnational collective action in recent years, namely firstly support by NGOs and secondly, the development of electronic communication and the large increase in cross-border migration flows that have facilitated transnational activists to communicate with each other and conduct campaigns.

Table 1 List of Actors use Social Media to Spreading Papua Issues

No.	<i>Individu/ Organisasi</i>	Social Media Platforms				
		Twitter	Facebook	Instagram	YouTube	Website
1	<i>Veronica Koman</i>	✓				
2	<i>Benny Wenda</i>	✓	✓	✓		✓
3	<i>Free West Papua Campaign - United Liberation Movement for West Papua</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
4	<i>West Papua Melbourne</i>		✓	✓		
5	<i>Voice Of West Papua</i>		✓			✓
6	<i>Australians For A Free West Papua Darwin (AFFWP)</i>	✓	✓			
7	<i>Australia West Papua Association (AWPA) Adelaide - Group Facebook</i> <i>Free Papua Movement Australia</i>		✓			✓
8	<i>Free West Papua Campaign Australia (Perth)</i>		✓			✓
9	<i>Rise Of The Morning Star – Melbourne</i>		✓	✓		✓
10	<i>Brave New Perth</i>				✓	
11	<i>Gaba Musik</i>			✓		✓
12	<i>Freedom Flotilla West Papua</i>		✓			✓

According to Bolling and Johansson (2006) this nationalist group in West Papua has operated transnationally and raised funds for their political projects by depicting their

activities into transnational networks. As previously explained, such network linkages often involve adat activists, organizations with NGOs, state institutions, nationalism, intellectuals, foreign researchers and various solidarity organizations that provide full support for the legitimacy of adat activists. This study observes that the transnational advocacy network for the Free Papua Movement in Australia predominantly uses social media platforms to build narratives and mobilize. However, these social movement activists also use other conventional strategies such as demonstrations and artwork, including music, film, and digital art.

3. Demonstration Strategy and the Role of Social Media as the Main Mobilization Tool for Transnational Advocacy Networks for the Free Papua Movement in Australia.

Activist movements generally use public forums such as social media that are used to disseminate information about West Papua, where there are several main accounts that broadcast information about West Papua and the rest are secondary accounts that broadcast all information regarding support for self-determination (self-determination) from around the world including West Papua (Lantang & Tambunan, 2020). Social media platforms are now widely used by the public and of course it has become part of their lifestyle. It can be seen that lately there have been a lot of social media accounts used by activists to disseminate information about West Papua. As presented in Tables 2 to Table 6. Some of these accounts are the main accounts created by organizations and actors from the independent Papuan movement in Australia to share information on the issue of West Papua.

Table 2 List Organizations that use Facebook to socialize issue of Papua in Australia.

Individual/Organizations	Likes	Followers
Free West Papua Campaign (Free West Papua Campaign , 2021)	391.199 people	390.487 people
Benny Wenda – Politikus (Wenda, Facebook Page, 2021)	172.931 people	174.914 people
Sail 4 Justice Manus Freedom Flotilla (Freedom Flotilla To West Papua , 2021)	6.930 people	7.178 people
West Papua Melbourne – Komunitas (West Papua Melbourne, 2021)	5.455 people	6.116 people
Free Papua Movement Australia- Gerakan (Free Papua Movement Australia, 2021)	45.746 people	46.790 people
Australians For A Free West Papua Darwin – AFFWP (Australians for a Free West Papua - Darwin, Organisasi Komunitas, 2021)	12.816 people	13.286 people
Australia West Papua Association Adelaide (AWPA) - Group Publik (Australia West Papua Association, Facebook Grup, 2021)		10.886 people
Australia West Papua Association- Gerakan (Australia West Papua Association, 2021)	4.314 people	4.796 people
Free West Papua Campaign Australia, Perth (Free West Papua Campaign Australia, 2021)	12.826 people	12.701 people
Voice Of West Papua (The Voice of West Papua, 2021)	4.439	4.858 orang
Rize Of The Morning Star – Melbourne (Rize of the Morning Star, 2021)	8.158 orang	7.536 orang

Table 3 List actors use Twitter as a tool to associate Papua issues in Australia.

Username	Field	Followers
Veronica Koman	Human Rights Lawyer	112.9K (Koman, 2021)
Benni Wenda	Activist	44.2K (Wenda, 2021)
Free West Papua	Global Campaign	68.2K (Free West Papua, 2021)
AFFWP Darwin	Community	2,406K (AFFWP DARWIN, 2021)

Table 4 List activist use Instagram as a tool to associate issue Papua in Australia.

Username	Followers	Number of posts
Freewestpapua (freewestpapua, 2021)	14.8K	257
Bennywendaofficial (bennywendaofficial, 2021)	1,665	18
Freewestpapua.australia (freewestpapua.australia, 2021)	11.2 K	144
Gaba.Music (Gaba.musik, 2021)	606	48

Table 5 List of Youtube account used to spread videos about the Papua issue

Username	Subscriber	Videos	Viewers Channel
Free West Papua Campaign	6,33 ribu	280 video	743.816 x ditonton (Free West Papua Campaign, 2021)
Rize of the Morning Star	2,05 ribu	7 Video	233.800 x ditonton (Rize of the Morning star, 2021)
Brave New Perth	116	119 Video	86.161 x ditonton (Brave New Perth, 2021)

Table 6 List Website used to spread the Papua issue.

Individual/Organizations	Link Website
United Liberation Movement for West Papua	https://www.ulmwp.org/
Free West Papua Campaign	https://www.freewestpapua.org
Benny Wenda	http://www.bennywenda.org/
Freedom Flotilla West Papua	https://freedomflotillawestpapua.org/
Voice of West Papua	https://www.3cr.org.au Stasiun Radio : http://www.3cr.org.au/3CR_streaming
Australia West Papua Association (AWPA) Adelaide	https://awpaadelaide.com/home/ https://www.humansofwestpapua.com/
Free West Papua Campaign Australia (Perth)	http://freewestpauaperth.org
Rize Of The Morning Star – Melbourne	www.rizeofthemorningstar.com
Gaba Musik	https://www.gabamusik.com/

The data above shows that the use of social media by actors certainly has the potential to have a significant impact because the social media platform used has thousands to hundreds of followers who support the issue of West Papua with the dissemination of information carried out by activist organizations of the Papuan independence movement in Australia. Social media platforms are now being used to conduct campaigns for the

following reasons: social media platforms can provide information for West Papuan activists to people outside and raise awareness about events in West Papua; This platform is used as a means of communicating with other campaign members in discussing Papuan issues; This platform can also be used as a tool to coordinate, promote and organize events related to the campaign (Titifanue et al., 2016). This is proven to be effective based on the data above because the communities formed through the Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Youtube and Website platforms by this movement have a large number of measurable followers and have the potential to mobilize the community by broadcasting their messages through videos, images, and descriptions of certain issues about West Papua by raising the West Papuan flag, body painting representing the act of achieving the referendum, mural art and digital art created and distributed through various social media platforms.

As the actions taken by the Free West Papua Campaign community have received widespread public attention, it can be seen from the significant number of followers on this community's social media platform. Then Veronica Koman with a large number of social media followers on the Twitter platform and also one of the active activists in providing information about the condition of West Papua. Not only that, Veronica also monitors the performance of the Government of Indonesia through her personal comments. Benny Wenda as a West Papuan politician and Chairman of the ULMWP also has a large number of followers on social media. Benny is also very active in spreading the ULMWP action agenda in conducting various demonstrations or providing information about the achievements that have been achieved by this independence movement through his social media. In addition, for community organizations founded by Papuans and Australians, judging from the number of followers on social media used by these communities, it shows that there are quite a number of supporters who support the Papuan independence movement in Australia because their supporters are not only in one area but spread all over Australia.

The actors also did not use only one social media to disseminate information and opinions in discussing the conflicts that occurred in Papua. Through social media, the activists of the Papuan independence movement are also trying to mobilize more sympathizers and the public to participate in demonstrations that are regularly held in Australia. This is done by sharing information and providing it through the set up event feature on the Facebook page, sharing narratives in written form and various digital arts that can attract public attention on various other social media to participate directly in demonstrations to convey their aspirations. The following are real campaign actions that have been carried out by individuals and activist organizations of the Papuan independence movement in Australia in support of the West Papua conflict.

The Free West Papua Campaign is a global campaign carried out through a social media platform which was launched in 2004 in Oxford, England and has developed into a global campaign organized by the United Liberation Movement for West Papua (ULMWP) in several countries, namely the UK, the Netherlands, Papua New Guinea, and Australia (Free West Papua, 2021).

The Free West Papua Campaign is carried out using social media through writing, images and videos to attract the hearts and minds of readers and invite the public to join in supporting West Papua. Such actions are carried out through Facebook Groups and Facebook Pages. Through social media platforms, the activists of the Papuan independence movement disseminate information and announce the activities that will be carried out, such as the actions taken by activists to invite people in Australia to carry out campaigns in several important places in Australia by uploading images on the Facebook page using the hashtag feature #FreeWestPapua, which has reached 7.9 thousand people to share information about Papua. The Twitter platform created by activists of the Free Papua

Movement also has 43.9K tweets written about information about events taking place in Papua along with picture and video evidence, and is also used to write opinions to criticize news written by the Indonesian media about the Indonesian government's statement on the Papua conflict. The Free West Papua Campaign also uses the Youtube Channel to share videos of West Papua campaigns and issues that are packaged in video form in various countries by distributing videos using social media platforms, the total number of videos on the Free West Papua Campaign's Youtube Channel has been reach 85 videos. The Free West Papua Campaign carried out by the ULMWP organization has been very viral on social media and of course has an impact on the support provided by the international community, therefore this campaign is adopted and fully supported by activists of the Free Papua Movement in Australia with various forms of organization. and activists who carry out direct campaigns besides that they also use personal social media as a tool for campaigning.

Activists who use Twitter as a tool for campaigning are Veronica Koman and Benny Wenda. Veronica Koman, who is a human rights lawyer, joined the legal team for the West Papua National Committee (KNPB) to defend a number of activists from the Free Papua Organization in West Papua while undergoing legal proceedings for cases of treason. Veronica was once listed as a public lawyer at the Jakarta Legal Aid Institute (LBH) advocating for minority and vulnerable groups, asylum seekers and Papuan activists (Idhom, 2019). Veronica Koman uses Twitter as a tool to campaign about the Free Papua conflict by writing information and opinions about West Papua, such as by creating a thread on the platform to tell the events that are happening in the Land of Papua. Like the Thread entitled "The history of the roots of conflict in Papua and its intersection with the right to development of the Papuan people which is not the final solution (along with academic attachments)" made by Veronica Koman has become public attention because it has received 10.5K likes and has reached 4.5K Twitter accounts reposting this thread. But Veronica's attempt to share information and express her aspirations as a human rights lawyer on the Twitter platform is seen as an act of provocation by the Indonesian government. Veronica was named a suspect by the East Java Police for allegedly spreading hoaxes and provocations related to the incident at the Papuan Student Dormitory in Surabaya in 2019 (Nurhadi, 2019). This accusation relates to a tweet made by Veronica Koman on Twitter about acts of violence and racism by the TNI and Polri against Papuan students at the Papuan Dormitory in Surabaya. After being named a suspect by the Indonesian government authorities, Veronica settled in Australia and continues to upload the latest information about the Papua situation through her Twitter account which has reached 11K tweets.

Despite her status as a fugitive from the Government of Indonesia, in Australia, Veronica actually received an award from The Australian Council for International Development (ACFID) with the title as a lawyer who has handled many human rights issues in Papua, reported from (Wijaya, 2019). Veronica hopes that this award can increase the awareness of the Australian and Indonesian people about what she calls human rights violations in West Papua. In addition, Veronica also participated by being a resource person in several Australian and Indonesian media to discuss the West Papua conflict which was listed on several Australian and Indonesian media Youtube accounts.

Australia as a democracy often criticizes the Indonesian government, which can be seen during President Jokowi's visit to Canberra during a meeting discussing Kangaroo defense which was reported by the mass media that Veronica Koman as a human rights lawyer and other fellow activists succeeded in submitting data on human rights violations. Papuans. Not only that, Australian politician Adam Bandt from the Green Party also commented on the humanitarian tragedy in Papua and this is a concrete form of the Australian government's insistence on Indonesia to open an independent and impartial

investigation into the alleged human rights violations that occurred in Papua (CNN, 2020).

Benny Wenda who is the Chairman of the United Liberation Movement for West Papua (ULMWP), one of the founders of The Free West Papua Campaign fled West Papua in the early 2000s and is now living in the UK to become an activist for West Papua and actively campaigns Papuan independence since living in Oxford and establishing the office of the Free Papua Movement there on 1 May 2013, with a charismatic demeanor, Benny has gained a large international following and support from several major countries including on social media (Blades, 2020). Benny Wenda is considered a separatist figure and a provocateur of the Indonesian nation because of Benny's actions through the campaign he carried out. Benny is active on social media platforms to share information and opinions on events that occur in Papua, not only that, Benny also shares information about the work agenda of the United Liberation Movement for West Papua on the Instagram page. Benny also travels the world to conduct campaigns to talk about Papuan issues regarding Human Rights and Self-determination of Papuans by being one of the resource persons at TEDxSydney in 2013 to talk about the Papuan conflict (Appendix 2).

In addition to the support provided by individual actors who play an important role in the transnational activism of the Free Papua Movement in Australia through social media, there is also support given by the Australian public such as community organizations which are proven to support the Papuan independence movement by conducting campaigns on various social media platforms. . These organizations are Australia West Papua Association Adelaide (AWPA), Australians For A Free West Papua Darwin (AFFWP), Free West Papua Campaign Australia (Perth), Freedom Flotilla West Papua, Voice of West Papua, Brave New Perth, and Gaba Music. Basically, the organization that was formed is a form of solidarity between the people and Papuans in Australia and these organizations work under the umbrella of the United Liberation Movement for West Papua (ULMWP) by adopting conventional and unconventional campaign strategies based on the global campaign, namely the Free Papua Movement. .

4. Digital Art, Music and Film as Modern Campaign Strategies

The current democratization transformation increases the existence of digital network activism used through social media where at this time, the internet offers several unique features of money making it a suitable area for public political discourse such as presenting digital art which is a modern campaign strategy. Today's digital art is a big benchmark in disseminating information in campaigning like what the Papuan independence movement community in Australia is doing through videos, photos, and works of art that carry messages for campaigning. Digital art created by West Papuans and Australian supporters is distributed digitally via Youtube, Instagram, Soundcloud, iTunes, Bluetooth and Spotify (Webb-Gannon and Webb, 2019).

Like the actions taken by the Papuan independence movement in Australia using the Brave New Perth Youtube account to distribute a series of video evidence of protest actions, this action is a way for activists to prove to the public that this solidarity movement is real in carrying out various demonstrations, lectures and interviews in the Papuan conflict and documented and archived actions for education and community development in Western Australia that focus on institutional and policy reforms that serve the public interest. In addition to the distribution of protest videos, the Papuan independence movement in Australia has also formed a public association consisting of entertainers, musicians and digital creators, namely Gaba Musik. Gaba Musik is the first nation organization that makes music and art as a medium as a campaign tool rooted in the principles of social justice and anti-oppression by focusing on organizing Live Show/Event Curation, Promotion & Production, Record Label, Music Publishing & Aggregation, Film & Video Production.

Art+Documentary, and more. Gaba Musik is assisted by the Australian Government through the Australia Council for the Arts to host collaborative culturally driven events that encourage First Nations talent in Australia, Papua and beyond. Gaba Musik has several artists, namely Deline Briscoe, Airileke, and Sorong Samarai.

5. Analysis of the concept of Setting Advocacy Agenda in the Free Papua Movement in Australia.

According to Carpenter (2007) the issue being advocated is certainly related to the role of transnational advocacy networks in world politics, the issues raised for advocacy are certainly related to the existence of conflicts that occur where collective action is possible in campaigning. Such as the actions of groups in advocacy networks that often share values and exchange information and services using social media, advocacy networks on the Free Papua Movement in Australia that use social media platforms as information flows between actors with platform site connections between transnational activism groups both formal and informal.

By adopting the context of setting the advocacy agenda put forward by Keck & Sikkink (2005), the author sees that the transnational activism of the Free Papua movement is an issue identified as a problem that arises because of human rights violations in West Papua. When the Free Papua Organization began to declare a referendum by conducting various campaigns based on the United Nations Temporary Executive Authority in the "Act of Free Choice", the Indonesian government saw the actions taken by Papuans as separatist actions so that Indonesia imposed military operations in an effort to prevent conflict in Papua. The Free Papua Movement in Australia defines the issues and shapes their agenda based on the human rights violations caused by the multiple interrelated conflicts in West Papua. Macleod et al., (2015, p. 11) describe the things that are the root of the problem as follows:

- 1) Historical Grievance: At the time of the "Act of Free Choice" referendum, only 1,025 West Papuans were elected to vote representing 800,000 West Papuans but these 1,025 representatives were under threat and intimidation from the Indonesian government to vote. West Papua is part of Indonesia. The final result of this referendum stated that West Papua became part of Indonesia but the PEPERA mechanism or what is referred to as the "Act of Free Choice" was questioned and considered by the people of West Papua as an act that is not in accordance with the wishes of the New York Agreement because of the one man mechanism. one vote that doesn't apply at all
- 2) State Sanctioned Human Rights Violations: West Papua is considered to have been illegally occupied by the Indonesian military due to a military operation imposed since 1963 by the Indonesian government, Amnesty International estimates that more than 100,000 Papuans have died in the fifty-year conflict fighting for the independence of the Land. Papua and the actions taken by the Indonesian military are seen as deliberate acts of destroying West Papuans seeking independence as a group such as the Free Papua Organization.
- 3) Economic Injustice: Papuans see the Indonesian government as exploiting West Papua's land and natural resources due to large-scale development projects that damage Papua's nature, especially mining, oil and gas projects as well as logging and oil palm plantations. It is seen that Papuan land rights are not respected or protected by existing law.
- 4) Migration: A "slow motion" Genocide is considered to be happening in Papua. In 1971 West Papuans were 96.06 percent of the population but after various military operations such as the "Clean Sweep Operation" . In 2010 the percentage of Papuans living there

was only 48.73 percent of the population and it is seen that West Papuans already a minority in their own land.

- 5) Institutional Racism: Racism is often faced by the people of Papua because of the backwardness and marginalization of indigenous peoples in the economy, education, health sector, security apparatus, and bureaucracy. This is seen as a lack of will to address the root causes of the conflict, but on the other hand, during the 2019 incident in Surabaya, the acts of racism faced by Papuans carried out by Indonesian National Armed Forces officers in the Papua Dormitory made a big benchmark stating that Indonesia considers the people Papuans are different from others and they often face discrimination because they have a different race from Indonesians in general.

The issue of West Papua has been seen as a violation of Human Rights based on multiple and interrelated conflicts that have resulted in the lack of trust in the Indonesian Government by the Papuan people. So this issue was adopted by West Papuan activists, based on the five things that became the root of the problem in West Papua in line with the definition of the problem presented by transnational advocacy activists for West Papuan independence in Australia which can be seen in the following table.

Table 7 Papuan issues adopted by activist of the Free Papua Movement in Australia

No.	Individu/Organization	Issue Definition
1	<i>Veronica Koman</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Historical Grievence - State Sanction Human Rights Violations - Institutional Racism
2	<i>Benny Wenda</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Historical Grievence - State Sanctioned Human Rights Violations - Economic Injustice - Migration - Insitutional Rasicm
3	<i>Free West Papua Campaign - United Liberation Movement for West Papua</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Historical Grievence - State Sanctioned Human Rights Violations - Economic Injustice - Migration - Institutional Rasicm
4	<i>West Papua Melbourne</i>	
5	<i>Voice Of West Papua</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Historical Grievence - Institutional Rasicm
6	<i>Australians For A Free West Papua Darwin (AFFWP)</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Historical Grievence - State Sanctioned Human Rights Violations
7	<i>Australia West Papua Association (AWPA) Adelaide - Group Facebook</i> <i>Free Papua Movement Australia</i>	Historical Grievence

8	<i>Free West Papua Campaign Australia (Perth)</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Historical Grievence - State Sanction Human Rights Violations
9	<i>Rize Of The Morning Star – Melbourne</i>	
10	<i>Brave New Perth</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Historical Grievence – State Sanctioned Human Rights Violations
11	<i>Gaba Musik</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Historical Grievence - State Sanctioned Human Rights Violation - Migration - Institutional Racism
12	<i>Freedom Flotilla West Papua</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Historical Grievence – State Sanctioned Human Rights Violations

In mapping this relationship, the issues adopted by activists of the Free Papua Movement in Australia resulted in the emergence of transnational issues that were adopted and fought for by activists working at the transnational level. According to Keck & Sikkink (2005), the cause of the emergence of transnational issues when (1) Advocates refer to a problem as human rights (2) when large Human Rights Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) begin to refer this issue to be used as advocacy material by involving the joint efforts of various organizations to lobby for conflict by conducting campaigns. At a time when the Indonesian government wants to achieve political control in West Papua, the Indonesian government has carried out a systematic campaign of resource extraction and political repression, this is considered an act of genocide and an act of discrimination of Papuans in their own land. The actions of the Indonesian government are evidenced by the report of human rights violations in West Papua by Amnesty International from 2001 (Amnesty International, 2018). Through this, the United Liberation Movement for West Papua as one of the umbrella organizations for the Free Papua Movement through the West Papua National Committee (KNPB) issued an appeal to all Papuan people to unite in declaring that the problems that occur in the Land of Papua are Human Rights Violations by committing peaceful protest on 15 June 2016 in which thousands of West Papuans rallied in city streets across the country to call for “freedom and their fundamental right to self-determination” (SuaraPapua, 2016). In this peaceful protest, the Papuan people also expressed their full support for the United Liberation Movement for West Papua (ULMWP), which became a full member of the Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG) in 2015. The Papuan people also showed their support for the proposed Pacific Island human rights fact-finding mission. The Forum to West Papua where Benny Wenda as chairman of ULWMP stated that the Pacific Island Forum Fact-Finding mission was urgently needed in West Papua to help reveal, document, and expose ongoing human rights violations by conducting campaigns (Robie, 2017).

Previously, in 1986, Pacific State Vanuatu first raised its voice at the UN General Assembly in West Papua to provide support for independence to the people of West Papua in the Pacific Island Forum Fact-Finding mission, where since then non-governmental organizations have talked about violations for the first time. Human Rights in West Papua

and this support continues to expand internationally. Therefore, the actions taken by the Indonesian government in West Papua certainly have an impact on transnational activism in Australia, starting with the joint historical activist movement between indigenous Papuans (Indigenous Papuans) and indigenous Australians (Indigenous Australia) which involved two maritime missions with activists. Papua and Aborigines in an effort to highlight the violence of West Papua with the Freedom Flotilla West Papua community, namely in 2013 a voyage to West Papua to build a global solidarity initiative and highlight violations of human rights and indigenous peoples' land rights were brought to the international stage (Sail 4 Justice Manus Freedom Flotilla, 2021). In addition to the support from the Australian population, there is also support from Non-Governmental Organizations in Australia as listed in the data analysis above where they work under one of the umbrella organizations of the Papuan independence movement, namely the United Liberation Movement for Free West Papua (ULMWP) with the global Free Papua Campaign which adopts the issues of the West Papua conflict.

In the context of West Papua, the author sees that the Papuan independence movement in Australia has all the characteristics of the transnational advocacy tactics proposed by Keck & Sikkink (2005), namely: Activists of the Papuan independence movement in Australia have demonstrated the politics of information used in advocating for issues using the media. Social media such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Youtube and Websites that are used as fast and accurate tools for disseminating information such as events that occurred in Tanah Papua. This independence movement has a symbolic politics where every December 1, this Papuan independence movement activist raises the Morning Star Flag and sings the national anthem "Hai Tanahku Papua" which is claimed by Papuans to represent their struggle for a referendum on their land. In the context of using politics as an action tactic for advocacy networks, the Papuan independence movement in Australia was mobilized by the United Liberation Movement for West Papua to carry out the Papuan independence movement. The Papua issue has been fully supported by the Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG) in the Pacific Island Forum (PIF). The support given by Pacific countries is a form of solidarity given to Papuans who are considered ethnic Melanesians with the same racial ties. The Papuan independence movement in Australia already has a political accountability obtained from the support of the Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG) in this case the Papuans urge and declare that they are part of the MSG in an effort to achieve the advocacy they do. The United Liberation Movement for West Papua has officially submitted an application for full membership in the Melanesian Spearhead Group in the context of discussing the conflict in Papua. This liberation movement already has observation status in regional groups to advocate for problems that occur.

Based on data findings and analysis of campaigns carried out in an effort to defend the Human Rights of Papuans, the actions taken by Papuan independence movement activists in Australia have provided a full picture that their advocacy actions have been fulfilled. In accordance with the data analysis in terms of the strategies used by the Papuan independence movement in Australia, there are several achievements that can be reviewed based on the level of achievement related to the concept of Setting Advocacy Agenda proposed by Keck and Sikkink (2005). The transnational activism of the Papuan independence movement in Australia has been able to achieve the agenda of identifying issues and influencing the discourse of regional and international states and organizations. The author sees that the campaign, which was spearheaded by the Free West Papua Campaign activists, is quite capable of encouraging increased international attention, especially the Australian public, regarding the issue of West Papua. With the current use of social media, the public can receive information quickly and the author sees that the information provided by campaign

activists is able to increase public awareness of the conflict in West Papua and to some extent shift public opinion. The public sees that the attitude of the Indonesian government is not in line with their views, so this triggers the Australian public to sympathize with the Papuan people who should get their rights from the Indonesian government. By knowing the actions taken by the Indonesian government against Papuans from the point of view of the Papuan people, the public has formed sympathy which is shown through support for social movement groups with the aim of supporting the human rights of the Papuan people, as did the Papuan independence movement in Papua, Australia. The actions carried out by the Papuan independence movement in Australia have certainly had an impact on the Australian government. During President Jokowi's visit to Canberra in 2020, the Australian government urged the Indonesian government to be able to handle human rights cases in West Papua (CNN, 2020).

However, the achievement of transnational advocacy networks in Australia has no influence on institutional procedures, policy changes, and Indonesia's behavior towards West Papua. The issues raised by the transnational activism of the Papuan independence movement in Australia have not undergone significant changes that lead to positive developments. The author sees that the transnational activism of the Free Papua Movement in Australia does not affect institutional procedures, because the Indonesian government actually responds to the use of social media in campaigning carried out by the independent Papuan activism movement in Australia as a separatist movement and a provocateur because it is considered to mobilize the masses in large-scale protests in Australia. Various regions in Indonesia. These protests also caused the Indonesian government to impose restrictions on Internet access and increase the scale of TNI-Polri operations in the Papua region with the aim of suppressing the actions of independence activists in West Papua.

In addition to the impact given to the actions of the Australian government and the Indonesian government, the author sees that this impact certainly provides a great benchmark for activists in developing their activism in social media campaigns, it is seen that every day social media is commonly used in everyday life. -day and this provides an advance in campaigning using social media because issues that are now invisible can be seen by the public and can result in real action in an advocacy. The use of social media with a campaign development strategy through digital art is also very attractive to the public because the dissemination of evidence in advocating for issues that occur can build confidence in actions that are seen as violating human rights and this is a big benchmark for the public to help support and advocate for domestic and international issues.

CONCLUSION

This study observes that the transnational activism of the Free Papua Movement in Australia uses both conventional and unconventional strategies in campaigning such as conducting demonstrations, using social media as the main tool for mass mobilization and using digital art, music, and film to advocate for the Papuan conflict issue. These campaign strategies are used to build national and international public awareness in seeing the conflict in West Papua as an act of human rights violations by the Indonesian government since 1961. This strategy is carried out by transnational activism actors who are residents of Australia and other people. Papuans who work, study or live in Australia. The impact of the transnational activism of the Free Papua Movement in Australia has led to a political debate regarding the issue of West Papua in Australia, where the author sees this transnational activism movement as having an impact on the political pressure by the Australian government on Indonesia to open an independent and impartial investigation into alleged human rights violations. What happened in Papua, of course, the use of social media as a

campaign tool provides a great opportunity for activists of the Free Papua Movement to invite the international public to participate in advocating for issues to achieve the desired goals. In this study, the authors experienced limitations in obtaining primary data in conducting interviews with one of the activist actors of the Free Papua Movement in Australia. Therefore, the researcher recommends that future research can examine more deeply the use of social media and also the role of digital art such as music as a tool to support political activism because the author sees that currently music has been more or less used in campaigning such as movement activists. Free Papuans who created decolonization songs to carry out their protest campaign through existing works of art.

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